Scots Worthies

1560-1688

Rev. J. B. CRAVEN

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THIRTY-FIVE SKETCHES

BY

REV. J. B. CRAVEN

RECTOR OF ST. OLAF'S CHURCH, KIRKWALL

'*Nec aliud Episcoporum genus sumus quam qui ab incunabulis Christianæ Religionis, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ præfuerunt, veterrimorum Præsulum legitimi successores*"

JOHN SPOTTISWOODE, *Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1620*

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Contents.

	PAGE
HISTORICAL PREFACE	vii
JOHN SPOTTISWOODE, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS	1
JAMES LAW, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW	6
DAVID LINDSAY, PARSON OF LEITH AND BISHOP OF ROSS	11
THE FOUR BOYDS	14
CHANCELLOR SETON	18
WILLIAM COWPER, BISHOP OF GALLOWAY	22
PETER BLAKBURNE, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN	25
THE STRACHANS OF ST. MARTIN'S	28
GEORGE, EARL OF DUNBAR	31
ROBERT STEWART, PARSON OF HOLM	36
THE FOUR GORDONS	40
DAVID LINDSAY, BISHOP OF EDINBURGH	45
DAVID, LORD MADERTIE	49
PATRICK FORBES, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN	53
WILLIAM FORBES, BISHOP OF EDINBURGH	57
THE ABERDEEN DOCTORS	63
JOHN CRICHTON, PARSON OF PAISLEY	68
MAXWELL AND CORBET	71
JAMES WEDDERBURNE, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE	76
JAMES, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE	81

PAGE

KING CHARLES I. 86

WILLIAM LAUDER, CHANTOR OF ROSS . . . 90

THOMAS SYDSERFF, BISHOP OF GALLOWAY AND ORKNEY . 93

JAMES SHARP, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS . . 98

ROBERT LEIGHTON, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE, COMMENDATOR OF GLASGOW 100

GEORGE WISHART, BISHOP OF EDINBURGH . . . 107

THE GUTHRYS 111

THE ANNANDS 115

PATERSON AND RAMSAY 119

THE SCOUGALS 123

THE HONYMANS 127

COLIN FALCONAR, BISHOP OF MORAY . . . 131

ALEXANDER MONRO, PRINCIPAL OF EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY 134

SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE OF ROSEHAUGH . . . 138

JOHN, VISCOUNT DUNDEE 142

INTRODUCTION.

IN 1558 the reforming party in Scotland declared themselves content "not only that the precepts and rules of the new testament, but also that the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly-approved laws of Justinian the emperor," should "decide the contest between us and them" —that is, the supporters of Roman faith. The answer to this request was given by the "last provincial council of 1559—of being put to the stake or of submitting to the decrees of Trent." This alternative "gave birth to the confession of faith and book of discipline," and "reached its consummation in the first meeting of the general assembly held at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560." What, then, was the internal state of the church of Scotland? I shall reply in the words of Roman writers alone. "The church was completely under the sway of the king and nobles. During a considerable period the posts of highest dignity had, with few exceptions, been held by either the illegitimate or younger sons of the most powerful families — men who, without learning or morality themselves, paid little deference to the learning or morality of their inferiors."† Ninian Winzet (an eye-witness) put the tale more broadly. Addressing "the bischopis and utheris pastores," he speaks of "your godly and circumspect distribution of benefices to your babeis ignorantis and filthy anis, all, Ethnick, Turk, and Jew may lauch at it, that being the special ground of all impietie and division this day within ye, O Scotland."‡ The whole passage is worthy of close attention. It is a terrible "dittay" that

* Bishop Wordsworth, *Discourses on Scottish Reformation*, vi. and 17.

† Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 7, 8.

‡ *Exhortation to Quene and Bischopis*—Tractates, p. 5.

Winzet brings forward. The church, when the overthrow came, naturally looked to the bishops for assistance. They were wanting, and by the pope's legate, De Gouda, are described as "in truth for the most part destitute of all personal qualifications requisite for taking any lead in such stormy times."* But Knox's influence has been greatly overrated. It barely extended beyond the district between Dundee and Edinburgh on the east, and the county of Ayr on the west of Scotland. In distinct contradiction to Brady, in his "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy," De Gouda tells us that two of the Scottish bishops "are heretics."† These were Gordon, archbishop of Athens and bishop of the Isles, and Bothwell, bishop of Orkney.‡ The whole storm reminds one of St. Paul's shipwreck. "The centurion . . . commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea, and get to land; and the rest, some on boards and some on broken pieces of the ship; and so it came to pass that they escaped all safe to land." The surging waves threw up many worthy men. They had indeed to leave their ecclesiastical ornaments behind them. It was a case of life or death. The ship had to be reconstructed, the broken pieces and the boards had to be repaired and joined together, and many long years had to pass before the structure could be said to be seaworthy. A strong feeling against the reformers existed in many places. For years the whole of the north was in heart with the older forms. Even in Fife, under the very eyes of Knox, one woman exclaimed when she saw the "reformed" pastor in the pulpit of Crail, "It is a schame to you that ar gentellmen that ye pull hym nocht out of the pulpit be the luggis."§ This was conservatism with a

* Forbes Leith, *Narratives*, p. 75.

† *Ibid.* p. 71.

‡ Scott says (*Fasti*, ii. p. 775) that Gordon was consecrated to the Isles on 26th November, 1553; Bothwell, from charters in Orkney, was consecrated also, apparently about Whitsunday, 1559, possibly at the time of the meeting of the provincial council.

§ *Preface to St. Andrews Session Records*, xxx.

vengeance. But it could not be otherwise. Winzet asks with amazement, "I conferrit with meself, how that micht be, that Christiane men professing, techeing, and preching Christe and his word sa mony zeirs, in *ane monethis* space or thairby, sald be changeit. sa proudly in sa mony heich materis in ye plat contrair men. At pasche and certaine soundays efter, thay teichet with grete appering zele, and ministrate ye sacramentes til us on ye catholik maner; and be witsonday thay change their standart in our plane contrare."* It is strange how very small were the attempts made to withstand the flood. The truth is, the reformers were zealous, and believed in their cause. I do not deny the same opinion to the Roman party; but they were not zealous. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Ross stand forth. Yet the archbishop dared not defend his religion in the reforming parliament. True, he was threatened; but it was life or death for Willock and Knox also. It is a great mistake to read over the scanty minutes of the earlier general assemblies and to judge of the state of matters from these. Only those firm in the reformed faith were allowed to appear there. Even Willock, who was in holy orders, afterwards accepted a living in the church of England. This fact was long concealed by the writers who fan the Knoxian cult. Laing first kills him off in 1574, and not till the last volume of his "Works of Knox" does he admit his ministry at Loughborough.† If further inquiries had been made it would have been found, from the parish records of Loughborough (still preserved), that Willock kept festival and fast there, and that cleaning and repair of church ornaments took place when he was rector. His "latten byble and booke of concells" he left to his patron. How, then, did the reformers succeed in procuring the adhesion of so many of the old bishops, abbots, doctors, and priests in Scotland? Perhaps some of my readers will start with surprise to know that any

* *Booke of Four-Scoir-Thre Questions*, p. 54.

† Knox, *Works*, vi. p. 572, *note*.

such continued to "officiate in holy offices" under the new system. The history of the reformation in Scotland from the conservative side has yet to be written. The writer has already collected the names of about two hundred of the pre-reformation clergy who, in one form or another—perchance, not quite straightforwardly—remained in benefices as superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers. On this point the "Registers of the Session of St. Andrews," recently issued under the able editorship of Mr. Hay Fleming, are more than valuable. It is much to be desired that similar registers of other parishes were published. Let the reader quietly examine the "Rectantatioun of friere Gresoune, priour provintiall generall of all the freris predicatouris in Scotland," with other "rectantiounes," and he will soon perceive that Wynram was not of the same mind with Knox, and that at the very earliest dawn of "reformation" in Scotland there were two parties. Both worked together for a time, but eventually the stronger and more radical party prevailed. In Gresoune's "Rectantatioun" the pope is not "that lecherous swyne," but merely "renunced" as "head of the kirk." Prayer to "sanctes that are departet" is merely said to "haif na command of God," "and sicklyke I grant that we haif na command to pray for them that are departet." "I deny all transubstantiation in the sacrament of the body and blude of our Salviour, Christe Jesu; and that auriculare confessioun is necessar for the salvatioun of man." These terms are not Knoxian. We need not at all feel surprised, then, that in the general assembly of 1563 it was reported that Robert Ramsay "affirmed that there was a mid way between papistrie and our religion." Ramsay was probably one of the conforming clergy. In 1579 "father" John Hay reports from Scotland to the general of the Jesuits that one of the "ministers impudently declared that the members of his sect were catholics as well, and retained the religious sentiments of their forefathers."* It

* Forbes Leith, *Narratives*, p. 152.

is a gross mistake to think that the "reformed ministers" were merely "apostate monks, or laymen of low rank, and quite unlearned, being cobblers, shoemakers, tanners, or the like." In 1559 Knox himself says: "Diverse channons of Sanct Andrews have given notable confessions." "In January, 1571-2, fourteen of those who had been canons of the priory of St. Andrews are mentioned as protestants, twelve of them being then parish ministers of the reformed church, and, besides these, other thirty-one of the clergy had joined the reformers by the 17th March 1559-60. Many members of the university, also, forsook their former faith, for the first general assembly deemed twenty-one in St. Andrews qualified 'for ministreing and teaching,' and with few exceptions these were professors or regents."* Robert Ramsay by no means stood by himself. When Knox and Gordon, the one a priest, the other a bishop before 1560, administered the holy communion in St. Giles' church—all were expected to come fasting—such a thing as reception after breakfast would have been looked on then, and for long after, with horror. The service began at "*four* hours in ye morning, ye sermon to begyne at five hours, and ye *ministration* to begyne at *sex* [six a.m.], and sua to continue"; a fast of days preceded, "their foud only to be bried and drink."

No one who reads in the "Book of common order" the order for admission of superintendents and ministers, can doubt the intended continuance of an episcopal order. If any doubt, let them go to the roofless chapel of St. Leonard's, in the old metropolitan city of St. Andrews, and view the tombstone of Wynram. On it are the words, "M . Johani . Wynramo . cænobiarchæ . conversis . rebus . Fifanorum . episcopo . ann . ætatis . suæ . 90 . occumbenti . positum."† "John Colison, the last pre-reformation vicar [of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen], demitted 26th June,

* Hay Fleming, Preface, *St. Andrews Session Register*, p. vii.

† See also curious presentation to altarage by Constable of Dundee; Crawford's *Officers of State*, pp. 450, 451.

1577, in favour of Walter Cullan, 'his eyme and reader of Aberdeen,' whereupon bishop Gordon, the Romanist prelate still surviving, gave the protestant 'reader' 'collacioun be the ryng on his finger.'" * That an episcopal succession was intended to be restored and kept up is unquestionable. Numbers of the royal letters are still preserved, at least in abstract, giving orders for the "consecration" of the elected prelates. In these commissions bishop Bothwell of Orkney is more than once included, and as he lived in Edinburgh no doubt "gave collacioun" to Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, amongst others. † That Gordon in Galloway and Bothwell in Orkney continued "settled ministers" for years after 1560 is undoubted. We are told that many of the old priests who conformed outwardly remained inwardly faithful to their earlier beliefs, whose rites they celebrated clandestinely, and that the women who lived with them as wives were only so in name. ‡ Nor did the conservative party want men of learning. The ability of Wynram is shown from his position at St. Andrews. He was a doctor of theology. He was "wonderfullie learnit baith in the new testament, auld testament, and meikle mair." Bellesheim speaks of him as "formerly one of the most energetic champions of the church." Several were deeply versed in canon law. Patrick Cockburn, a Parisian scholar, rector of Petcox, one of the chaplains of Haddington, Dempster tells us was "the most learned and moderate of all the Scots reformers." Spottiswoode calls him a man of "great learning and a favourer of the truth." He became the first "reformed minister" of Haddington. Several treatises on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were published by Cockburn. These treat of the excellency of scripture; of difficult places in scripture; of the Lord's prayer; of the apostles' creed: this last work issued from the press at

* Cooper's *Chart. of St Nicholas*, ii, pp. xlii.

† Scott, *Fasti*, iii. p. 376; *Orig. Lett. Scot. James VI.'s Reign*, i. p. xiv.

‡ Gordon's *Catholic Church in Scotland*, iv.

London in 1561. Cockburn was undoubtedly disgusted with the turn matters had taken. It was complained of him in 1564 "that he neither attended the provincial nor general assemblies." This little fact explains much, and Cockburn will gain our esteem.* The inventories of Edinburgh booksellers show us that prayer books and the fathers were still in demand. In 1579 Bassandyne has in stock "twa of the lyves of the halie sancties," "ane imitation of Christ," "twa sanct Ambrose." "Item six commoun prayers of England."† Bassandyne was the printer of the first Scotch bible. The circumstances attending its publication will show that the conservative clergy had most to do with the issue. Wood, who corrected the press, was afterwards archdeacon of St. Andrews. We might also here refer to the early church music. Blackhall, Futhie, and others were priests before 1560. In the psalter there are considerable traces of the influence of the book of common prayer.‡ Demand for the prayer book increased. In the inventory of Robert Gourlay, who died in 1586, we find "fortie-twa small prayer buikes coverit in parschement." He even sold the "Roserie of prayers" and the "Apologie of the kirk of England." He had also a considerable quantity of other editions of the prayer book.§

The records of the general assembly bears us out in our sketch. In 1573 it is reported that "the most part of the persons who were channons, monks, and frears within this realme, have made profession of the true religion."¶

All these items tended to a point. They meant a struggle which of the two parties should eventually succeed. There can be little doubt that the agreement of Leith in 1572 owed its sanction, its "general resemblance in system to the external polity of the church as it existed

* Scott, *Fasti*, i. p. 311; Miller's *History of Haddington*, &c.
† *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii.
‡ *Pro. Soc. Antiq.* vii. pp. 455, 456, &c.
§ *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii.
¶ *Booke of the Univ. Kirk*, i. p. 280.

before the reformation in Scotland," to those ministers and readers who had "before been priests." Large numbers of them were still officiating as ministers of the word and sacraments. The very first item in the agreement of Leith was that "the names and titles of archbishops and bishops are not to be altered or innovated, nor yitt the bounds of the dioceses confounded." Chapters were provided in which "so manie of the old chapter as live, and are ministers, professours of the true religioun, sall still be in the chapter during their natural lives,"* and their names are given, including the members of the "old chapter." The whole of the documents are well worthy of study, and this system was at once carried into effect. Douglas was chosen archbishop of St. Andrews and "inaugurat" by the bishop of Caithness, assisted by Lindsay and Spottiswoode. The writer does not refer to the validity of such an act, for we do not absolutely know whether Stuart had been consecrated. A word of warning may be necessary. Readers must be careful in accepting the statements of Keith when the question of valid ordinations comes in. The nonjuring bishops and clergy sometimes forget "the hole of the pit from whence they had been digged." They were too narrowly certain of their own position to judge fairly of that of others. All might have gone on well, and full church order have been re-established, if Melville had not arrived, and with great ingenuity, and, it must be said, considerable cunning, first insinuated doubts as to the lawfulness of episcopacy, and when these were ready to bear fruit pressed them home and became the hierarch who first established "presbytery" in Scotland—a system, in its subsequent developments at least, unknown to the earlier Scottish reformers.

The following "Lives" are intended by the writer to show something of the conservative side of Scottish church life from 1560 to 1688. They do not pretend to be original. Biographical sketches in their sense cannot be so. But it is

* Calderwood, iii. pp. 172, 186.

hoped that they may lead some of the younger members of the church to further research, and a fuller recognition of the catena of Scottish divines who have, amid difficulty, persecution, and suffering, handed on to us our precious possessions of primitive truth and apostolical order.

J. B. CRAVEN.

KIRKWALL,
Feast of St. Clement, 1894.

John Spottiswoode,

Archbishop of Glasgow, and of St. Andrews.

"JOHN SPOTSWOOD, that grave, sage, and peaceable prelate, deserves a singular mark and note of honour for his great labours in restoring the estate of bishops *ex jure post liminii*; in governing the see of Glasgow wiselie for eleven years, and St. Andrews and his turbulent church twenty-three years; for composing ane excellent liturgie; his recovering and bettering both these sees to some tolerable competencie; procuring the priorie of St. Andrews to be mortified and annext to the archbishoprick for ever; his prudent conduct in great matters the time he was chancellor in this kingdome; his wonderful patience under his exile; his holy simplicitie and primitive disposition and humilitie; his works of charitie (he built the church of Dairsy, the handsomest edifice of that kind in the kingdom); his notable historie of the church of Scotland." So far honest Martine in his "State of the See of St. Andrews." Indeed to write Spottiswoode's life fully would be to relate the history of the church of Scotland under two reigns. He was son of John Spottiswoode, parson of Calder and superintendent of Lothian. The superintendent had received holy orders from Cranmer, and to the end of his life was ready to declare that the reformed doctrine was good, but the old (episcopal) "policy was undoubtedly the better." He died in 1585. His son graduated at Glasgow when sixteen, and two years after assisted his father at Calder. Even then his youth was tempered with gravity, but he had no sour melancholy. An athlete in his youth, he was famed for his game of football, Law, his successor in Glasgow, being equally ardent. He married the daughter of Lindsay, bishop of Ross, and had with one daughter, two sons—one the well-known president of the court of session, and the elder sir John, who suffered for his loyalty. In 1601 he was chosen as the "fittest person of his quality" to attend the duke of Lennox in an embassy to France. When there we are told that he "made no scruple to go

in to see a mass celebrat, and to goe so near that it behoved him to discover his head and kneel." The report of this gave great umbrage to the Knoxian party. When soon after James succeeded to the English throne, Spottiswoode accompanied him. On the journey he heard of the death of Beaton, and the consequent vacancy in the see of Glasgow, and at once nominated Spottiswoode, who was soon afterwards made almoner to queen Anne. His prudence and "dexterity in civil things" soon placed him in the privy council. All writers admit his ability. His promotion to the primacy followed bye and bye. At the parliament of 1606, held at Perth, the two archbishops rode "cloathed with silk and velvet, with their foot mantles." Settled in Glasgow he soon proved a benefactor to the see, then reduced to the value of about £100 sterling per annum. The cathedral and palace were "ruined and neglected." Both history and tradition tell that Andrew Melville, when principal of Glasgow university, urged the magistrates to pull down the cathedral, esteeming it a monument of idolatry. They indeed consented, but the burghers rose in arms and saved it. Spottiswoode began the leaden roof, afterwards completed by Law. After the parliament of 1606 was dissolved, the two archbishops and others were sent for to court to consult about church affairs. Then followed the meetings and disputes of Hampton Court, culminating in Melville's act of rudeness to the archbishop of Canterbury :—"Seizing the sleeves of his rochet, and shaking them, he told the primate that he esteemed him the capital enemy of all the reformed churches in Europe." In 1610 Spottiswoode presided at an assembly at Glasgow, and the consecration in the chapel of London house of the three bishops-elect in that same year, laid a true foundation for fresh endeavours. In 1615 archbishop Gladstanes died—"a man of good learning and great invention—he ended his days most piously, and to the comfort of all the beholders." To him the puritans had a fiendish hatred. Calderwood tells us "he died in the debt of twentie thousand pounds." This is only a sample of these calumnies. The inventory of his executry has fortunately been preserved, and shows "frie gier the debts deducit" to the extent of over £15,000. So much for puritan history. Spottiswoode was at once raised to the primacy, and soon after submitted certain proposals for the improvement of the "outward face of the church." These included a form of divine service; a public confession of faith "agreeing as near as can be with the confession of the English church," the urgent need of

confirmation—"whereof the use for children is most profitable," a set of canons to be drawn up. At the Perth assembly of 1618 the famous "five articles" were presented and urged for acceptance. These were:—kneeling at the reception of the holy communion; private reception by the sick; private baptism in cases of necessity; the commemoration of the chief Christian festivals; and lastly, the restoration of the rite of confirmation. The year previous bishop Andrews and Laud, then dean of Gloucester, had accompanied James to Scotland, and the service of the prayer book had been then used. Still, with much wisdom, the primate was afraid of hasty changes, and in his sermon before the Perth assembly adopts even a strain of apology. Yet at times, and especially in regard to the irreverence at the highest act of Christian worship, he waxes eloquent. "It is," he says, "an excellent passage that of St. Augustine upon the 98th Psalm: 'No man can eate that flesh, unlesse he first have adored. . . . The gesture which becommeth adoration best is that of bowing of the knee, and the irreligion of these times craves that we should put men more unto it than we doe." The articles were passed and confirmed as law by the privy council. To some extent the country adopted them. The primate is stated to have said that at this time there were "neither rich nor poor, in Scotland, some few precise persons excepted, who were not only content, but also wished the order of kneeling to be received, whereof he had proof in his own city of St. Andrews." He also tells us—"Christmas in this city was never better keeped, with great confluence of people to church, and a general cessation of people from work, our tailyour excepted, whom I caused punish for his contempt."

In 1625 king James died. Charles was crowned at Holyrood on the 18th day of June, 1633. Great preparations had been made, and the whole service appears to have been worthy of the occasion, the king, and the church. The sermon was preached by Lindsay, bishop of Brechin; the litany chanted by the bishops of Moray and Ross. The archbishop anointed the king with the consecrated oil; who then assumed the state robes of James IV., and was solemnly crowned by the primate. The holy eucharist was then celebrated, and the king received the holy communion with great reverence. Besides other suitable adornments, the tapestry frontal of the altar was embroidered with a

crucifix. Two lighted candles stood on the altar. The see of Edinburgh was founded at this time, and the foundation charter tells that the first suggestion for this came from Spottiswoode. The deeply learned Dr. William Forbes was consecrated first bishop, and the collegiate church of St. Giles then designed as the cathedral church. Improvements were commenced in it for this sacred purpose. In 1635 lord Kinnoull, chancellor of Scotland, died, and Charles insisted on Spottiswoode accepting this office. Unfortunately, as we see now, he did so, causing envy and murmuring amongst the nobles, the first heralds of the great rebellion. Still things were hopeful. Considerable improvements had taken place in the mode of conducting divine service, and in the habits of the people. The period between 1610-1637 "was upon the whole peaceful and serene. It was a time of repose and refreshment, intellectual and moral, throughout the nation." Progress had indeed been slow but sure. Still Charles and Laud, accustomed to another sort of people, were disappointed, and soon a new race of ecclesiastics grew up in Scotland, who thought the primate slow and over cautious. So the book of canons and the book of common prayer for Scotland were hurried on. The canons, issued first, amazed the people by requiring obedience to the service book not yet seen or printed, as far as they knew. It was whispered that when it appeared it would be decidedly more "popish" than "the mass book of England." Spottiswoode was alarmed, and urged delay. Hume says: "The primate, a man of wisdom and prudence, who was all along averse to the introduction of the liturgy, represented to the king the state of the nation. . . . Yet was Charles inflexible." All know the result. On the seventh Sunday after Trinity, 1637, the famous, or rather infamous riot in St. Giles' occurred. The primate was present, but his interference was to no purpose. The great rebellion was begun. The Glasgow assembly followed in 1638, and before the king or nation could realise it the archbishops and bishops were "excommunicated," and order and decency banished by those whom Baillie, the presbyterian writer, calls "our rascals." Then the primate is reported to have said: "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years is thrown down at once." Yet a faithful remnant remained, bearing witness—such a witness that restoration in church and state did follow—with plenty of suffering

between. Threatened with assassination, and worn out with labours—(he is said to have made fifty journeys to London on church business) — Spottiswoode retired to Newcastle, fell ill, but in a little was able to proceed to London to see his sovereign once more—and to die. Conscious that his end was near, and "weighed down with the greater evils he saw impending over that church he had so long laboured to uphold," he prepared to give in his account. Declaring his belief in the verities of the apostles' creed, "and touching the government of the church truly persuaded that the government episcopall is the only right and apostolique form," he appointed his "best beloved brother, Mr. John Maxwell, bishop of Rosse," his executor, and desired to be buried beside his wife in the church of Dairsie, "without all maner of pompe, and in the presence of a few loving friends." He then asked the archbishop of Canterbury and some other bishops to come to his sick chamber, when he joined with them in his last eucharist, and, receiving the body and blood of Christ, calmly passed to much-needed and well-earned rest on the 26th November 1639. He was buried, probably by the king's orders, in Westminster Abbey. "The corpse, being attended by many mourners and torch-bearers, and the whole nobility of England and Scotland (then present at court), was conveyed to the west door, where it was met by the dean and prebendaries in their clerical habits, and buried according to the solemn rites of the English church."

"Presul, senator, pene martyr hic jacet."

But the other day the writer, walking in the abbey, came across the simple epitaph which states that near by were interred the remains of Casaubon and his friend archbishop Spottiswoode —the one indeed a noble scholar, and the latter "one of Scotland's wisest prelates."

James Law,

Archbishop of Glasgow.

TWO of the ancient cathedrals of Scotland, it has been often said, survived the storms of the reformation and later furies —St. Mungo's, Glasgow, and St. Magnus', Kirkwall. Indeed both still stand hale and solid—walls sound, roofs secure, and pillars firm. It is not so well known perhaps that to one individual we owe the preservation of these churches. That person was James Law, once bishop of Orkney, subsequently archbishop of Glasgow. At Kirkwall the steeple had been seized and fortified by a band of insurgents, when the earl of Caithness "went about to cast down the cathedral," but bishop Law refused to "suffer him to cast it down." At Glasgow "the desolate cathedral was hastening to decay when Buchanan's pupil, Andrew Melville, is said to have clamoured for the instant destruction of the pile," not merely as a monument of idolatry, but, as he thought it, "by reason of its huge vastness, all unsuited for the stern simplicity of orthodox rites." This the burghers prevented, but when Law came to the see he caused its reparation, and at his own expense completed the leaden roof which still covers it. Thus it was saved from "hastening decay." He was undoubtedly a remarkable man—next to Spottiswoode, whom he succeeded at Glasgow, the ablest divine of the reign of James VI. He was "a son of a gentleman of Fife, of a pretty old family." He was at college with Spottiswoode, and they two were afterwards summoned before the puritan authorities for too great freedom, as their accusers thought, in playing football. But Law was both learned and orthodox, great in "knowledge of the fathers, and the good collection of books he afterwards left to the university of Glasgow shows him to have been diligent in their use." He was consistent too; when once he had taken up a position as a supporter of "the court party," as it was then called—the party, that is, who were endeavouring for the restoration of order—he never swerved from it. Law

became minister of Kirkliston in Linlithgowshire about 1582. In 1605 he was one of those summoned to meet the king and the representatives of the presbyterians at Hampton Court, when the Melvilles and their friends were treated to a course of English divinity with poor success. He had just been nominated to the see of Orkney, vacant for ten years since the death of bishop Bothwell. Law was a famous preacher, and at different assemblies "occupied the pulpit." On one occasion he preached on the subject of episcopacy, and discoursed both learnedly and persuasively on that much tortured subject. At the Glasgow assembly of 1610 he not only attended, but brought four of the Orkney clergy with him to support the cause of order. He was duly consecrated as bishop of Orkney in 1611, but did not long continue in that position, being translated to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow in 1615. But in the few years he was connected with the northern see he did good service. Matters there both in church and state were simply deplorable. The clergy were ground down and nearly starved, and the people so oppressed by earl Patrick Stewart that he had to get the ferries watched lest reports should be conveyed to the king. Law saw the frightful difficulties he had to contend with. He first formulated the state of affairs, and then addressed a moving appeal to James. It is one of the ablest pleadings of the century. He began by describing the miseries "of your majesty's poor distressed subjects in these isles," and presents "upon my knees by this letter, supplying my absence, my most humble and serious supplication in favour of this distressed and oppressed people, . . . the most part so impoverished that some of them neither dare nor may complain." He adds that as things are he can do them no good or comfort, but so doing his duty offers "to retire myself to my former private condition," if he has not authority to "go forward against all dangers and difficulties." The appeal was successful. Earl Patrick was summoned to Edinburgh and eventually executed. Law received a commission and went both to Orkney and Shetland, carefully noting all complaints and distresses of the people, proving himself to be a faithful shepherd, the poor man's friend, and indeed the real "saviour of Orkney." A new insurrection was raised by earl Patrick's natural son, Robert. To quell it forces were sent, and indeed a civil war on a small scale resulted. Law accompanied the soldiers. It was at this time that the earl of

Caithness desired to throw down the cathedral, into which the insurgents had retired. Law also succeeded in putting the revenues of the see and the incomes of the clergy on an entirely new and much more satisfactory footing. He also obtained a grant of the new palace earl Patrick had built at Kirkwall, as a see house for himself and his successors. The labours which brought order out of confusion, and raised the church from despair and the people from a desperate state, caused him immense labour, travel, and fatigue. In 1615 he was elevated to the see of Glasgow. With discretion, broad-heartedness, yet at the same time by firm adherence to principle, he governed that most difficult of sees for seventeen years with very considerable success. In 1620 we have an account of the way in which he acted with the opposers of the Perth articles. A presbyterian minister named Livingstone, then a student at Glasgow university, tells the story. With several others he desired to approach the holy table, when the archbishop, "coming to celebrate the communion, urged all the people to fall down and kneel. Some did so: we sat still. He came to us, commanding us to kneel, or to depart. Somewhat I spake to him, but doe not perfectly remember what I said. It was to this purpose, that there was no warrant for kneeling, and for want of it we ought not to be excommunicated from the table of the Lord. He caused some of the people about us to rise that we might remove, which we did." The conduct of this youth, in his own opinion "of a ripe age," towards the venerable archbishop in his own cathedral may show the sort of people that had to be dealt with. Yet he ably and carefully carried on the work of the church. The state of the university took up a great deal of the care of the archbishop. The principal, an eminent and learned man, Robert Boyd, had rather encouraged the students in their "divisive courses." He refused subscription, though his cousin, the bishop of Argyll, told him that it was "No fitt time to mentain any separation in the true Christian church, and conform yourself as is fitting." His resignation took effect in 1621, and Cameron, one of the more moderate and most learned of divines, took his place. But Cameron could not remain in such an atmosphere of strife. This "eminent theologian" returned to France. His works and life in a folio volume, now rare and forgotten, show his power and the amount of his labour. But the archbishop did not despair. Eventually Boyd agreed to sign the

articles, and did so. The paper is preserved by Wodrow, who can scarcely find any apology. But Boyd was a man of peace, a true follower of Him who when "He suffered threatened not." Unfortunately James VI. had taken an intense dislike to Boyd, and, after all, the archbishop's efforts came to nothing. Yet not altogether so, for the submission Boyd made had a great effect on others inclined overmuch to puritanic ideas and ways.

In appearance Law was "grave and venerable." One writer tells of the mass of pure white hair which covered his head and hung about his neck. He was "a man who wearies not at any travels that may tend to the king's service." Happily he did not live to see that extraordinary gathering—the Glasgow assembly of 1638—which assembled in that cathedral he had preserved, for the purpose of excommunicating and reviling his order. That gathering, says the presbyterian Baillie, "might learn modesty and manners from Turks or pagans," for "our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, make such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they used the like behaviour in my chamber, I would not be content until they were thrust down stairs." Such were the scenes at the overthrow (as it seemed) of the church. Many of Law's letters have been preserved and printed. He left some MSS. of commentaries on holy scripture, and these "give a good specimen of his knowledge both in the fathers and in the history of the church." Law lived to a good old age. He died at Glasgow in 1632, and was interred in the sanctuary of the cathedral, where his tomb may still be seen, placed against the east wall, to the south of where the high altar had stood. The slab which forms the top of the projection is said by tradition to have been one of the altar slabs before the reformation. This is possible. Monteith's translation of the inscription says :—

"Archbishop Law, here in a homely dress,
Was truly more than what words can express:
Witness his acts at Orkney: and beside
His grand memoirs, left on the banks of Clyde;
The college rents, the schools, the hospitals,
The leaden covert 'bove the church's walls,
Of this great man such monuments fair be,
As will forbid his noble name to die;
A good and spotless age did him attend,
Worthy a prelate to his blessed end."

One of his sons, the Rev. Thomas Law, became parson of Inchinnan, being ordained by his father about 1620. In 1635 he contributed towards erection of the university library, and in 1648 was "deposed" for malignancy. He died in 1649. His son Robert, minister of New Kilpatrick, was the author of "Law's Memorials," a record of Scottish history 1638-1687.

David Lindsay,

Parson of Leith and Bishop of Ross.

AN ecclesiastic who amid the tumults of the reign of James VI. was regarded as "wise and temperate," and "universally beloved," must have been a man of remarkable powers.

Such was David Lindsay. But to us Scottish churchmen he is interesting in a higher degree. He formed one of the links connecting the older succession with that restored in the persons of Spottiswoode and his brethren. Lindsay was a duly ordained priest, and a duly consecrated bishop. A scion of the ancient family of Edzell, and, as some think, a nephew of the ninth earl of Crawford, he graduated at the university of St. Andrews. Ordained before 1559, he was appointed parson of Leith in July, 1560, by the committee of parliament. This benefice he retained for the long period of fifty-three years. Several times moderator of the earlier general assemblies, he was also a member of the privy council of Scotland. In 1589 he accompanied king James to Norway, and officiated at his marriage with the princess Anne of Denmark—"a princess," he says, "both godlie and beautiful." On this occasion he lent the king a considerable sum of money. He it was who baptized king Charles I. Taking a moderate and comprehensive view of church matters, he opposed, though calmly and quietly, the attempts of Melville and his party to reduce Scotland to presbyterianism. As early as 1576 we find him arguing in favour of episcopacy. Before 1597 he appears to have separated somewhat from the puritan party. In fact, on one occasion he was gravely censured by them. He was nominated bishop of Ross about 1600, a preferment which he held till his death, in conjunction with Leith and his royal chaplaincy. Lindsay was one of the two clergy who, disregarding the censures of the presbyterian party, at the royal command prayed for the unfortunate queen Mary before her death. On king James's accession to the English throne, Lindsay accompanied

him to London, and was one of the commissioners for the union of the kingdoms. He was duly consecrated bishop of Ross in his own church of Leith, on St. Matthias' day, 1611. He died at Leith in 1613, and was buried there "by his own directions, as desiring to rest with that people on whom he had taken great pains during his life."

When in Norway, Lindsay appears to have observed with satisfaction the order and ritual of the Scandinavian church. He writes thence trusting that "the sight of this countrie sall be profitable to his majestie and the kirk." On the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity, 1589, Lindsay preached before king James in the church of St. Mary, Tonsberg. His text was from the twenty-third psalm. How faithfully he served at Leith may be told in the words of one of the presbyterian historians of that ancient town. The registers of Leith exist from 1588, and "by a careful perusal we see the almost gradual change from presbyterian church government towards episcopacy, with even an inclination to the older form of papacy." The discipline was very strict, and old forms kept up to some extent. Lindsay had the honour of being father-in-law to archbishop Spottiswoode, he having married Lindsay's daughter. As archbishop of Glasgow, Spottiswoode assisted the primate at the consecration of Lindsay —a touching ceremony indeed—the completion of many prayerful hopes. The archbishop describes Lindsay as a man "of a peaceable nature, and greatly favoured by the king, to whom he performed divers good services, especially in the troubles he had with the church—a man universally beloved and well esteemed by all wise men." A presbyterian opinion may be added: "He was distinguished above many of his brethren by his prudence, piety, and good sense." His appreciation of the church of England may be gathered from the fact that his son David held a living in the diocese of London, at Southwark. The only charge ever brought against him by the presbyterian party was that he loved "companie," referring, possibly, to that cheerful, kindly, and temperate behaviour which recommended him to the royal family. Amid his many vocations he found time to compose a religious work, whose quaint title may interest some of our readers. The volume is of the very rarest, being "imprinted at St. Andrews by Edward Raban, printer to the university, 1622." It is a quarto called "The Heavenly Chariot laid open for trans-

planting the new-born babes of God, from Time infected with Sin, toward that Eternity in which dwelleth Righteousness, made up of the rare pieces of that purest Gold which is not to be found but in that richest treasury of Holy Scripture."

The principle of church order and discipline, so anxiously cherished by Lindsay and Spottiswoode, afterwards bore ample fruit. We must not forget that sir John Spottiswoode of Dairsie, father of the young and gallant sufferer with Montrose, and also sir Robert Spottiswoode, president of the court of session—"a man admirable for his knowledge of things divine and humane," and who also suffered for the royal cause—were grandsons of the good bishop of Ross. His church principles were more completely developed and applied by his cousin and namesake, David Lindsay, the learned and orthodox bishop of Brechin and Edinburgh, the historian of the assembly, and the defender of the articles, of Perth.

The Four Boyds.

(1.) James, Archbishop of Glasgow.

(2.) Andrew, Bishop of Argyll.

(3.) Robert, Principal of Glasgow University.

(4.) Zachary, Rector of Glasgow University.

THE system introduced into the Scottish church by the agreement of Leith in 1572 "is remarkable," says Dr. Grub, "for its general resemblance to the external polity of the church as it existed before the reformation in Scotland, and as it was at that time sanctioned by law in England. It was expressly required that bishops should be consecrated, and in admission of ministers and readers it was probably intended that forms of ordination analagous to those previously observed in making priests and deacons should be used." The continuance and success of these wise measures were for a time marred by two persons, Andrew Melville and Theodore Beza, both men of learning, but rather in classical than Christian antiquity. The most famous of the prelates chosen in virtue of the agreement of Leith was JAMES BOYD, appointed to the archbishopric of Glasgow in 1573. His consecration was committed to the bishops of Dunkeld, Orkney, and the Isles, and the superintendent of Lothian. Putting the latter aside, Spottiswoode being only in priest's orders (received from Cranmer), it is certain that Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, had been consecrated to that diocese before 1560. Supposing the other two named were merely titulars, Boyd's consecration was probably valid, though not canonical.

In early life Boyd, who had been educated at Glasgow and in France, had fought for queen Mary at Langside. He was a man of "religious, useful, and hospitable life," of assured position, and sufficient learning. The choice was a happy one. But scarcely had he been seated in his episcopal chair when the attack on the ancient church government was begun by Melville,

to whom Boyd had shown much kindness. It ended in the death of the archbishop. Summoned before the general assembly in 1578, Boyd gave in a written statement in which he declared that he understood "the name, office, and modest reverence borne to a bishop to be lawful and allowable by the scriptures of God"; but, after much contention, he yielded to the rudeness of Melville and his followers. In his last illness, which was brought on by the treatment he received, he professed his sorrow for having yielded to the wishes of the assembly. Spottiswoode describes him as a "wise, learned, and religious prelate, and worthy to have lived in better times than he fell into." He bequeathed a number of books to the library of Glasgow university. A list has been preserved, and from it the tenor of the archbishop's mind may be seen. The list includes works of Irenæus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Basil, Clement, Hilary, Origen, Cyprian, and Tertullian; volumes also of councils and ecclesiastical rites. The archbishop lies buried in Glasgow cathedral.

Andrew Boyd, a relative of the archbishop, was in 1613 appointed bishop of Argyll. A man of great gentleness and humility, he was active in promoting every good work in his diocese, and union amongst his brethren. Burnett, no great friend to the Scotch prelates of the age, gives a very high character to the bishop of Argyll. He tells us that "he found his diocese overrun with ignorance and barbarity, so that in many places the name of Christ was not known; but he went about that apostolical work of planting the gospel with a particular industry and almost with equal success. He got churches and schools to be raised and endowed everywhere, and lived to see a great blessing on his endeavours; so that he is not so much as named in that country to this day but with a particular veneration, even by those who are no otherwise equitable to that order. The only answer that our angry people in Scotland used to make, when they were pressed with such instances, was that there were too few of them; but some of the severest of them have owned to me that, if there were many such bishops, they would all be episcopal." Bishop Boyd died in 1636, and was thus spared the storm which soon after fell on the church. One of his sons was archdeacon of Argyll, and another had the honour of

"excommunication" for joining the noble Montrose. The bishop was a poet; a Latin poem, addressed to his cousin, Robert Boyd of Trochrig, has been preserved. Arthur Johnston has preserved his memory in an epigram, in which he refers to his "fatherly care" of his charge.

Boyd of Trochrig, the third of our series, was a son of the archbishop. He was principal of Glasgow university, and for a short time of Edinburgh also. He left two works, long admired—the one a piece of Latin poetry, entitled, "Hecatombe Christiana," a most devout and beautiful composition. It is dedicated to the bishop of Argyll. The other work is a Latin commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians—a huge folio of 1300 pages. This work, learned indeed, and now rather rare, is scarcely "suited for the table of a modern divine." My copy bears the inscription—"Mr. Androw Monro aught this book." Androw was parson of Thurso, and ejected for refusing the test in 1681. Trochrig long favoured the presbyterian party; but chiefly through the instrumentality of archbishop Law of Glasgow his doubts were removed. These had been not so much in reference to episcopacy as to the articles of Perth. The letter of submission has been preserved. Trochrig had, however, lived a good deal abroad, and so did not feel the "heat" of the Melvillian party so much. He had more Christian charity and common sense than to think all bishops wicked and all presbyterianism pure. One writer tells us that Trochrig not merely premeditated but wrote out the prayers he used in public. He died in January, 1627.

The famous Zachary Boyd, another cousin, was the intimate and trusted friend of archbishop Law—one of the ablest prelates the Scottish church has ever had. He frequently helped to solve the scruples of his friend Trochrig and those of other tender consciences. His poems, "The Last Battle of the Soul in Death," and "The Flowers of Zion," were long esteemed by the devout. They contain some passages of considerable power. In 1628 Zachary was "appointed to the Barony kirk of Glasgow by James, archbishop of Glasgow." He is said to have been "conspicuous for his attachment to episcopacy," and we are told that his "feelings of loyalty and devotion to his sovereign were very strong." In 1633, when Charles the first came to Scotland to be crowned,

Zachary happened to meet his majesty after the coronation in the porch of Holyrood, when he addressed the king in a Latin oration full of the most loyal and laudatory sentiments. In 1634 he was rector of Glasgow university. For a considerable time he refused to sign the solemn league and covenant, though at last, like many others, he gave way. When Cromwell visited Glasgow in 1650, Boyd had the courage to remain, "and in preaching before the protector he bearded him and his soldiers to their very faces." An officer asked leave to "pistol the scoundrel." "No, no," said Cromwell, "we will manage him another way." He invited Boyd to dinner, and (as on other occasions) silenced and astonished the preacher by the extraordinary fervour of his evening devotions, which in this case he is said to have continued *till three o'clock in the morning*. Zachary died in 1653, having been a great benefactor to the university, both by bequeathing his MSS. and library to it, and by a special bequest of £20,000 Scots, a very large sum in those days. The lines he once addressed to king Charles are now as true as ever:—

> "This life, O prince, is like a raging sea,
> Where froathy mounts are heaved up on hie;
> Our painted joy, like blinks that are full warme,
> Are, like rain-bowes, forerunners of a storme."

Alexander Seton,

Chancellor of Scotland, and Lord President of the Court of Session.

JOHN RIDDELL, the famous peerage lawyer, who knew more family secrets than any man of his day, and could in a moment detect a flaw in a pedigree, says of the family of Seton, that it "would seem now to be the noblest in Scotland"; at anyrate, no Scottish family has been truer to the throne and the faith. Probably many of my readers have seen engravings of a famous picture representing lord Seton, "the truest friend" of Queen Mary, along with his five sons. "A. S."—Alexander Seton—appears in this picture to the left of the principal figure. The father's arms rest on the son's shoulder—a boy of about 14.

Alexander Seton, afterwards chancellor of Scotland, was born in 1555. Queen Mary herself stood his sponsor, and as "ane godbairne gift" gave him the lands and abbey of Pluscardine. The boy was sent to Rome and educated there. Before he was sixteen he "declaimed ane learned oratione of his own composing on the ascension before pope Gregory XIII. with great applause." Intended for the church, but the troubles in Scotland seeming to prevent his promotion, on returning to his native country he abandoned his ecclesiastical pursuits, and betook himself to the study of the civil and canon law. In 1577 he was called to the bar, and from that time till his death occupied various important legal positions. He was created lord Urquhart in 1588, and soon became lord president of the court of session. He joined the reforming party with evident reluctance, ever continuing a strong supporter of the measures of restoration which king James brought forward to lift up ecclesiastical matters into greater decency and order. The extreme party seemed for a time to have the victory, but Edinburgh had to accept Seton as lord provost for ten years (1598-1608). The young king was for a time under his charge. When James began the restoration of church order, Seton gave every assistance to his prince. But his

views did not prevent him from seeing the weakness of some who were appointed bishops. His fairness as a judge was well illustrated in the case of Bruce, who had been deprived of his stipend. Although the king appeared personally in court and pleaded for sentence, Seton and others of the judges were firm. The king lost his case, and left the court like many another suitor—"raging marvellously."

In 1604 Seton, now lord Fyvie, was appointed chancellor of the realm, in which office he proved himself "fully able, by his wisdom and learning, to support the honour and dignity of Scotland." Arriving at Edinburgh on his promotion, he was "convoyed with manie people of all rankes." When, in 1606, at Linlithgow assembly, it was sought to restore a real episcopacy, the lord chancellor did the church good service. Writing to the king, he expresses his "goodwill to sett forward your hienes' maist worthie, wyse, and royall dessigne in restitution of the estaitt of bischioppis." When Christmas came in the same year it was "kept with great solemnity by the chancellor, the earl of Dunbar, and others in Edinburgh, and by Lindsay, bishop of Ross, in Leith." How this had been done may be gathered from Calderwood's groan:—"The godlie perceaved what was to be looked for afterwards by the bishops enstalled." In 1611, when the episcopal consecrations were taking place in Scotland, the archbishop of St. Andrews refers particularly "to the advice and concurrence of my lord president, who accompanies me in your majestie's service very lovingly and forwardly." It had been feared that the consecration ceremonies would offend some weak brethren, but when the time came the service was found by "the beholders" to be "wise, holy, and grave." It was countenanced "be the lord president, and many other lords of secret council whome he drew together for authorizing that solemnity." In 1615 Seton was appointed commissioner for receiving the homage of the two archbishops, which they made on their knees, "holding up their hands," while he was "sitting under a cannobie [canopy] of velvet in the royal chappelle." When the articles of Perth were sanctioned by parliament and the holy eucharist ministered at Easter following in the "great kirk" of Edinburgh, Seton gave a ready example of order and reverence—he with other peers receiving the holy sacrament kneeling. He was now earl of Dunfermline, and went so far (horrifying thereby the weak brethren at Dunfermline) as to have "a crucifix payntit upon his dask in the said kirk." Forrester,

the parson of Dunfermline, had winked at this enormity, and when the matter was "dealt with," sent "ane letter offering excuis for his absence in respect of sickness." He was, however, suspended. The chancellor's devotion may also be illustrated from the inscription over the door of his house in Elgin:—"A.S. Jesus renue a right spirit within, O God." The measure of success which the articles of Perth had in Edinburgh was greatly owing to Seton's care: when these were being approved by the lords of session, he inquired what they resolved to do. The lords replied, to obey. He then gently counselled the bishops present "to take orders with these things which are more spirituall, and not trouble the council with them." The advocates and clerks made similar declarations of readiness to conform, after which Seton assured them that he himself would follow the same course, and then "dismissed them with a gentle and general admonition." He died in 1622, "with the regret of all who knew him, and with the love of his countrie." Three days after, his body, having been embalmed, was removed to Dalgety, his seat in Fife, to be buried in the church there. A full and curious account of the funeral, with its official and heraldic display, has been preserved. All the honours, including mace covered with crape, the great seal, his parliament robe, his sword and earl's coronet, were carried in procession. The whole achievement of arms painted on "black taffety" was carried by the writer's ancestor, James Seton of Touch Seton, the oldest cadet of the family. When the coffin had been placed in the church, archbishop Spottiswoode conducted the funeral service, and delivered an "excellent sermon." The coffin, with the remains, was then carried to the burial-place in the aisle of the church; "thereafter all the people craved at God a happy resurrection of his soule, with sound of trumpets and great regrate of his loss." The chancellor's widow, during "covenanting times," came under the displeasure of the kirk-session for having placed "idolatrous and superstitious images in the glass windows of Dalgety church." But in the changed times of to-day the kirk-sessions of many parishes hasten the adornment of window, chancel, and niche!

In the recently published "Narrative of Scottish [Roman] Catholics," claim is made that Seton always remained a Romanist at heart. We can read no man's heart. In his life he furthered the best interests of the church of Scotland, attended her most solemn offices, and communicated at her most solemn celebrations

of the eucharist. Calderwood perhaps hits the truth when he says that, "howsoever he was popishly disposed in his religion, yet he conceived many abuses and corruptions in the kirk of Rome." In a letter written shortly before his death he endorses this—"Mediocritie contented me ever, and sua shall still be God his grace"—the result doubtless of an able and well-balanced mind, of an honourable and devout life. "The ruined church of Dalgety (where Seton lies) still forms a striking feature on the southern shore of Fife. It stands so close to the water's edge that the refrain of the waves must have blended in days of yore with the choral service of the sanctuary."

William Cowper,

Bishop of Galloway.

NO Scottish divine of the reign of James VI. was held in higher esteem than bishop Cowper. Not merely was he a great preacher, chosen to officiate on the most solemn and important occasions, and a voluminous writer, but a great scholar and a true churchman.

Few of our readers, I daresay, have even handled the great folio, "London, imprinted for John Budge, and are to be sold by his shop in Paule's Churchyard, at the signe of ye greene Dragon, 1623," which contains the complete works of our bishop. It is, however, to the student a delightful study; and to the Scottish churchman solid evidence of thorough work done for "Christ and the church" in the early days of the seventeenth century. The beautiful old folio contains nearly 1200 pages of closely printed matter—life, treatises, sermons, dialogues, commentaries, and other pieces. These have dedications to different members of good old Scottish families. Apparently then, episcopacy was no "exotic." Bishop Cowper's life has been written by himself. He was born at Edinburgh in 1566, had his early education there and at Dunbar, and graduated at St. Andrews "at the age of sixteen years." He lived afterwards some time in England, and entered on the pastoral charge at Bothkennar, in Stirlingshire in 1586. In 1592 he removed to Perth. His life there may be told in the words of a presbyterian divine of that city:—"He continued in the ministerial office at Perth about nineteen years, preaching five times in the week, labouring both publicly and privately to suppress all manner of vice, and to turn souls to his Lord and Redeemer." The same writer adds, speaking of the bishop's works:—"It is but a small part of their praise to say that they abound with examples of the best eloquence." Dr. M'Crie, the well-known author of the "Life of John Knox," adds—speaking of bishop Cowper's sermons—"They are superior

to any sermons of the age." This is great praise from such a source. The bishop says himself of his work at Perth:—"My witnesse is in heaven, that the love of Jesus and His people made continuall preaching my pleasure, and I had no such joy, as in doing His worke, and in outward things, what care I had to see the house of God there honoured, the welfare of that people every way, these are monuments standing to witnesse for me, when I am dead." He was not merely a good preacher, but a zealous churchman.

In 1615, having been duly consecrated bishop of Galloway, he ordered the proper observance of Easter day and low Sunday at Perth, by celebrations of the holy communion. In the autumn of that year, the bishops of Dunkeld and Orkney, by commission from the archbishop of St. Andrews, went to Perth and intimated that, "by occasion of the affairs of his office of bishopric" he "might not serve the cure of ministrie any longer at this burgh." His flock, we are told, "were grieved at their hearts," and kept the cure open, hoping to have him back again. This could not be. His successor was the Rev. John Guthrie, subsequently bishop of Moray. The famous "five articles" were adopted at Perth in 1618, bishop Cowper preaching one of the sermons urging conformity. His text was Rom. xiv. 19; and one of the last acts of his life was to pen a short treatise defending the articles. On the other hand, the bishop appears to have been one of the first of the *post*-reformation clergy who repelled attacks on the church of Scotland by the historical method. This he does in his "Seven Days' Conference between a Catholicke Christian, and a Catholicke Roman." The following may give an idea of his argument:—"The Romane church in her best estate was never more but a member of the catholicke church; and there is no more reason to call the Romane church the catholicke church, than to say that Rome is all Italy, or Paris is all France." He adds: "We of this church of Scotland had never our faith from the church of Rome; yea, that in her best estate shee was no more but a sister church unto us." Cowper proved himself as true as a bishop as he had been a pastor; "as to the matter itself [the episcopal order] unfainedly I followed my light; I esteem it a lawful, ancient, and necessary government; I see not, nor have not read of any church that wanted it before our time." As to his own election, he adds,

"God knows this was done without my knowledge or seeking, directly or indirectly." He soon exhausted himself with labours on behalf of the church, and so, before his time, found himself in January, 1619, failing in health. His decay was increased not merely by his determination to finish his "Commentary on the Revelation." but also, sad to say, by "the griefe he received for the backewardnesse of unruly spirits in giving obedience to the articles" (of Perth).

The bishop's death was in keeping with his holy life. His memory and senses remained perfect till almost the last. All who visited him on his deathbed rejoiced at his peaceful state. He joined with his visitors "in most holy and divine conferences, expressing a great willingness of exchanging this life, with that better." At last, he "rendered his soule to God in a most quiet and peaceable manner," on 15th February, 1619, in the fifty-third year of his age. He lies buried in the Greyfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh.

Bishop Cowper was not merely "a man of great worth," but a prelate imbued with the truest love to God, for souls, and for the old Scottish church. It is to be feared that such writings as his, though brimming over with love to God, and love for men's souls, will not be read by many in this "busy age," when men are "ever hasting to their end." Yet there are few writings which, if carefully studied, would do greater service in dispelling the clouds of ignorance which again and again threaten to burst in levelling storm upon that church which bishop Cowper loved to call, "Thine own spouse, and my mother."

Peter Blakburne,

Bishop of Aberdeen.

THIS prelate, famous in the reign of James VI. for his varied learning and business qualities, appears to have been a native of the east of Scotland—at least we are told he came from St. Andrews to Glasgow to be regent in the university of that city in 1574. He was then called "a guid man." Strange to say, Wodrow, the historian of the covenanters, calls him "a judicious and famous divine," adding that he was of "great sufficiency and learning." He remained in Glasgow till 1582, during which time he is designed professor of physics and astronomy. His belief in the infallibility of the Stagyrite was so great that his axiom is said to have been "*Absurdum est dicere Aristotelem errasse.*" In 1582 he was appointed one of the clergy of St. Nicholas church, Aberdeen. At that time David Cunninghame (who was in priest's orders before the reformation) administered the affairs of the diocese. I have some old documents in which he designs himself "David miseratione Divina Aberdonensis episcopus." Just before leaving Glasgow, Blakburne made a present to the university of several valuable books, and a "cart stentit upon buirdes"—probably an astronomical diagram. At first he did not get on quite smoothly with Cunninghame, for in the earlier part of his ministry he rather adhered to the puritan party in the church of Scotland. But like many others he by-and-by began to see the turbulent nature of those who claimed irresponsible power, and, from the expressions in Wodrow's biography, seems to have been drawn to the church party by the autocratic proceedings of the ministers in the south, particularly at Edinburgh. Some of these at that time appear to have assumed the position of puritan popes, not omitting the declaration of infallibility. The northern clergy gradually became more conservative, and saw the absolute necessity of the controlling power of episcopacy.

One of the chief events in which Blakburne was concerned

was the munificent foundation of Marischal college in 1593. He is one of the witnesses to the charter of election by George, earl-marischal. His previous position at Glasgow fitted him to advise on such an occasion. His colleague Howie was appointed first principal of the new foundation. Meantime the earl deposited in Blakburne's hands all "old wreits, evidents and chartouris" belonging to the college, and which he delivered to Howie in 1595. Cunninghame died in 1600. Immediately thereafter Blakburne was nominated by the king to the see of Aberdeen. He held the bishopric in conjunction with the city charge, and we are expressly told that from the former he drew no income. His consecration took place in the cathedral of Brechin, in April 1611. Alexander Forbes, bishop-elect of Caithness, was consecrated along with him. He succeeded Blakburne in the diocese of Aberdeen. The consecrating prelates were the archbishop of St. Andrews, assisted by the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin. For some time after the erection of Marischal college, Blakburne acted as one of the regents; and, in June 1594, was made dean of faculty there. He was a diligent attendant of all church meetings, and, even before his appointment to the see of Aberdeen, was employed in a large number of ecclesiastical commissions. Blakburne is reported to have been "zealous for episcopacy," but, like the saintly Leighton, was anxious to conciliate the presbyterian element in the church. Like the great archbishop of Glasgow, he too had small success in that enterprise. Against the Roman party he is said to have written a "treatise." It appears doubtful, however, whether this was ever printed. The worthy bishop married Isabel, sister of the famous Arthur Johnston, illustrious as the great Latin poet of his time, and the friend and correspondent of Laud, to whom he dedicated the specimen of his Latin psalms. Johnson was a son of Marischal college. I possess a copy (I believe unique) of a thesis by Johnson printed at Heidelberg in 1601. It bears on the title-page, probably in the author's own writing, "Dno Blacburno"—evidently a presentation from the young scholar to the bishop.

In 1606, the Scotch bishops, now restored (though not yet canonically consecrated) rode in state to parliament at Edinburgh. Blakburne was in his place, but Calderwood tells us that he "thought it not becoming the simplicity of a minister to ride that way in pomp, therefor he went on foot to the parliament house." This

appears to have offended the other prelates. Blakburne no doubt was right, and the great desire of some of the prelates for civil honours and worldly display helped to undermine the restoration of the church which they were wishful to see. Indeed Wodrow, who often shows a sort of temporary insanity when a bishop comes to be discussed, adds that Blakburne's "letters savour more of a seriouse, earnest concern about what was his proper work than most of the bishops in this period." He was unquestionably a very learned and able divine, and perhaps the first of that line of illustrious "doctors of Aberdeen," who soon after his death made the city so famous, and, as the present presbyterian incumbent of St. Nicholas church remarks, gave "the fairest promise of a native school of theology that Scotland has ever seen—nipped as with a killing frost by the covenanters of 1640."

Bishop Blakburne's dwelling in Aberdeen was the house in the Guestrow now the Victoria lodging-house—a building still containing much of artistic interest and possessing many historical associations. He took possession of it just about the time of his consecration, and in the oldest portion of it is still to be seen what is believed to have been the bishop's private oratory. It seems to have been handsomely fitted up—a carved ceiling of boards yet remains which shows traces of great beauty of workmanship. This is divided into various compartments, which contain different scriptural subjects. Though much decayed, "it is still possible to make out that one of the subjects had been the ascension of our Lord; while in a smaller intermediate space is a group of emblems of the passion—or rather of the five wounds—the pierced heart, the nail-marked hands and feet, the whole being surrounded by the crown of thorns." On one side appears the figure of an angel holding a cross, the proportions of which very much resemble the cross on the title-pages of some of the earlier editions of the book of common order—the prayer book of the church of Scotland before 1637. A drawing of the ceiling may be seen in one of the recently published volumes of the Aberdeen ecclesiological society.

Bishop Blakburne died after a long illness on June 14th, and was buried in St. Nicholas' church, Aberdeen, on June 16th, 1616. "His chief desire seems to have been to discharge with efficiency and quietness his proper ecclesiastical duties at home." Can any bishop or priest have a better epitaph?

The Strachans of St. Martin's.

TOO many members of the church still keep up the delusion that the reformation of Scotland—accomplished, indeed, by a few determined men—had only about half a dozen of the priests previously ordained to minister still in different parishes. This is a grave error. Probably nearly three hundred of the old clergy continued either in their former parishes or elsewhere to officiate in divine things and offices. The influence of these men, strictly conservative, is more than once referred to by Calderwood and other historians. Those "readers who had been priests before," those canons of St. Andrews, those "indulged" parochial clergy, were looked upon ofttimes with suspicion by the precursors of Melville, for they always showed themselves ready to co-operate with the king in promoting some degree of order in the ecclesiastical world of Scotland. Not many of our readers are, I daresay, aware that in one parish in the heart of Scotland one family continued almost uninterruptedly to hold the office ecclesiastical from the reformation of 1560 to the revolution of 1689—all true churchmen, as far as the evil times, which so often came round, would permit. Few families, if we except those of Douglas and Forbes, have shown greater attachment to the "church of their fathers" than the family of Strachan of Thornton in Kincardineshire. Bishops (two of the diocese of Brechin), canons, presbyters, have sprung in unusual numbers from this ancient family. Nor were the lay members of it less devout. Even in the cold age of the restoration their affectionate piety was displayed in the erection of a magnificent monument of beautiful freestone, coloured with vermilion and gold, covered with emblematic and heraldic devices, in their church of Marykirk; and their devotion was shown in the service of the baronet of Thornton himself in the ranks of the ministry, he becoming the parson of Keith. Faithful to his family traditions, sir James Strachan was ejected at the revolution for loyalty, and his library and effects tossed into the street. The kirk authorities, however, seem to have repented of their behaviour later on, as they gathered in a number of

the ejected volumes, and these are still preserved. They show the presbyter-baronet to have been a gentleman of learning and culture.

But to return. Readers of John Knox's racy and amusing "History" will remember the tragic story of the burning of the abbey of Scone, where so many Scottish kings had been crowned and buried, and which was the Westminster abbey of Scotland. The account of the denunciation of the old lady who appeared on the scene is, like many other word-pictures of Knox, a fine piece of writing.

Not very far from Scone lies the country parish of St. Martin's. Anciently it had belonged to the abbey of Holyrood. Hither one of the conventual brethren of Scone betook himself after the flames of purging reformation had destroyed his old home. He became presbyter of the parish—the first, it is said, appointed after 1560. He was a son of sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton. Serving also the neighbouring church of Cambusmichael, an old grange house, formerly belonging to Holyrood, called the house of Inchmurray, furnished his dwelling. In the old library of Innerpeffray is a copy of Lactantius, printed in 1543, with his signature, and in gold embossing it bears the motto—"MEA · SPES · DEUS." There is another more valuable book there with the same signature. It is a black-letter copy of John Sleidan's "De statu religionis et reipublicæ Carolo quinto Cæsare, Commentarii." From their age and appearance, the old monk might have rescued these volumes from the burning abbey of Scone.

John Strachan, son of the quondam monk, succeeded his father. His name appears as minister of St. Martin's about 1600. As he acted as a member of the court of high commission we may suppose he was a supporter of the church party then rising into power. He performed other commissions for his sovereign, and was also "famous for his skill in physick." Thomas, son of this John Strachan, was a graduate of St. Andrews, and ordained in 1634, when the progress of the church seemed assured. In his youth he travelled abroad for three years with a young nobleman. His first charge was that of Dollar. In 1643 he was appointed "conjunct and successor" to his father at St. Martin's. Thomas Strachan died in 1671. He was succeeded by his brother Patrick, who was, we are told, "very famous for his learning." Being professor of philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, his learning led him to some conclusions which defending in theses gave offence to the

authorities there; but being well known to the archbishop of St. Andrews, he was by his means settled as a regent in the university of St. Andrews. In 1672 he was ordained. The method of procedure is interesting. The minute of presbytery, 10th October 1672, bears that—"This day a letter was received from my lord bishop of Dunkeld [the "wise, prudent, and exemplary" Henry Guthrie, author of the "Memoirs"] desyring the presbytery to enter Mr. Patrick Strachan upon his tryals, in order to his admissione to the functione of the holie ministrie at the kirke of St. Martin's—and withal desyring in regard the said Mr. Patrick had been a professor of phelosophie for some years, he micht have both exercise and addition in ane day, and be put to no further tryals." He married a lady of the family of Drummond, and left two sons. He died in 1676. After a few years Thomas Strachan, his nephew, succeeded to the benefice. He was ordained in 1683, being a graduate of St. Andrews, and was privileged to be a confessor for the church after its disestablishment. Refusing in 1689 to read the proclamation issued by William and Mary, he continued to pray for the "late king, and his happy restoration, and confusing to his enemies." Such loyalty then meant the loss of all things. The last Strachan of St. Martin's was accordingly deprived and dispossessed. The ousted incumbent retired for a time to the neighbourhood of Thornton, where the church feeling long continued very strong. Soon he fell into distressed circumstances, and died at Edinburgh in March 1722.

What hopes and fears, gleams of joy, and depths of bitter disappointment a history like that of the Strachans of St. Martin's presents! It is, however, but an epitome of the church history of Scotland for the period from 1560-1689. The presbyters whose history I have briefly sketched were like many others of the Scotch clergy of that time, whose names are almost forgotten, if not despised, yet who by their quiet work for God and the church helped to preserve to us her best traditions, and her share in "evangelical truth and apostolical order."

George Home,

Earl of Dunbar.

ALTHOUGH the immediate effect of the reformation in Scotland was to banish to a great extent beauty from worship and art from ecclesiastical buildings, some art still remained, and, though forbidden to be displayed in the decoration of the houses of God, was suffered to decorate the resting places of the departed. Some very handsome—at least elaborate—monumental tombs were erected in the seventeenth century. Probably the most famous are those placed over the burial vaults of archbishop Sharp in the parish church of St. Andrews, of black and white marble; the Lauderdale monument in the old collegiate church of Haddington, still showing rich decoration in colour—chiefly vermilion; and lastly the monument to the earl of Dunbar, in the parish church of that town. The latter is probably the most beautiful of the three. It is a wonderful erection of variegated marbles twenty-six feet high and twelve broad. It will well repay a visit of inspection. Underneath a round arch kneels the earl robed in the mantle and decorated with the order of the garter; opposite is a prayer desk on which rests a book of devotion; the earl's hands are joined in prayer. Below is the sarcophagus. Two knights in armour stand at the sides, above them figures of Justice and Wisdom, with their proper emblems. Then higher up still are figures of Fame and Peace; above all, the escutcheons of arms. It is said that this monument, which appears by some unexplained means to have escaped the reformers of 1638 and the troops of Cromwell, was executed in Italy. It is now carefully railed in, and stands near the stair leading to the pulpit. Who, then, was lord Dunbar, and why was he held in honour? What does the church owe to him? A mighty debt indeed—a debt of gratitude. To him more than to any other do we owe the successful measures which culminated in the consecration of Spottiswoode and his brethren in 1610. Just in dealing with all, wise in council, striving for peace without compromising principle,

his fame must extend to all generations of Scottish churchmen. He was undoubtedly a remarkable man. By birth sir George Home, first designed of "Primrose-Knowe," was a member of one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient, families in the south of Scotland. Sprung from the old Saxon earls of Northumberland, the family of Home have ever held a high place in Scotland's councils. Introduced in very early life into the royal household, sir George showed himself at once to be "a young gentleman of breeding and parts." Soon brought into personal contact with king James VI., he was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber, master of the wardrobe, dubbed a knight, raised to the Scottish peerage, and eventually became the high treasurer of Scotland. His intimate friend archbishop Spottiswoode speaks of him as "a man of deep art, few words, and in his majesty's service no less faithful than fortunate. The most difficult affairs he compassed without any noise, and never returned when he was employed without the work performed that he was sent to do." If Dunbar excelled in any particular service, it was in the handling of church matters and questions which in his time proved of deep import to both king and people. A thorough churchman, most anxious to see order and decency re-established and supported in the sadly depressed and almost ruined church of Scotland, he showed himself always ready to help. The most eminent and some of the fiercest of the presbyterian party once and again acknowledged his "lordship" to be "weill and cairfully effectet to the kirk." They held him in great "estimatioune," and one of the Melvilles writes him referring to the "speciall good proofe" he had by long "experience of his goodness, wisdom, equitie, and friendship." He appears to have done his best in very trying circumstances, to act justly and fairly, and probably spoke truly when, having been sent from London to put some of the noisy and refractory ministers on trial, he stated that he "regrated the employment, and would be content to give a thousand pounds sterline to have the king satisfied." When Melville's wife died, through the means of Dunbar that banished divine was allowed by the king to revisit his home and arrange his private affairs.

But the chief point of interest to churchmen in the life of Dunbar was the hand he had in bringing about the consecration of Spottiswoode and his brethren, and so restoring an undoubted episcopal succession to Scotland. We are told that he "was the person on whom the king depended most of any others in

his desyn of setting up episcopacy in Scotland." Chiefly through him the parliament of 1606 agreed to the restoration of the temporalities of the bishoprics. In the same year a general assembly was held at Linlithgow, the earl of Dunbar being royal commissioner. The meeting was largely attended by both clergy and laity. It was at this meeting that "constant moderators" of presbyteries were appointed. In 1607 Dunbar "keeped Christmasse in Edinburgh with great solemnitie." In 1608, at another assembly, further steps were taken to ensure church order. The earl again held the royal commission. Referring to his services on these occasions, the titular archbishop of St. Andrews writes: "My lord of Dunbar hes employed himselff faithfully, easadlie, and fortunatlie." He smoothed away many difficulties, and by him, more than by any other, the "reparation of Zion" at this time was accomplished. Immediately after the assembly of 1608 he went up to court, accompanied by the titular archbishop of Glasgow and bishop of Galloway, to advise as to further steps in the direction of church order. Previous to this assembly, when Dunbar arrived with his commission, he brought the dean of Winchester and another English divine with him, to help in persuading the Scots to better uniformity. As a token of appreciation for many services the king was pleased to "dignifie him with the most noble order of the garter. He was accordingly installed in the royal chapel of St. George's, at Windsor, the 20th of May, 1609."

In the year 1610 further steps were taken for church order at the assembly of Glasgow. To this meeting clergy resorted from the most distant parts of the kingdom. The earl was again royal commissioner. Spottiswoode preached at the opening, and referred to the manner in which the reformation had been introduced into Scotland. "It was brought in by confusion," but now religion "must be maintained by order." The bishop of Orkney afterwards preached. He treated of the proof of the lawfulness of episcopacy on the three grounds of antiquity, universality, and perpetuity. The earl had another English divine ready, who treated of the same subject. Eleven articles were proposed for acceptance, all tending to the promotion of church order. These were agreed to by a large majority. Afterwards the bishop of the Isles and a number of the clergy thank the king for what had been accomplished, and add that they "cannot

forbeare to praise God for him [Dunbar] whom your majestie has trusted with this service amongst us." The way was now open for the consecration of the Scottish prelates. The story is well known. That solemn office was performed in the chapel of London house, on Sunday, 21st October, 1610, by the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester. Dunbar was undoubtedly present. He had gone up to court in the previous September. Some of our readers may know the touching entry made by the great scholar Isaac Casaubon, in his diary on that day. It probably expressed lord Dunbar's reflections as well as his own:—"This Lord's day, by God's blessing, was not ill spent. For I was invited to be present at the consecration of two bishops and an archbishop of Scotland. I witnessed that ceremony, and the imposition of hands, and the whole service. O God, how great was my delight. Do Thou, O Lord Jesus, preserve this church, and give to our puritans, who ridicule such things, a better mind." The latter sentence probably refers to a satirical poem on the consecrations by Melville. It is entitled "De tribus lupis Grampanis"—"of the three Grampian wolves." A month after Archbishop Bancroft died. Through Dunbar's influence Abbot is said to have been raised to the primacy. Probably the earl had deeply felt his services, in so readily accepting the commission to consecrate the Scottish bishops, and, moreover, Abbot had accompanied Dunbar to Scotland, when dean of Winchester, and in 1608 assisted in the promotion of church affairs.

Dunbar was now at the summit of his power, and one of his titles being lord Home of Berwick, "he purposed to celebrate St. George's day in Berwick, where he had already finished a sumptuous and glorious palace." The marriage of his second daughter to the duke of Suffolk was also at hand. Alas! death was also near. He fell into ill-health soon after the consecration, and, "growing daily worse and worse, death brought his life to a period at his lodgings at Whitehall, on the 21st of January, 1611." A rumour was spread that he had been poisoned. It may have been. But his work was done. It lay now with other hands to build. Events, of which the consecration was the cope-stone, kept him "so bussie that he left nothing undone to overthrow the discipline" of Geneva. Immediately after his death his body, "being embalmed and put into a coffin of lead,

was sent down to Scotland, and with great solemnity interred in the collegiate church of Dunbar," which had been founded in 1342 by his ancestor, Patrick, earl of March, for a dean, an archpriest, and eighteen canons. His countess was a granddaughter of cardinal Beaton, and by her he left two daughters, the eldest of whom became the mother of James, third earl of Home.

Robert Stewart,

Chantor of Orkney and Minister of Holm.

A Too common idea prevails that John Knox having spoken the word, the deliverance of the Scottish nation from the supposed thraldom of "the bischope of Rome, commonlie callit the paip," was not merely an accomplished fact, but, having been long wished for, was entirely accepted—that with a magic wand Knox transferred the whole of Scotland from popery to presbyterianism. Apart from the fact that Knox was *not* a presbyterian, if such a statement gives comfort to anybody nowadays, the idea is nonsense. The "auld black carle" whom "The Antiquary" dubs the "apostle of Scotland" had plenty "unfriends." His power extended very little beyond the Lothians and the west of Scotland. Many besides Wardlaw, parson of Balingry, declared in deed, if not in word, that they "wald not be redar to Jhon Knox nor any other in Scotland." One man is recorded to have gone much further, and to have uttered the awful words, "The divell knok out Johne Knox harnes" [brains]. He was promptly suppressed. But indeed little was done in the north, in the way of upbuilding, for long years after the time of "the apostle of Scotland." Deprived of such scanty means of grace as the later years of the Roman church provided for out-of-the-way places, and scarcely at all helped by the ministers of the "congregation," whole districts sunk into utter heathenism. All sorts of fearful crimes were rife. Even so late as 1610 the inhabitants of "the Lewis were strangers to the gospel, few under the age of forty having been baptized till that time." In many parishes the name of Christ was unknown. Till the great missionary efforts of bishop Knox, Argyll and the Isles were almost "unplanted." In 1608, as to Caithness and Ross, we are told that "in many of the kirks the holie communion was never celebrate." In the Orkney isles, however, matters were not quite so bad, though there is plenty of evidence to show what a deplorable state of morals existed at the reformation date. Bishop Bothwell appears to have actively

employed himself at different times journeying about and "settling ministers." A recent writer in Shetland remarks justly that the reformation in the northern isles was of a more "prelatic" type than elsewhere. And this is true. Most of the old clergy remained either as "ministers" or "readers." Bothwell, when "novation" of religion was intended, closed the cathedral and awaited the agreement. It was not indeed unanimous, but soon all appear to have become reconciled. He left the diocese under the charge of Gilbert Foulzie, whom he appointed archdeacon and prebendary of St. John. Foulzie had been ordained in the diocese of Aberdeen. He resided in Kirkwall, and left Birsay and Harray, the archdeacon's benefices, to the charge of "ane very zealous and honest man, Robert Stewart." He too was apparently appointed by Bothwell. We first hear of him 1567, and he continued to live, preach, and labour in Orkney till 1633. Sixty-six years of ministerial work! He was trusted and loved by all. Stewart remained at Birsay till the very end of the century. That he officiated at Harray also is certain, as a deed has been preserved executed by him at "Sanct Michaell's" kirk there. In 1599, after the brutal murder of Colville, the chantor of Orkney (his assassins tore out his quivering heart and drank his blood—much need of a *real* reformation surely), Stewart was appointed parson of Orphir. For some reason he did not stay long there, but removed to Hoy. That lonely, weird island must then have been weird indeed. The church but lately disused was probably the same, in part at least, in which Stewart officiated. His copy of Beza's "Confessio Christianæ Fidei," printed at London by Vantrollier in 1581, is now in my possession. Its price was sixteen shillings Scots. When Stewart was working at Hoy, Law became bishop of Orkney. When he visited his diocese he saw that unless the deplorable state of matters resulting from the oppression, misrule, immorality, and despotism of earl Patrick were remedied, hope for the church there was little. The clergy "who had any charge at all had yet so small maintenance that no honest man would undertake to serve" the churches. Law was eventually successful. His letter of appeal to his sovereign is one of the most touching appeals to be found anywhere. In 1610 the measures devised by the king and acquiesced in by the more moderate of the clergy were brought to a point by the acts of the assembly of Glasgow. "The restoration of episcopal government and the civil rights of the bishops" were there accomplished, and the consecrations naturally

followed. In promoting this desirable conclusion the northern dioceses gave good help. Both Caithness and Orkney were represented at Glasgow. Accompanying the bishop-elect of Orkney were "Robert Stewart, Messrs. Waterstoun, Hair, and Dischinton," men, all of them, respected and trusted. An equal number of ministers accompanied the bishop-elect of Caithness. Bishop Law preached before the assembly asserting the lawfulness of episcopacy from antiquity, universality, and perpetuity. Stewart on this occasion bought and took home a beautiful old book now also in my possession. It is a folio, still in its wooden boards, embossed leather cover, with brass bound corners and clasps. It formerly belonged to the distinguished Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, president of the court of session. The volume is the commentary of Jacobus Faber Stapulensis on the four gospels, printed at Cologne in 1541. Faber was a writer of the moderate Roman school and the friend of Erasmus. Though the volume bears Stewart's autograph and the date 1610, it contains something much more interesting: two Latin prayers, the one entitled, "Peccati Confessio," and the other "Invocatio," are engrossed on the fly-leaf in Stewart's neat hand. They are distinctly liturgical in form, and evidently taken from, if not copies of, ancient models. They end with the words "Pater noster qui es, &c."

When Law came to Orkney in 1614, bearing the king's commission, he had to engage with earl Patrick's son and other rebels who held possession of the castle of Kirkwall. Eventually they succumbed, being first "moved to desire ane minister to be sent in to them; quhich being granted, and tuo or thrie sermons, with effectual prayers, made for instructione and conversione of their minds and harts; as I directed be ane very zealous and honest man called Robert Stewart." As appears from Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials," Stewart assisted Law in writing depositions and evidence in this deplorable case, the conclusion of which led to events which freed Orkney for ever from the tyranny of the Stewart earls.

Soon after Robert Stewart was translated to the parish of Holm, near Kirkwall. In June 1627, under bishop Grahame, he had "neir two hundred or theirby" communicants, and was most anxious to have a school established. There he laboured till 1633. In his house he had "three firren beds, a presse, ane amrie, and a cupboard, all of fir." This was at Asquoy, which, it is believed, stood to the north-west of the present parish church. In it he lies buried, and

his tombstone is concealed beneath the pulpit. It tells the reader that there lies a man—pious and honest, Robert Stewart, minister of Holm and Paplay, who died in the month of February, 1633. In addition to the coat-of-arms of the family, the tombstone has on it the usual mortuary emblems. Unfortunately the portion of the stone telling the age has been broken off. Stewart had at least two sons, but I have not been able to trace his family. In a dark age he did good work for God. He was a firm upholder of order both in church and state. Happily he did not live to see the overturn of both at the great rebellion.

The Four Gordons.

(1.) John Gordon, Dean of Sarum.

(2.) John Gordon, Minister of Elgin.

(3.) James Gordon, Minister of Drumblade.

(4.) James Gordon, Parson of Banchory-Devenick.

JOHN GORDON, D.D., dean of Sarum in the reign of king James VI., was the eldest son of Alexander Gordon, titular archbishop of Athens and bishop of Galloway, and who was of the family of Huntly. He was one of the first who joined the reforming party, and one of the first who officiated in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh, according to the reformed ritual. It is believed that he was duly consecrated. Though he had commission "to plant ministers, exorters, and readers" in his diocese, he was looked on with suspicion by all parties—the one alleging that he "haunted the court too much," and queen Mary warning John Knox to beware of him. In 1567, when dying, he resigned the revenues of Galloway into the king's hands, and it was proposed that his son, the future dean, should succeed him in the diocese. Indeed a very remarkable document exists in which "in solemni conventu superintendium ministrorum totius regni Scotiæ" he appears duly elected. At this time he was studying theology in France, and was "weel seen in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriack, Greek and Latine tongues." But the arrangement proposed did not take effect. He tells us himself that in his youth he "was gentleman of three kings' chambers in France, to wit, Charles the ninth, Henry the third and fourth," "and there was assailed with many corruptions as well spiritual as temporal," yet he was by "his Lord and Saviour miraculously delivered from all the said dangers; and, being called home by king James to England, was ordained when fifty-eight years old." He became dean of Sarum in 1603-4, and was created D.D. as of Balliol college, Oxford, in 1605. He was the author of a number of works, mostly addressed to the king. Specially interested

in Scotland, several of these refer to conformity, which he appeared to think certain: one is entitled "England and Scotland's happiness in being reduced to unity of religion under King James," 1604; another, "The peace of the Communion of the Church of England," 1621. In 1606 he was employed by the king to seek compliance from the disobedient ministers who had been brought to London. He had different interviews with them, but all to no purpose. On Michaelmas day they were ordered to attend service in the chapel royal. "There they saw the king and queen offer at the altar, whereon were sett two books, two basins, two candlesticks." Gordon was a sound and orthodox divine. In his will he makes a long confession of faith, and refers to Christians being "baptized and spiritually regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, by the which we are made the adopted sons of God, and also our bodyes are nourished and fedd by participation and communion with the spiritual fleshe and blood of Christ, the which is in our bodyes a seed of immortality." He died in 1619, and was buried in Salisbury cathedral "before his seate in the quier." He left a legacy for the choristers, and "the tomes of the annales of Baronius" to the library of Salisbury. Louise, his only child, married sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun in 1613: she and her mother, with sir Robert, are buried in the mausoleum at Ogston, near Elgin.

John Gordon, D.D., minister of Elgin. He was an uncompromising churchman and royalist. Ordained before 1622, he was first minister of Kirkmichael and afterwards of Kinnedar. He was appointed to Elgin in 1633. In 1635 he received the degree of D.D. from King's college, Aberdeen, of which he was a graduate. His thesis then propounded is one of the rarest of Raban's prints. It shows the teaching of this "godly and well-learned" divine upon the subject of the church, "et reali præsentia in eucharistiæ sacramento." He takes as his motto the words of St. Cyprian, "Who has not the church for mother, has not God for father." Some commendatory lines by Wedderburn are prefixed. Gordon states that both we and the Roman church agree as to the fact of the real presence, but differ as to the mode. He concludes his thesis in words of devout and humble acknowledgment of God as true, as the truth, and life and truth, who having Himself kept silence as to the mode of the presence, seems to desire us to do the same, and not to search into what He has not revealed.

Gordon was deposed by the presbyterians in 1639, having refused to sign the covenant. He had declined to intimate from the pulpit of Elgin the pretended excommunication of bishop Guthrie. He did not regard this sentence; he preached afterwards, and so by-and-by was excommunicated. Having sold "his books and plenishing," he removed to England. He was still alive in 1648.

James Gordon, minister of Drumblade, a parish in the north of Aberdeenshire. He appears to have been a native of Elgin or its neighbourhood. He had only to perform one specially public act, but that was one which no doubt he frequently spoke of afterwards. He was chosen to preach the sermon at the consecration of the bishops in the abbey church of Holyrood in May, 1662. This sermon attracted considerable notice, and writers refer to Gordon as having then "acted his *pairt* very learnedly." The text he chose was 2 Cor. iv. 5: "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake"—surely in every way suitable, more especially as he took occasion to warn the prelates of the mistakes which had caused the overthrow of the church in 1638, beseeching them to act humbly, kindly, and to beware of overmuch meddling in politics. On the occasion of these consecrations, the primate is noted to have "ordered the business very handsomlie and decentlie." Calderwood, Kirkton, and others are generally ready with signs and "woes" when prelacy appeared flourishing: strange meteors are witnessed, fearful monsters are born. But the other side had also tales of the same sort. In 1662, when the re-establishment of the church took place, Nicoll notes in his diary that year "to have been in all the parts of it wondrous blessed; in the spring, in the summer time, and harvest producing multitudes of corn of all sorts, pears, apples, abundance of nuts, great and fair, the like never seen heretofore." Gordon was translated to Kinkell, near Aberdeen, but died prematurely in 1669. His son Adam was subsequently one of the clergy of the archiepiscopal city of Glasgow. He died about the time of the revolution.

James Gordon, parson of Banchory-Devenick, near Aberdeen—a divine whose over-zealous disposition, and well-meant attempts for the improvement of church matters in the reign of Charles II., brought him into great trouble. Gordon was the son of Dr. William Gordon, "a godlie, grave, learned man, of great judgment and well seen

in the science of physic." He was professor of medicine in King's college, Aberdeen. His curious tribute to the memory of bishop Patrick Forbes shows his attachment to that great prelate. It is composed of lines extracted from Virgil, similar to the "cento" of Lælius, and the "Virgil: Evangelisans" of Ross. The younger Gordon had doubtless been brought up in reverence of the great Aberdeen doctors, and rather unwillingly submitted to the balder theology and worship of the restoration. He expressed his views learnedly indeed, but tartly, and, it was believed, too personally, in "The Reformed Bishop; or xix. articles tendered by a well-wisher of the present government of the church of Scotland in order to the further establishment thereof. Printed for the author, 1680." The book is full of learning, earnestness, and indignantly refers to prevalent corruptions, the waste of the patrimony of the church by money spent on "curious coaches" and the "gaudy busks of wives" of ecclesiastics. He laments the strength of puritancial methods, the neglect of confirmation, of the Christian seasons and other matters. In the same year he was summoned before an episcopal synod, and rather summarily deprived of his benefice. He submitted quietly, and was soon restored again. Some persons alleged that envy was at the root of the "proposals." An epigram written in an old hand on my copy of "The Reformed Bishop" is pretty well known:

"If your book had ne'er been seen,
You had been bishop of Aberdeen;
and
If you had been bishop of Aberdeen,
Your book had ne'er been seen."

Gordon was author of a number of other works, now rare and forgotten. He survived till 1714. Strange to tell, he was able to accomplish during the establishment of Presbyterianism what he could not do during the establishment of the church—in 1712 the book of common prayer was introduced into Banchory church, and "kneeling boards were also placed in the pews." Two hundred books were distributed. It is noted that as the parishioners had hitherto been "so exemplary in the worship of God" they would easily perform the "excellent worship" provided for by the prayer book.

His son, James Gordon, was in 1691 presented to the parish of

Foveran, by the earl-marischal. His institution took place by order of "the diocese," at the hands of the Rev. Thomas Craven, a relative of the writer. Proceedings were subsequently taken before the privy council. Gordon submitted, but the instituter was subsequently banished. The inclination of the people of Foveran may be seen from the fact that a preacher sent by the new established "presbitry in the diocese of Aberdeen" could obtain no access beyond the churchyard. Young Gordon published a pamphlet of 32 pages in regard to the matter—"printed in the Savoy for the author by Edward Jones, 1696"—now one of the rarest of its kind. The subsequent history of young Gordon has not been ascertained.

David Lindsay,

Parson of Dundee, Bishop of Brechin, and of Edinburgh.

BISHOP LINDSAY was "son to colonel John Lindsay, a brother of the house of Edzell in Angus." He graduated at St. Andrews in 1593, and was appointed minister of the important parish of Dundee in 1605, having been previously schoolmaster of Montrose and parson of Guthrie. "Possessing great learning, and considered an eloquent orator," he devoted his whole life to the promotion of earnest church principles. In 1616, he was chosen a member of the famous high commission, and was frequently at St. Andrews attending various church meetings, in which, as Wodrow candidly tells us, presbyterian ministers "wer harassed." In 1617, when king James visited the old university city, a public disputation was held "upon the power of kings and princes." The king acted as preses, and Lindsay, who had just received the degree of D.D., assisted. In 1618, he took a very active part in the proceedings of that Perth assembly which passed the famous "five articles," and soon afterwards he published his "True narrative of all the passages of the proceedings in the general assembly of the church of Scotland, holden at Perth the 25th of August, anno Dom., 1618, wherein is set down the copy of his majestie's letters to the said assembly. Together with a just defence of the articles therein concluded—against a seditious pamphlet," &c.: motto, Prov. xxiv. 21. This quarto volume, of great interest and value to Scottish churchmen, was printed "for Ralph Roundthwait, dwelling at the signe of the golden lyon in St. Paul's churchyard, 1621." In 1619, Lindsay had published a little book, now very scarce, but which is said to have gained him the mitre of Brechin, to which see he was consecrated at St. Andrews, 23rd November, 1619. It is called "The reasons of a parson's resolution, touching the reverend receiving of the holy communion." It is both learned and persuasive. It is dedicated to sir John Scrymgeour

of Dudhope. The author's theological sentiments in regard to the most sacred subject of which it treats are expressed fully. In the holy eucharist we are partakers, he says, of "the Lord Jesus Himself, His bodie, His bloud, His righteousness, His life, and the satiety of pleasures and joyes that are in Him for evermore"; that the elements are but "the symbolicall vestures wherein Christ is wrapped up," yet "made naked and exposed as really to the eye of our mind, and to faith, the hand of our heart, as the sacred symbols are to our external senses," that "it is manifest that this action, in respect of Christ's part towards us, or the end that concerneth us, is a mysticall representation, and a reall application of the propitiatorie sacrifice of Christ to us, so, in respect of our part toward Christ againe, and the ends that concerneth Him, it is a spiritual and eucharisticall sacrifice to His glorie." From another passage we learn that fasting reception of the holy sacrament was apparently universal in the church in Scotland in his time. As the bishop lays down in his "True narration" that it is "no error to worship" Christ's "flesh and blood" in the eucharist, we are not surprised that one of the subsequent charges brought against him at the Glasgow "assembly" of 1638, was that he "used the ryte of elevatioune very solemnly at the communion"; that he "did kneel before the altar"; "putt on the rochett and other masse lycke apperall at divyne service"; and that "he would have castne holy water," when consecrating the church of Queensferry, if some had not objected. The good bishop was evidently in advance of his age, and some of his arguments for kneeling at the reception of the holy eucharist are both learned and curious. Lindsay continued bishop of Brechin for about fifteen years, during which time he steadily, "as a wise master builder," assisted in the restoration of the city of God. Upon the death of the ever-famous William Forbes, he was translated to the see of Edinburgh, at which time he is described as "not only a great scholar and learned man, but a great politician, and both able and willing to advance the estate of bishops." At the coronation of Charles I., within Holyrood abbey, 18th June, 1633, bishop Lindsay had the honour of placing the crown on his majesty's head. His formal translation to the see of Edinburgh took place on July 29th, 1634, when the two archbishops and other bishops "met in the royall chappell of Hallyroodhouse,

and received Mr. Lindsay, upon the king's nomination and presentation, bishop of Edinburgh, and Mr. Sydserf was consecrated bishop of Brechin in his room. Upon the Sabbath before this the English liturgy was read in the chappell royall, and worship was performed, and the whole service conducted according to the English rites, all the bishops being present, and the two to be received for bishops of Edinburgh and Brechin with them." Lindsay now lived in "ane hous in the palice" of Holyrood. He took a very active part in the consultations concerning the introduction of the ill-starred prayer book of 1637, having previously enjoined the observance of the feasts, &c., of the church on his presbyters. Everyone knows the history of the attempt to read service from the new book in the cathedral of Edinburgh, on 23rd July, 1637. The bishop was then "in the great kirk to assist the dean." In the afternoon of that day, notwithstanding the tumult, the bishop preached. When returning home "ther arose a great clamour in the streets," stones were thrown, some of which "hitt the bishop in the coach, so that with great difficulty he got to his lodgings." The "rascal multitude" had risen to protest, in their ancient and accustomed manner, against order and decency in the public worship of God. It appears that bishop Lindsay did not immediately retire to or from the country, as others did at this unfortunate juncture. He remained in Edinburgh for about a year. The last writing under his hand which I have seen referred to is dated there—at Holyrood, 9th October, 1638—in which, amid all his troubles, ecclesiastical and personal, he beseeches his "well-beloved brethren of the exercise of Edinburgh" to join with him in "doing that which shall be found most expedient for the honnour of God, the peace of the church, and the quietness of our own conscience at the gloriouse appearing of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus, who shall render unto every one according to that which he hath done in the body, whether it be good or evil, to whose grace your very loving brother Da. Edinb. commends" them.

The next scene is the tumultuous one of the Glasgow assembly, when, amid scenes of excitement and gross irreverence, our bishop and the other fathers of the church were "deposed and excommunicate" for upholding the principles of apostolic order so dear to them and us. Having declined the jurisdiction of the pretended "assembly," Lindsay was considered by the

presbyterian party to have "added contumacye to all his former crymes" (!). Banished from his church and country, the confessor retired to England, where for three more years he lived in deep poverty. He died in December, 1641. Bishop Lindsay married Catherine, daughter of Gilbert Ramsay of Bamff, who survived him, and had a son, John, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Dunkeny.

David, Lord Madertie.

SOME of our readers, I am sure, love old books; a good number more would like to see or know about a famous old library. How many have visited Innerpeffray? It is in Perthshire, not very far from Crieff, and was formerly a part of the abbey possessions of Inchaffray. Innerpeffray library and school is the foundation of a royalist scholar, who was also a true churchman and earnest student—David, lord Madertie, the friend and brother-in-law of the great marquis of Montrose. Hard by is the old collegiate church, founded in 1508, where generations of the Drummonds lie buried. A visit to Innerpeffray carries the pilgrim back in spirit hundreds of years. Its peaceful seclusion away from the "madd'ning crowd," was particularly "borne in" upon us on our last visit; for a couple of hours before we had been in Dundee amid a "strike stricken" crowd. A delightful guide we had through the store of books in the lady who so ably and worthily presides over the foundation of lord Madertie. We all hailed from the north-east—the true home of the non-exotic church of Scotland, and so, amid pleasant remembrances and ancient lore, was spent a happy day indeed.

But I must tell the story of lord Madertie and Innerpeffray. The ancient house of Drummond has produced nobles, prelates, priests, and many a brave gentleman. The representative of lord Madertie, true to the unbroken traditions of his house, was duly in his place the other day at that magnificent service in Perth cathedral, when the primus of Scotland blessed the new bishop of St. Andrews and all of us, in form both "meet and right." How different a day that from another day—that on which we first hear of the then master of Madertie. He is a young man ready to fight for the "white king," under the banner of Montrose. It is Sunday, September 1, 1644, the field of Tippermuir. Let us hear Dr. Wishart's account (from the splendid edition of the "Deeds of Montrose," for which we have partly to thank Canon Murdoch):—"Montrose had sent Drummond, lord Maderty's eldest

son, a very accomplished young nobleman, to the leaders of the enemy, to declare in his name that he, as well as his royal master, whose commission he bore, had the utmost abhorrence of shedding his countrymen's blood." Young Madertie called upon the opposing army to return to duty and allegiance. "Contrary to the law of nations they seized the envoy, who had undertaken that office solely out of love of his country, and sent him under guard to Perth, to be imprisoned as a malefactor, impiously vowing that after their victory they would cut off his head. But God was more merciful, and provided otherwise for the safety of this noble and accomplished man." Montrose had the victory. Madertie was released but not forgotten, for in 1645 his loyalty incurred a fine of £2000 Scots. His father also was a staunch royalist—one of the first who joined the great marquis. The son—the subject of our notice—had the honour of being married to lady Beatrix Graham, the marquis' sister. His brother, the first viscount Strathallan, was major-general of the forces in Scotland under Charles II. and James VII. After the death of his wife, and two sons who died young, lord Madertie seems to have in a great measure taken farewell of the court and world, and tradition tells that he secluded himself at Innerpeffray in a room in the west end of the old church. He collected his library into this chamber. Close by lay buried lady Beatrix and his boys. By his will, executed shortly before his death, he left a considerable sum for the support of a schoolmaster and the care of his library. The writer will not enter into the subsequent history of this church foundation—the earlier and later chapters of which are curious indeed. The school is now separated from the library, the latter remaining in a great measure under the direction of the heirs of the founder.

Of the library itself much might be told. At least four of the books were the property of the great marquis of Montrose. His French bible is here, *fac similes* of the inscriptions on which are to be found in Mark Napier's memoirs of the great hero. There is a device in the book representing a heart pierced by a sword and surrounded by roses, with a Latin motto meaning that "roses grow not without thorns." The owner found that true indeed. Again there are a number of what we may call personal relics of lord Madertie. Lady Madertie's bible, bound in crimson velvet, his own special prayer book printed in 1631—his copy of the Scotch prayer book of 1637, other prayer books still older, the

bible and prayer book printed by Barker in 1604. Many others bear his autograph. Two of the most interesting volumes are—a copy of cardinal Quignon's breviary, to which our prayer book owes much, and a "Prymer in Englysh," printed at Paris 1538. There are several curious old psalters and psalm books; one, that of Marot and Beza (1567), has the music in both staff and sol-fa notations. There is nothing new under the sun. The oldest printed book is Barclay's "Ship of Fools," 1508. Fabyan's and Hollinshed's "Chronicles" are there in a fine state, and extremely rare. One volume deemed unique is the "Examen d'une Confession de Foy," by "Guillaume Cheisolme, Escossois, Evesque de Vaison—à Paris 1603," the production of the last bishop of Dunblane under the Roman obedience, and a near relative of the founder. A copy of Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's history, that formerly belonged to Alexander Dick, archdeacon of Glasgow, A.D. 1540. A large number of seventeenth century controversial pamphlets are in the library. Some have curious titles: "Issachar's Asse braying under a double Burden"—a Raban in 1622; "Levi, his complaint, or the 'Moane of the Poor Ministrie'"—Hart of 1617; "A Vision of Balaam's Asse, wherein he did perfectly see the present estate of the Church of Rome, by Peter Hay, gentleman," &c. (Peter, however, was apparently ill informed as to the *sex*, Num. xxii. 23); "The Establishment of a Church in the Moone," 1635. There are also several books which would now be termed *occult*. Such as that rare and most curious folio by Dr. Dee, and containing his "True relation of actions with spirits." Lord Madertie had a great love for works of divinity, and, as might be expected from a true son of the church, there is an excellent collection of the best editions of the works of the Scottish bishops and older clergy—the Lindsays, bishop Cowper, bishop Patrick Forbes, Dr. John Forbes, dean Annand, Menzies, Baron, &c. The best "church of England divines" are also well represented. Family books, too—with signatures stretching back many generations—and some fine specimens of the Aldine and Elzevir presses, are to be seen there.

But when we noticed the neglected state of the collegiate church —the burial-place of the founder, his family, and other branches of the house of Drummond—we could not help thinking how true it was that every cup has its bitter drop. It is not, however, too late even now to rescue it from ruin. Restoration in a strictly conservative manner might soon place the church in a state more

worthy of its design. Were its windows re-opened, its monuments restored to the light of day, its ancient carvings cleaned, additional pleasure would be derived from a pilgrimage to Innerpeffray. In thus preserving the noble foundation of David, lord Madertie in its entirety, generations yet to come would possess a worthy monument of the friend in arms, and the brother by marriage, of Scotland's great marquis.

Patrick Forbes, D.D.,

Bishop of Aberdeen.

WITH the exception of Spottiswoode, we know more about bishop Patrick Forbes than almost any other divine of that succession. Not merely have writers of different schools delighted to record his virtues and wisdom, but from his son's diary and the large numbers of letters, deeds, papers, &c., which have been preserved and printed we have very full particulars of his episcopate. To few have such elaborate monuments been raised, as the "Funeralls" of bishop Forbes comprise. That volume, reprinted by the Spottiswoode society from the rare original, with many items added, is one of the most interesting published in Scotland during the seventeenth century. The life by Wodrow is also one of the items in a volume lately issued by the new Spalding club.

The "birth and breeding" of Patrick Forbes were those of a country gentleman. He was the eldest son of William Forbes of Corse and Elizabeth or Elspet Strachan, his wife. He was educated at the grammar school of Stirling and at the universities of Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Oxford. He seems to have taken special interest in ecclesiastical studies, and we are told that very soon he became a proficient in Hebrew. In 1598 his father died, and the future bishop became laird of Corse. Before this he had married Lucretia Spens, daughter of the laird of Wormiston in Fife. Finding his parish church destitute, he had preached there, and when some very sad circumstances took place at Keith he was induced to enter into holy orders. Chalmers, the minister of Keith, "a piouse and diligent" man, "under the power of melancholy, and by a violent temptation of Satan," had cut his throat. He sent for Forbes, whom he urged to take his place at Keith, feeling sure that if he would do so his rash act would not be followed by the sad results to the church which otherwise might accrue. Forbes at last agreed, and was ordained by bishop Blakburne in

the year 1612, at the age of forty-seven, and settled at Keith. Here he began his literary work by the publication of a commentary on the apocalypse.

In 1618, the see of Aberdeen fell vacant by the death of bishop Alexander Forbes, who had done little for its improvement. All sorts and conditions of men at once turned their eyes to the laird of Corse as the most meet person for the vacant chair. In a letter to him from the king, this is mentioned as "the desire of our best affected subjects of that diocesse." The archbishops and bishops urged him to accept. They told him that to draw back would be disobedience, and requested and required him to accept the call. This whole letter (preserved in the "Funeralls") is such as might be looked for in prelates who, according to their own confession, knew by "the experience of so many years that the care and burden" of the episcopate "goeth farre beyond either commoditie or honour." A correspondence followed between the primate and Forbes. An address from the dean of Aberdeen, in the name of himself and his clergy, states that "the chapter being conveaned that day . . all in one joyful voyce made choyce of you." He was consecrated at St. Andrews, on May 17th, 1618, by archbishop Spottiswoode, assisted by the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin, and on the 26th of May was "inthronized" in St. Machar's cathedral by "master Walter Abercrombie, archdeacon of Aberdeen." Almost immediately the Perth assembly followed. Forbes preached the opening sermon (preserved in the "Funeralls") from Ezra vii. 23. Lord Binning, who heard it, mentions that it "showed great dexterity." Forbes spoke frequently at the meeting, urging uniformity for the sake of preserving the unity of the church. The "sectaries" who opposed, he afterwards, rather to their indignation, compared to "the salamander that delighted to live in the fire," adding that they "counted none religious but such as spake evil of the king and of men in authoritie." The new bishop at once made himself acquainted with the state of the diocese. He found it deplorable, and the university almost ruinous. He lived to see both flourishing. "In the season of summer he had a custom of visiting all his parish churches, and this without any train of attendants, that his visits might in no degree prove burdensome to the clergy and gentry. Without giving notice, he would at times arrive in a parish on the Saturday, and would make his appearance in the parish church on Sunday, carefully noting what he saw and

heard." He praised or admonished accordingly. He paid special attention to the needs of Aberdeen and his cathedral city, and to his discrimination and careful diligence we owe the succession of learned doctors who flourished there, and shed so much glory on the church. He was most careful in the choice and preparation of candidates for holy orders, yet always ready to concede to the "presbyters their due place and honour." The needs and condition of Scotland were better known to him than to Maxwell, Laud, or Charles, and, so long as he was able, he attended the meetings of the privy council and strenuously opposed the innovations which so soon after his death brought the church to the verge of ruin. Spottiswoode, writing after that event, says of him: "So wyse, judicious, so grave and graceful a pastor, I have not known in all my time, in anie church." Though opposed to change, he was the greatest enemy to irreverence. When some of the bishops were ready to allow the articles of the Perth assembly to become a dead letter in some places, he took high ground. Referring to the desire some had to abstain from kneeling at the reception of the holy communion, he asked the assembled prelates, "And will you justifie the doctrine of these men, who have called the reverent gesture which we use idolatrie, and raysed such a schism in our church?" The other bishops were "strucken dumbe," and the dispensations were not granted. When at home, Forbes preached every Sunday, considering that a part of episcopal duty. In 1632 he was struck with paralysis, the whole of one side being numb, but happily his speech was not affected. Notwithstanding his infirmity, and frequent bodily pain, he did not relax his labour, but was carried into church meetings, working as zealously as before. When his disease increased, and he was confined to bed and wrung with pain, still "he submitted himself so placidly to the will of God, that not a single word of impatience was heard to escape his lips." His son adds: "He saw with joy the day of his departure hastening on, and earnestly desired the health-giving viaticum of the holy eucharist. He received it, along with six of his presbyters (of whom I was one), with the utmost devotion, reverence, and comfort. I asked him if he fully tasted the life-giving sweetness of the bread of life, he answered that he now could sing to God, with good old Simeon, 'Lord, now let Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word, for mine eyes have seen Thy Salvation.' The other clergymen who were present, his children, domestics and friends,

eagerly craving his blessing, he laid his hand, which was not paralized, on the head of every one in turn, and in a short, but most earnest prayer to God, bestowed his paternal blessing on each of us, kneeling before him. This was a very great consolation to us all, and we yet look back upon it with the most grateful remembrance." The parting scene, which took place on Easter eve, was in the action of joining in prayers—one of his last utterances being that he was taking "the best of journeys." His funeral was attended by every mark of grief and esteem. The body lay for some time in St. Ninian's chapel on the castle hill of Aberdeen. It was conveyed back to old Aberdeen on the 9th of April, 1635, and interred in the cathedral "between the graves of bishops Dunbar and Cunninghame. It was ordered by the magistrates that the city churches should be hung in black—that at his burial the bells should be tolled, and the whole pieces of ordnances belonging to the town discharged." The tomb of the great bishop may be still seen in the ruined choir of St. Machar's. It is a flat stone, and the Latin inscription tells the reader that he who rests there was "the bright star of Scotland" and "the pearl of pastors."

Bishop Forbes published several other works besides the commentary on the apocalypse. They chiefly refer to the Roman controversy, and "the antiquity of the doctrines of the reformed churches." The original edition of the "Funeralls," "imprinted by Edward Raban, 1635," has a picture of Forbes prefixed. The beautiful portrait in possession of the university of Aberdeen has been engraved, and forms the frontispiece of the "Lives" by Wodrow, lately issued by the new Spalding club.

The following verse is the conclusion of a "Meditation" by bishop Forbes "on the 63 year of his age, now outrunne":—

"Passe up, then, soule ; possesse that pleasant place,
Onlie for God's peculiar ones prepared—
Goe into glorie, by the gate of grace ;
Where never more in sinne thou shalt be snared.
What wee shall bee, there shall it be declared.
I long to know the case, which never eye
Here saw, eare heard, heart thought, what that may bee."

Doctor William Forbes,

First Bishop of Edinburgh.

WILLIAM FORBES, "a divine of European reputation, and as holy as he was learned," was born in Aberdeen in the year 1585. His father, Thomas Forbes, was descended from the old family of Corsindae, and his mother was sister of Dr. James Cargill, an eminent physician whose botanical knowledge was well known beyond Scotland, and of whom Arthur Johnston speaks in terms of high praise. At the age of twelve young Forbes was entered at Marischal college, and graduated there after the usual course of four years' study. He then, for other four years, read lectures in logic, this appointment having been procured for him by Gilbert Gray, principal of the university. He then resolved to pursue his studies on the continent, and accordingly sailed for Dantzic. He remained in Germany about four years more, visiting Helmstadt and Heidelberg. He next visited Holland, residing for a time at Leyden, where his relative, Dr. Jack, was then professor of philosophy. He embraced every opportunity of gaining knowledge, eagerly visiting and searching the "well furnished librarys" of the continental universities, "reading the fathers and conversing with their learned men." He intended to have also visited France and Italy, but as his health was already suffering from intense application to study, he returned to England. He was now so proficient in the Hebrew language as to be offered the professorship of that tongue at Oxford, but the advice of the king's physician, Dr. Craig, induced him to seek health in his native air. He was joyfully welcomed home, and the freedom of the city of Aberdeen conferred upon him. Forbes was now about twenty-five years old. The wise and judicious Blakburne at this time occupied the see of Aberdeen, and after some time of rest Forbes was by him admitted to holy orders and settled at Alford. He was soon transferred to Monymusk and shortly afterwards to his

native city. This took place, as the session record of Aberdeen informs us, on 29th October, 1616. In honour of the occasion the magistrates gave an entertainment in the shape of "ane efternoone drink in Mr. David Rutherford's house." On Palm Sunday and "Pasche Day" following "the holie communion of the bodie and blood of Chryst" was "celebrat" in "baith the kirks of this burgh." In 1617, on the occasion of the king's visit to St. Andrews, Forbes was created doctor of divinity. As to the duties of his charge he was most zealous, his "care of the poor, frequent visiting the sick and comforting them," might have been compared to the conduct of "the best primitive Christian fathers."

As was very common at that date, immediately on his "entry," doctor Forbes began preaching "through" a book of holy scripture. The first he chose was the epistle to the Hebrews, "to the great comfort of his flock." The famous Patrick Forbes was now bishop of Aberdeen, one like-minded with his relative the doctor, and between whom the most cordial relations existed. The bishop frequently appears as a member of the session, presiding and assisting in difficult cases. Shortly after his settlement in Aberdeen, Forbes renewed his connection with Marischal college, being employed to teach weekly "ane lesson of theology" therein—the notes of which formed subsequently his famous "Considerationes." A sum of money had been "mortified" for this and other purposes by a faithful son of Bon-accord, "master Patrick Coupland, preacher to the navie and fleit of the right worshipfull the East India company, within the realme of England." Copland had shared in the good fortunes of the company, but did not give over his missionary labours in "Sommers Ilands."

At this time Aidie was principal of Marischal college. He had been formerly professor of philosophy at Dantzic, and was a native, or at least a graduate, of Aberdeen. Probably Forbes had studied at Dantzic. Aidie was author of several works, and a number of theses printed at Dantzic, in the discussion of which he took part, are now in my possession. He was an intimate friend of Reid, Latin secretary to James VI., and I have a presentation copy of a thesis maintained by Reid at the university of Rostock in 1610, given by him to Aidie. It appears from a letter of bishop Patrick Forbes that Aidie had to demit his

place as principal on account of "defects" and "odious miscarriage in matters of his calling." Forbes was appointed in his stead, whom, notwithstanding Aidie's sinister reports, the bishop declares even then to be one of the most "learned, sound, sanctified, and diligent divines" in the kingdom. Soon "the altered state and face of things in that house" justified the appointment. This was in 1620. He did not demit his labours as minister of St. Nicholas', but only craved to be "free and disburdened of macking all extraordinary mareages and baptismes that ar not celebrat immediately after sermon." But he soon demitted the office of principal. He preferred pastoral labour. Towards the end of the year 1621 he was appointed one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He was evidently unwilling to leave, but duty called. The citizens of Edinburgh had not shown that conformity to church order and discipline which prevailed in the north. The settlement there of an orthodox divine was therefore much desired. Forbes preached his first sermon in Edinburgh on January 13th, 1622, and on the 21st of March he was formally instituted to his charge by the archbishop of St. Andrews. Upon the following "Good Fryday doctor Forbes . . . proponed the lovable custome of the primitive church to observe holelie that day; and thereafter discoursed very jealouslie and learnedly upon the passion of our Saviour and the fruites thereof." On Easter day, 1622, only three of the congregation in St. Giles' are said to have refused to kneel in receiving the holy communion. This is distinctly stated by lord Melrose, and may be safely put against the ghoul-like tales of Calderwood and others. But Forbes pined for his old home, and in 1626 returned to it. He lived in the "backhous" of Marischal college.

In 1633, when king Charles visited Edinburgh, Forbes, "who was so able a scholar, that since the daies of *Scotus subtilis* there was never any that professed divinity or philosophy in Scotland that in either of these faculties did parallel him," was required to preach before the king. Honest Spalding tells us that he "taught in his black gown, without either surplice or rochett. His text was at the 27th verse of the fourteenth chapter of St. John's gospel. The English service was said both before and after sermon, as their use was, the chaplanes and novices having their surplices on; the bishop of Dunblane,

as chaplain of the chapel royal, had his rochett and white sleeves on." The king highly appreciated the sermon, in which Forbes "pointed out the folly of resisting the voice of the universal church, and the decrees of lawful authority, in respect of rites and ceremonies, and the absurdity of opposing a uniform liturgy and prescribed form of administering the sacraments, especially when the offices thus set at naught were derived from the ancient liturgies of the Christian church." On the 29th September, 1633, king Charles, at the request of the archbishop of St. Andrews, founded the see of Edinburgh, for which he himself provided the endowment. On the first of December the new chapter met and chose doctor Forbes first bishop of the new see, on the king's recommendation. On the 17th he arrived at Leith. Duty again called him. The inhabitants of Bon-accord showed their love to him by a present of silver plate. The day after his arrival "with wife and children, goods and gear," the magistrates of Edinburgh went in a body and welcomed him to the city. On Tuesday, January 28th, 1634, he was solemnly consecrated in the "royall chapell" at Holyrood. Such a deeply interesting occasion brought both the archbishops and an unusual number of the bishops of Scotland to join in the solemn office. The archbishop of St. Andrews presided, and was assisted by the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishops of Moray, Ross, Brechin, Galloway, and Dunblane, the latter preaching the sermon. Soon afterwards the new prelate preached in St. Giles', when all present saw that his health was already feeble, and his voice, never strong, was so low that only a few could hear him. On the 19th February, Sydserff was installed as dean. Before holy week the bishop issued a pastoral letter to his clergy. Willing to do all he could for peace, he did not require all to receive the Easter communion kneeling, but requested the celebrants so to receive and to minister the same directly to the communicants. When Easter came the bishop, though in great weakness, determined to celebrate the holy mysteries in St. Giles'. Having by a great effort consecrated the sacred elements, he was so exhausted that he was unable to lift the cup to his lips, and after communicating a few had to leave the church never again to enter it. He had sealed his testimony to primitive truth and order. His illness increased, "for which the skill of his physicians could find no remedy. He prepared himself for his departure by confession

of his sins with priestly absolution, and by the reception of the eucharist, and expired the twelfth April, being the Saturday after Easter."

He was buried near to where the high altar in St. Giles' church had formerly stood. Dean Sydserff preached the funeral sermon, in which he spoke of him as "the bright star of Israel," and compared him to St. John Baptist. His character, as given by Burnett, has often been quoted:—"My father," he says, "told me that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on those words of the apostle:—'Did not our hearts burn within us while He yet talked with us and opened to us the scriptures?' He preached with a zeal and vehemence that made him forget all the measures of time; two or three hours was no extraordinary thing with him; those sermons wasted his strength so fast, and his ascetical course of life was such that he supplied it so scantily, that he died within a year after his promotion." Many similar testimonies might be quoted.

During his life-time bishop Forbes only published one small volume of theses, printed at Aberdeen in 1623. His chief work appears to have been a set of "Animadversions" on Bellarmine, now supposed to be lost. When dying he is said to have handed a copy of his "Considerationes" to Sydserff, telling him to do with it as he thought proper. These remained in MS. till 1658, when they were printed at London, with a short life by Sydserff. The edition is very poor and full of errors. Other three editions have since appeared, the last under the able editorship of the late Rev. George H. Forbes, of Burntisland, and forms two volumes of the "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology." An English translation is included. The "Considerationes" was the greatest theological work produced since the reformation in Scotland. The author's learning and travels enabled him to view theology with a broad and unbiassed mind. Conscious of the need of the reformation, he was also conscious of the sad revulsion which the confusions of that era in Scotland caused from primitive belief and order. He endeavours in the "Considerationes" to hold the balance. His book is an irenicon, and treats modestly, calmly, and peaceably of the controversies concerning justification, purgatory, invocation of saints and angels, Christ as the mediator, and the eucharist. The learning, calm reasoning, and

wonderful gentleness of the writer make us all the more regret his early death. Forbes was the greatest theologian of the Spottiswoode line—in it the bishop of the reconciliation, as Leighton was the bishop of the reconciliation in the later succession. Strange to say, to both, presbyterian hands have raised the only memorials Scotland has furnished—the statue to Forbes on St. Giles', and the restored cathedral of Dunblane.

The Aberdeen Doctors.

IT was the intention of the late Dr. Joseph Robertson to write the lives of the famous doctors of Aberdeen who, in the reign of Charles I., rendered illustrious the granite city and its colleges. It is a matter for regret that the intention was not carried out. No more competent biographer could have been found. The writer of the "Little yet true rehearsall of several passages of affairs," beginning anno 1635, informs the "good reader" that "at this time," he must "understand that there were worthy preachers in Aberdeen as Brittain could afford. Ther names were Mr. Robert Baron, Mr. James Sibbald, Mr. Alexander Ross . . . lykewyse in old Aberdein ther wes Mr. John Forbes, laird of Corse, a man of singular good life, and Mr. Alexander Scroggie. Thir men forsaid had many disputs with the covenanters, for they wrote amongst others, to witt, thes plyes, replyes, duplyes, triplyes and quadruples. But in all these disputs the covenanters came so short to the ministers of Aberdeen, as ane gramarier [one learning grammar] to a divyne." To these names has to be added that of "William Leslie, D.D., and principall of the King's college in Aberdene," who, another author tells us, arranged or "degested" these various papers. The school of theology to which these eminent doctors belonged had been built up chiefly by three men:—Peter Blakburne, Patrick Forbes, both bishops of Aberdeen, and William Forbes, first bishop of Edinburgh. Leslie had also assisted greatly in training the younger theologians. The most famous of the Aberdeen doctors were Robert Baron and John Forbes. The former had from his youth been a noble scholar, and "ane ornament to our nation." Descended from an old Fifeshire family, he graduated at St. Andrews, where his brother, Dr. John Baron, was at one time principal of the college of St. Salvador. "While yet a beardless youth" he attracted the notice of king James, from the able manner in which he sustained an academical argument. The king condescended to personally interrogate him, when Baron's answers received great commendation from the king.

In 1619 he became parson of Keith, successor there to Patrick Forbes, the illustrious bishop of Aberdeen. He was the author of several very able scholastic works, in one of which he encountered with singular skill, ability, and ripe scholarship a Jesuit of the name of Turnbull. A copy of this work, issued from Raban's press, is now in my possession, probably sent to Orkney when in after years it was hoped he would occupy that see. He died before consecration, overcome with distress. Arthur Johnston sings his praises. Dr. John Forbes, the second son of the bishop of Aberdeen, is still regarded by many as the most illustrious divine of his age. He was, however, more closely allied with the continental protestant party than Baron. Though placed in sad trials, his sufferings were less. He had a competence: indeed more than that—he had the advantages of friends, both at home and in exile. Baron died in loneliness far from his wife, who subsequently became the object of covenanting inquisitorial commissions. The earlier efforts of the Aberdeen doctors were for peace. In 1629, Dr. John Forbes published at Aberdeen his celebrated "Irenicum," addressed to all lovers of the peace and truth in Scotland's church. As revised, this tract was subsequently included in the collective edition of Forbes' works, printed in 1703. The author dedicated it to his father. It contains a defence of the Perth articles, of diocesan episcopacy, and of liturgical forms. A divine named John Durie had devoted his live to promoting a scheme of comprehensive union between the Lutherans and other reformed bodies. Laud, to whom the proposals were submitted, approved of the design, and, having asked Spottiswoode to assist, the latter referred it to the Aberdeen doctors, who returned a formal answer, showing how the matter might be brought to some satisfactory conclusion.

But it is chiefly in connection with the covenanters that the Aberdeen doctors are known. Henderson and Dickson, who were joined by Cant, came to Aberdeen determined to thrust the covenant down the throats of the inhabitants of the "braif toun." On their arrival they were waited on by the magistrates, who offered them a collation as "the courtesy of the town." This they churlishly declined till the covenant should be signed. The magistrates ordered the refreshments to be divided amongst the poor. The same evening (20th July, 1638), the six doctors addressed sundry momentous queries to the commission. These demanded their authority to impose terms, and questioned the lawfulness of the

covenant itself. Answers were sent, and the use of the churches requested. This was declined. In their papers the doctors took high ground, and declared that "in the sincerity of their hearts, they considered the articles of Perth and the lawfulness and venerable antiquity of episcopacy both laudable and proper." For their firmness they afterwards received a letter of thanks from the king. Before the Glasgow assembly met in the autumn, a proposal was made to lure the doctors to the meeting. They were promised a coach, but they declined, for they were "sure not to meet with an equal hearing." To the provost and magistrates of the burgh the king showed his approval by increasing their municipal privileges. The doctors did not yield, and the town was prepared for a siege. At "Yool," though excommunicated, Scroggie twice celebrated the holy communion in the cathedral of St. Machar, being supported by the regents of the college, the marquis of Huntly and his family, who all joined in the reception of the holy sacrament. Many years had to pass before any of the ancient Christian festivals were again so celebrated. Dr. Guild, one of the ministers who at first resisted the covenant, soon succumbed. The writer of the "Rehearsal" describes him as "lyke the weather-cock." The weather-cock did well, however Guild was made principal of King's college in place of Leslie—who is described as having been "a man grave and austere," who had a "retired monastic way of living . . a painful student who delyted in nothing else but to sitte at his booke . . he never maryed in his lyfetime but lived solitary . . he was eminent in all the sciences, above the most of his age . . he was never paralelled by any principall who succeeded him." The covenanters never succeeded in obtaining his signature to their covenant. He collected the papers sent by the doctors, and they were printed in 1638 and subsequently, "by order of parliament, 1663." On his own behalf Leslie never published anything, but a few fragments have been preserved of the result of his studies. Leslie seems to have been a man we would have liked to know—"He suffered with patience," retiring to the protection of the marquis of Huntly and other friends, "who had him in great esteem and honour." Urquhart calls him "the Caledonian Socrates." His brother was the well-known John Leslie, successively bishop of the Isles, Clogher and Raphoe, the father of a still better known Leslie—the author of the "Short method with the deists," &c. Great efforts were made to gain Dr. John Forbes to "the cause." He was so universally

respected and his abilities so great that hopes may have been high. But no—"it would not bee." He behaved with great modesty—actually giving up the house he had presented to the university as a residence for his successor in the divinity chair. His covenanted successor had the meanness to accept it. For a short time Forbes retired to Holland, but was eventually allowed to return to Corse, his paternal estate, where he died in 1648. Leave to lay his bones in the cathedral at old Aberdeen was refused, though his wife had been buried there. The evening of his life was spent in "learned and devout seclusion." Carlyle has said, when about to write a biography he liked first to know what the individual was in person and feature. Dr. John Forbes, we are told, was "small in stature, and of somewhat swarthy complexion . . . and with respect to his habits of study we are informed that he always read and wrote in a standing posture. One of the few relaxations in which he indulged was the Scottish game of golf." His best monument will be found in the two folio volumes of his collected works, issued at Amsterdam in 1702-3. Dr. George Garden has subjoined a copious life, and an abstract of his diary or *vita interior* is also given. This latter is still preserved, written in English, in the archives of lord Semple, his present representative.

Doctor Sibbald, another of the "famous six," appears to have been a divine both eminent and active. He was minister of St. Nicholas', in Aberdeen—"a man there [in Aberdeen] of great fame"—so speaks the presbyterian Baillie. After his "deposition" he settled in Dublin. He was alive there in 1647. In 1658, a volume of his sermons appeared. He died "a victim to the plague, in consequence of his assiduous and unremitting attention to the infected."

Doctor Scroggie was not so consistent. Eventually he submitted, but his son redeemed his character. He was consecrated bishop of Argyll in 1675, but died in 1678. Monteith gives his epitaph from the stone in Dumbarton :—

> "To this great man gave birth and learned parts
> Kind Aberdeen, the mother of good arts."

Bishop Scroggie's wife was the eldest daughter of Scougal, bishop of Aberdeen, the intimate friend of archbishop Juxon. When

king Charles was on the scaffold, and parting with Juxon, he gave him his bible, adding the single word "Remember." Through marriage this relic came into the possession of bishop Scroggie, whose daughter carried it to the family of Moir of Stoneywood, which was represented by the late Dr. Skene, the well-known historiographer-royal, in whose possession the bible was. It contained the royal autograph, and is bound in magnificent light blue velvet, and bears "the royal arms and initials embroidered in silver gilt on the boards."

The promise of a learned school of theology in Scotland was blighted by the removal and silencing of the doctors of Aberdeen. After the restoration fresh hopes were cherished when the Scougals, Menzies, and the Gardens appeared, but the wet blanket of the Dutch revolution quenched any rising hopes of better things. It must be said for Henderson and his friends that their papers offered to the doctors of Aberdeen are moderate, quiet and modest, compared with their later and tumultuous proceedings. Moderation was cast aside when "the cause" was strengthened by the decisions of the Glasgow assembly. Laud seems to have been of opinion that Henderson assisted indirectly in promoting his trial, especially in preparing the articles relating to the proceedings in Scotland in connection with the service book. He exclaims that "Henderson should do well to let Canterbury alone, and answer the learned doctors of Aberdeen, who have laid him and all that faction open to the Christian world." When learning and orthodoxy were thus banished from Aberdeen, we are informed that "for many years there were neither students nor professors in King's college, and at times it served as a store for ammunition or a stable for war-steeds."

John Crichton,

Parson of Paisley.

THIS distinguished churchman was a graduate of St. Andrews, and was ordained in 1622. After spending a year as colleague to William Powrie, vicar of Abercorn, he was presented by sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth to the parish of Campsie, the benefice of the chancellor of the archdiocese of Glasgow. In 1629 he became parson of the abbey church of Paisley. He had received a presentation from the earl of Abercorn, but, "before collating him, the archbishop of Glasgow directed him to preach two Sundays in the abbey, that he might know what the parishioners thought of his doctrine." A meeting was then called by the chief men of the parish, when "all in one voice gave applause and approbation to the said Mr. John and his doctrine." So a deputation at once awaited on the archbishop, "earnestly to entreat his lordship to give him admission." This was granted, and Mr. Crichton duly "placed," when he was "accompanied with the noblemen, gentlemen, and bailies of the burgh of Paisley." Several of his predecessors in the abbey church had been eminent ecclesiastics. Adamson, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews; the learned, gentle, and kindly ex-Jesuit father, Smeton, afterwards principal of Glasgow university; Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles; Robert Hamilton, eventually archbishop of Cashel; the pious and "painful" Robert Boyd of Trochrig—had all officiated there. Crichton for ten years worked zealously in Paisley. His teaching was based on true church principles, and he achieved considerable success in the improvement of the services. It is well known that at this date, although a meagre liturgical form was in use in Scotland, seemliness in ritual and outward reverence—such as *we* are accustomed to—were little appreciated. We are told, however, that at the celebration of the holy communion Mr. Crichton "placed a short table altarwise, with a fixed rail about it, within which he stood himself, and reached the elements unto the people kneeling without about the rail." Of the

surplice he remarked, "that seeing the angels appeared in white, why should not the ministers imitate them in their apparell?" As to the prayer book, he "affirmed publickly in the pulpit that the liturgie of the kirk of England was so excellent that neither man nor angel could make a better." Improvements in teaching and ritual were, however, soon to be crushed out by the ancient Knoxian and Melvillian spirit, which burst forth at the introduction of the Scotch prayer book of 1637. It speaks well, however, for the parson of Paisley that none of the principal "noblemen and gentlemen of the parish" laid any complaint to the newly constituted authorities. These first ordered the moderator of the presbytery to lay down his office. But as he answered with some spirit "that he had his office of the archbishop of Glasgow, with consent of the brethren of the assemblie, and therefore could not, unless his office was discharged by them of whom he had received the same," the puritan section resolved to change moderators every six months. Some of the "inferior sort" now laid a complaint against Mr. Crichton. They stated that he had protested against the supplication of the presbytery regarding "that most corrupt liturgy," and proceeded to introduce more of those "innovations," against which they themselves were fasting and praying. Moreover, that he had taught that "prayer for the dead was a laudable and commendable custom in the church for the space of 1200 years, and affirmed that it was in all the liturgies of the church since that time"; that "in confirmation, of which Christ was the first author, the touching was an outward sign of an inward and invisible grace"; that both "papists and protestants went to heaven." Another charge stated that he said it was "lawful to invocate the holy angels, using this for an argument—because God hath appointed a good angel to attend and wait upon every one of us for our protection." Perhaps, in the opinion of his proposed judges, worse than anything else was the conclusion that the puritan doctrine of predestination "hath been hatched in hell!"

To have it reported to such a meeting that "it was better for us to communicate with papists in case of necessity than want it altogether"; that "auricular confession was to be allowed, and free will to be maintained," was forthwith to court condemnation; but when Mr. Crichton ventured to say "that it was never a good world since we had so much preaching," and that he would gladly go to Edinburgh to "testify" in favour of the new service book, "albeit he should be stoned," the conclusion was a foregone business.

The complaint was at once forwarded to the famous Glasgow "assembly" of 1638, when "by a full vote" he was "depryved of his ministeriall functione," and, except public repentance be made, "ordained to be excommunicated, being ane professed Arminiane and popish champion." The old abbey which had received Crichton so joyfully now shut her doors against him. But we must not think he was conquered. He became chaplain to the marquis of Ormond, and soon rose to be "chaplain-major of his majesty's army"—being installed in the Trinity kirk of Dublin." No doubt he saw faithful service, but after 1649 he disappears from history.

Maxwell and Corbet,

The Statesman and the Satirist.

READING "The Fortunes of Nigel," who does not remember Maxwell, the favourite gentleman usher of king James?—he who carried in on a salver the piece of plate, said to be the work of Cellini, illustrating the judgment of Solomon, which George Heriot desired the king to buy. Maxwell afterwards became earl of Dirleton, and was the author of several poetical and loyal pieces, one on "the deplorable death" of prince Henry, printed 1612. His cousin, John Maxwell, was subsequently bishop of Ross, and, if Charles had carried out his wishes, would have been also lord high treasurer of Scotland. He was an ecclesiastic, and also a statesman—"distinguished by gravity, learning, and consummate ability." A graduate of St. Andrews, John Maxwell was ordained to the parish of Mortlach, the ancient seat of the bishops of what is now the diocese of Aberdeen, in 1615. A small portion of the ancient church still remains incorporated into the modern parish church, romantically situated by a river side. In 1622 Maxwell was one of the four ministers transferred to Edinburgh, taking the place of Bruce sent into exile. He became one of the clergy of St. Giles', and eventually its dean. The object of his removal was to bring about conformity to the acts of Perth assembly. But on Easter day, 1623, when he assisted Struthers in the celebration of the paschal communion, though both "received upon their knees, but verie few did imitate them." In 1629 he visited the court at Whitehall, being the messenger sent by the bishops to treat of certain difficulties they then had with Huntly and other Roman catholics. On Christmas day, 1630, he very earnestly urged the keeping holy of that festival. This was the subject of his sermon. Next year he preached two sermons which made him somewhat famous. For the first time for long years it was proclaimed that the episcopal order was "*juris divini*, for no others succeeded to the apostles but bishops." In 1633, partly, it is said,

through his cousin's influence, Maxwell was raised to the episcopate. He was appointed bishop of Ross, and soon after received the priory of Beauly *in commendam.* Maxwell was never for half measures. We now think him rash in some things. Undoubtedly his personal attachment to Charles was very strong. He brought down the MS. of the new service book from London in 1636, and urged its immediate use. A disciple in theology of Forbes, we are told he gave great offence to the puritan party by teaching that "a papist living and dying such may be saved . . that Christ died for all . . there is universal grace . . that Christ is reallie present in the sacrament." No wonder that Row calls him that "proud and haughtie piece," and that others consider him the greatest "abbettor" of "all the troubles and calamatyes of the kingdom." At the Glasgow assembly of 1638 other things came to light. He had worn a cope, a "rochet, frequently a surplice," he "kept fasts ilk Friday," "he was a bower to the altar," "he had given absolution, consecrat (!) deacons." Having been on one occasion by some "faithful" brethren "chided for conversing with papists" he had answered that he would "rather converse with them than puritans." All "erroneous doctrines" he "gloried to preach even in Edinburgh." In his own cathedral at Fortrose he showed a good example. He had "used the service book peaceable within the chanry kirk of Ross each sabbath day by the space of two years." On the 11th March, 1638, "causes (as his custom was) lay down a service book upon the reader's desk, and upon some other gentlemen's desks besides, who used the same, about the ringing of the first bell to the preaching," when some scholars came pertly to the kirke," seized the books, and proceeded to burn them "down the Ness, with a coal of fire" "but there fell out such a sudden shower" that the profanity could not be thus completed, so the books were torn in pieces and cast into the sea. Soon after Maxwell went to England to attend the king. He never returned to Ross. At Glasgow "of his excommunication no man made question." He was believed, probably with truth, to have been one of the chief compilers of the service book. When he attended Charles in Edinburgh, it is said that he came into intimate friendship with Laud. Archbishop Spottiswoode calls him his "best-beloved brother," and the day after the primate's death he presented the manuscript of Spottiswoode's history to the king at Whitehall. Dr. Grub, whose

fairness all admit, says, "John Maxwell, bishop of Ross, seems to have been the greatest Scottish prelate of the reign of Charles. His eminent ability, his devotion to the cause of his sovereign and the church, the rectitude of his conduct, the dignity and consistency of his character, have never been sufficiently acknowledged, even by writers most favourable to monarchy and episcopacy." Maxwell was the author of several little works all tending to the promotion of church order. The earliest appears to be one printed in 1617—"Primitive patterne for the church of Scotland, with a demonstration of Christ's descent into hell." In 1641 appeared "Episcopacy not abjured in his majesty's realm of Scotland"; in 1644, "An answer for a gentleman who desires some reason by which it might appear how inconsistent presbyterial government is with monarchy." The pamphlet best known is that called "The burden of Issachar," 1644. This was republished with another title in 1668. It treats of "The tyrannicall power and practises of the presbyteriall government in Scotland," showing that "presbyteriall fingers are heaver than episcopall loyness, these correcting with a rod, those with a scorpion." As to the Scottish reformation he "judges verily, that the church had never an orderly and warranted reformation till it was happily begun and advanced by king James, when he tooke the government in his own hand, and was like to come to a great perfection under the government of our most gracious sovereign king Charles." Speaking of Knox and his "complices," he adds, "for the manner of proceedings, the way they took, I dare not, I will not approve it." Maxwell's services were fully appreciated by his royal master. In 1640 he was granted D.D. by the university of Dublin, and in the same year promoted to the see of Killala in that kingdom. In 1641, he was compelled, along with the archbishop of Tuam, to retire to Galway. He "had been forced from his episcopal palace by the rebels, plundered of his goods, attacked, with his wife, three children, and a number of protestants, in all about a hundred, at the bridge of Shruel, where several were slain, and the bishop himself, with others, was wounded." This is a very moderate statement of his sufferings. A contemporary writer says, "One hundred and twenty they stript starke naked, and drave them upon a bridge, and forced them into the water, drowned those who could not swimme, and those who could swimme they knocked on the head

when they came to land." The bishop was only rescued by a nobleman who happened to pass. He afterwards went to Dublin, where his zeal and excellent sermons did much good. Afterwards he went to Oxford and joined the king, being the first to give him real intelligence of the frightful sufferings and more than brutal treatment of the royalists in Ireland. In 1645 he was appointed archbishop of Tuam. But his work was done. Overcome with labours, sufferings, and distress, he may be said to have died a martyr. Distressed beyond measure at the impending disasters, he returned to his closet, and was found on his knees quite dead, at Dublin, 14th February, 1646. It is somewhat difficult for *us* to realise the fulness of such a life. It was one of unceasing service for God, the church, the king, and the state. Maxwell may be called the Scottish Laud. His motto also was "Thorough." A presbyterian writer has summed up his course with the remark, "a poor life indeed"—"poor certainly," says our historian, "if the bishop had not looked forward to a better." Archbishop Maxwell lies buried in Christ church cathedral, Dublin.

The office of satirist has always found a place in all great movements. Davy Lyndsay's ballads helped vastly the Scottish reformation. Scott perceived this when he pourtrays the clown with his song of the "Pape that pagan full of pride," as assisting by that to deface Melrose. Who does not recollect the romantic and sometimes stinging ballads of the Jacobite times? The Glasgow assembly had also their satirists, though less commonly known. Forrester, with his Litany,

> "From the race of knock down Knoxes
> Good Lord deliver us,"

is an example.

But the puritans hated no one as they hated John Corbet, parson of Bonyl or Bonhill, an old collegiate church to the north of Glasgow. He was one of those who declined the authority of the assembly of 1638. He also went to Ireland. In 1639 he got printed there a pamphlet entitled "The ungirding of the Scottish armour." In it he maintained that it was unlawful for subjects to take up arms against their lawful prince. The treatise was dedicated to Strafford, and was licensed by the chaplain of the archbishop of Dublin. He was recommended for a living to Adair, then bishop of Killala, who received him coldly, and, punning on his name,

said, "Corby, it is an ill bird that defiles its own nest." Some say Adair, himself a puritan, justified the covenanters to Corbet with "a warmth and acrimony utterly indecent." Naturally indignant, Corbet laid information against Adair; the consequence was his deprivation—though eventually he was transferred to Waterford. Corbet now published his best known satire, "The epistle congratularie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the society of Jesu to the covenanters in Scotland, wherein is paralleled our sweet harmony and correspondency in divers material poin s of doctrine and practice." It bears no printed name, but was issued from Dublin. Corbet takes up fifteen points of similarity, and brings out some very curious items—as to the treatment of kings by both parties, as to the powers of excommunication claimed, as to the submerging of "episcopacy" by the one party in the pope, by the other in the general assembly. Ignatius and Leslie are compared as the leaders of the different parties. In regard to the "recommendation" to the "kirks of England and Ireland," of "the patterne showne on the mount," the writer asks if "Dunce hill, called by your preachers mount Zion," is the mount meant. In conclusion, the imaginary Jesuit says, "Salute all our friends, and, especially at your night meetings for devotion, salute the sisters with a holy kisse," and in the next page tells a very extraordinary story of "a good old matron of the city of Edinburgh," whose conduct with regard to "her daughter's infirmity of the flesh" is paralleled with strange rules of "our society," which in certain circumstances make such falls "no sin at all." It appears that Corbet was travelling with Maxwell when the brutal attack was made at Shruel. The savage Irish "hewed him to pieces in the very arms of his poor wife," and in presence of Maxwell, who was unable to help him. Another account tells us that the murder was perpetrated by "two swineherds." The ferocity of these villains may be realised from the fact that one "tooke an infant out of the mother's arms, and cast it into the fire before her face."

Doctor James Wedderburne,

Bishop of Dunblane.

MEMBERS of the family of Wedderburn, in the north-west of Scotland, had been famous for poetry and Latinity for generations before the subject of this sketch saw the light. At the time of the reformation three brothers of this name flourished. One of them is said to have been author of the oft quoted, but little read, "Complaint of Scotland," to which sir Walter Scott makes reference when enumerating the treasures of "the Antiquary." One of the brothers is still remembered as the author of a very curious and "compendious booke of godly and spiritual songs," collected and issued in 1597 from the Scottish press, "for avoiding of sinne and harlotrie." The youngest of the brothers was vicar of Dundee, and one of the earlier adherents of the Knoxian cause. Another of the name was for more than a generation master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, and "humanitarian" in Marischal college. He was a great scholar and a famous writer of Latin verse. His praises have been sung by Arthur Johnston, and rung by Vossius. He published a large number of pieces, including a Latin grammar, and after his death in 1640, his brother Alexander procured the publication of his edition of Persius, with copious notes, &c. This is said to have added great fame to his memory. It is a thin little volume issued by the Elzevir press in 1644. My copy bears the book-plate of, and a note by the equally great scholar and churchman, Thomas Ruddiman. Connected with these famous scholars was doctor James Wedderburne, who was born at Dundee, anno 1585. He studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, and for a good time was a *resident* in the house of the great and learned Isaac Causabon, to whose son Meric he acted as tutor.

In 1623 we learn that the "English service" being introduced in the university church of St. Andrews, Wedderburne, who was then the professor of divinity in the university, approved and assisted in the furtherance of this very proper "novation." He appeared to be doing there what William Forbes did at Aberdeen, endeavouring to get quit of some of the Calvinistic ideas which were then held to be "gospel truth" in the Scotch universities. He appealed to the teaching of the church catholic, and "inveighed upon many of these things that are receaved in the reformed churches . . . rendering them distasteful to his scollars; . . . he praised the writings of papists and Arminians"—probably the ancient fathers and the Anglican divines. So successful was he that "many pairtes of the kingdom wer infected, and felt the evill." Persecuted by the Calvinistic party, he was compelled to retire to England, where he became a prebendary of Ely, and rector of Mildenhall. He was soon chosen by the king to assist in the work of restoration, which it was hoped would now go on in Scotland. It seems that the archbishop of St. Andrews specially desired his services for the regular offices performed in the chapel royal, the deanery of which had been joined to the see of Dunblane. More familiar than the Scotch bishops and clergy with liturgical rites and offices, the example he might give there would, it was hoped, influence others. Bellenden, the former bishop, had incurred Laud's displeasure on account of his delay in fully ordering the chapel services. He was probably more conversant with the general state of affairs in the kingdom. And, indeed, delay would have been the wiser course. However, Wedderburne was consecrated on the 11th of February, 1636. He is described by Laud as a "scholar and book man," and appears to have been taken in charge by Maxwell, for Laud thanks him for his care of Wedderburne, adding, "he is very able to do service, and will certainly do it if you can keep up his heart. I pray, commend my love to him." The chief work which he was to do was liturgical. He had assisted, to some extent, in the preparation of the new service book, particularly in the arrangement of the communion service and the translation of the Athanasian creed. Dr. Grub tells us that he "appears to have been mainly instrumental in obtaining the restoration, in the order for the ministration of the holy communion, of portions of the office which had been lost to

the church of England since the first liturgy of king Edward VI." Another writer, to whom "Scotch episcopacy" was very distasteful, says that he was "one of the most scholarly of the Scottish bishops."

For some time after the reformation the second book of Edward had been used. This was succeeded by the book of common order, generally known as the "psalm book." The service under the latter has been thus described by a recent presbyterian writer:—"On Sunday mornings the church bell rung to warn the congregation to prepare for the service, which commenced at eight. On entering the church the congregation uncovered and joined in silent devotion. A reader (not to be confused with the minister), decently clad in grave apparel, calls over the roll of the congregation, and marks all absentees to be dealt with. Then, proceeding to the lectern, he reads from 'the book of common order,' the people kneeling, and this prayer was called 'the confession of our sins.' Other liturgical prayers were followed by singing, which was ended by the 'gloria patri.' After portions from the old and new testaments the first part of the service ends, the bell again rings, the reader leaves the lectern, the minister enters the church, prays extempore for light, and, putting his hat on his head, as do also the audience, gives out his text. The service ends with the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church, the Lord's prayer, and the creed, and after further singing the congregation disperse."

When Spottiswoode succeeded to the primacy he resolved to procure some measure of improvement in this manner of service, and for that purpose drew up some proposals, which have been already referred to in the sketch of his life. He notes that "there is lacking in our church a form of divine service. . . . The forms of marriage, baptism, and administration of the holy supper must be in some points helped." Soon afterwards the degree of doctor of divinity was revived at St. Andrews, as an encouragement to learning. Habits were enjoined for doctors and prelates. Further steps had been for some time under consideration. About 1629, a "booke of common prayer" was drawn up and submitted to Charles. This has been printed, with a scholarly introduction, by the Rev. George W. Sprott, who correctly describes it as "a cross between the English liturgy and that of Knox." Charles wished something better, but the editor remarks quite truly that

"their overdoing ended in undoing." Laud, it is said, wished the English book to be adopted in its entirety, as in Ireland. The bishops refused this. At this juncture Wedderburne appears. If a book was to be drawn up, the king, Laud, and the younger Scottish bishops wished one the arrangement of which would be better than that of the English book. Wedderburne at once gave assistance, but it must have been a hard thing for "a man who was of a gentle and timid disposition, unfit for political controversy, and coveting only the reputation of a scholar," to leave his quiet study for the turbulent and intriguing life of the Scottish capital and the court of Whitehall. But he obeyed at once. His services were rewarded by the sentence of deprivation from the Glasgow assembly, and he was "ordained to be excommunicated solemnlye." He retired to England, his health destroyed by the anxieties and worries he had undergone for his native church. On the 23rd September, 1639, he died, after a long illness, and was buried "within the chapel of the virgin Mary," in Canterbury cathedral, where the inscription on his gravestone described him as a "most reverend father in Christ, a man of ancient probity and faith, and on account of his excellent teaching the great ornament of his native country." He appointed Laud his executor, and left his property (chiefly in Scotland) almost entirely to charitable uses. The archbishop declined the service, and the "deceased prelate's brother, Dr. John Wedderburne, then residing at Olmutz, and chief physician of the state of Moravia," was requested to carry out the intentions of the bequest.

The chief interest to churchmen of to-day in the life of bishop Wedderburne lies in the result of his liturgical labours, as now partly enshrined in the "Scotch office." It was he who gained a return to the simpler form of words in the delivery of the holy sacrament to the communicant. The change in the canon of consecration, which he is believed to have procured, has been already referred to. As many of our readers know, that change extends to the liturgy of the great church of the United States. The canon in the "Scotch office" continued as Wedderburne left it till 1764, when a change was made by bishops Forbes and Falconar. This does not seem to have been so generally acquiesced in as some would lead us to suppose. Soon after the "office" ceased to be used in the diocese of Edinburgh.

The older form was reprinted in the same year as the Forbes-Falconar recension, and only two years before an edition was issued, exactly following the book of 1636. This is not so generally known as it should be. That this latter edition was intended for use is shown by the "private devotions at the administration of the holy communion" added to it, one part of which approximates very closely to well known western uses.

James Graham,

Marquis of Montrose.

THE many-sided story of the great marquis is so well known that a summary of his life in this series of biographies might be deemed unnecessary. But Montrose eventually became the gathering cry of all who wished well to Scotland and its episcopate. Many suffered with him and after him—loyal clergy and men of noble blood and connection. Many of our readers have doubtless seen the picture of the great hero in his early youth—a beautiful picture of a beautiful boy—a face and form noble, refined and most attractive. The picture, of which a most lovely engraving was executed for sheriff Mark Napier, was painted about the time of his marriage. The times were uncertain, the future looked full of trouble, and the guardians of the young noble thought it proper that he should be thus "settled" early in life. His sense of duty was then strong: soon after he recommenced his studies. There was a risk in such a proceeding, but all turned out happily. In the old library at Innerpeffray may be seen Montrose's French bible, with his autograph and motto. It was disinterred by Napier, who provided a suitable case for its preservation. The founder of the library was married to his sister, lady Beatrix Graham. The great hero was fortunate in his biographer. George Wishart, afterwards bishop of Edinburgh, a gentleman and a scholar, has done him full justice. The recent splendid edition of the "Deeds of Montrose," edited by canon Murdoch and Mr. Simpson, leaves nothing to be desired.

Montrose, having spent a considerable period of his early manhood abroad, returned to England in 1634, when he found "his country and religion practically at the mercy of Hamilton, a contemptuous Scot whom he despised, and of an Englishman, Laud, whom he suspected." But Montrose was no party man. He was devoted heart and soul to his king, whom he loved and admired. But he thought the court measures tyrannical. In some ways this

was true. To the joy of the covenanters he adopted their manifesto. Montrose was proud. Rothes held out to him the hopes of being general of all the Scottish forces. His being deceived in this no doubt helped to open his eyes to the hypocrisy of those with whom he was associated. He could not go all the length of the covenanters. He detested intolerance—the tyranny of Argyll without a king was as offensive to him as that of Hamilton pretending to act with one. Even at Aberdeen, when with an army he was sent to force the covenant on reluctant divines and citizens, who detested it, he readily accepted signatures with explanations. His measures were successful. Those who surrounded him professed to be zealous for the king, for law, and freedom. But Montrose soon saw through their specious pretexts. When he realised that the person of the king and his lawful authority were aimed at, he was filled with horror, and resolved to leave such a nest of traitors. His forebodings were too surely fulfilled. The king was sold by his native countrymen, and the apparent ruin of three kingdoms followed. As yet, however, these horrors were not disclosed. Montrose soon offered his sword anew to his royal master, and solicited a commission to raise a royal army. This was first thwarted by Hamilton, but Montrose repaired to the court at Oxford and received a commission as lieutenant-general for the king in Scotland. Then began that "career of victory which is almost without a parallel in history." But this career ended in disaster, and after six brilliant victories all was lost at Philiphaugh on September 10th, 1645. The able Leslie in an unexpected attack utterly routed the royal army. After a capitulation with Middleton, Montrose left Scotland for a time. He then lived in Paris. At Brussels he heard of the murder of Charles. His clear mind had foreseen the tragedy—the natural result of rebellion and hypocrisy. His lines written then can never be forgotten :—

> "Great, good, and just! could I but rate
> My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
> I'd weep the world to such a strain
> As it should deluge once again," &c.

He felt that tears were women's work, so he adds—

> "I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

Montrose was sent for by Charles II. He was invested with the garter, and received a commission to recover Scotland. After a short time money was supplied by the Scandinavian sovereigns, and Montrose and his band landed from Norway in Orkney in March, 1650. The loyal inhabitants of those isles greeted him with enthusiasm, and the clergy addressed him with welcome, for which they were afterwards excommunicated, and a general "interdict" laid on the country by the general assembly. This lasted for many years. Accompanied by some additional volunteers he passed to Caithness, was well received, and journeying south got as far as Ross-shire, where his enemies overtook him. The brave little army was totally routed by a surprise attack at Invercarron. Montrose fled on a borrowed horse, having first made all the resistance he could. He threw away his ribbons, star and cloak, and, exchanging his other clothes with a countryman, retired into the highlands. There he was betrayed, to the everlasting shame of Macleod of Assynt, "his pretended old friend." Major Sinclair, an Orkney loyalist, shared the cellar beneath the castle where both were confined. General Leslie was at Tain, and sent to secure the captives. Rudeness was shown, and no consideration for the hero. At Skibo the lady of the castle was so enraged at the conduct of the guard that she seized the roasted leg of mutton she had provided for the repast of the party, and struck and bashed major-general Holburn with purpose. At Inverness he was treated with courtesy and kindness. On the 18th of May he arrived at Edinburgh, when he was placed on a common cart, and so conveyed to the jail. A vast crowd thronged the streets. It is said that when he passed the house where Argyll and Warriston were they drew back from the windows — "they start asyd at his look, for they durst not look him in the face thir seaven yeiris bygan." Their turn came by-and-by—they too had to give their lives for the cause they upheld. Soon afterwards he was beset by the ministers and members of parliament. He declined all communications. He told them, however, that "they were much mistaken if they thought the procession of yesterday in a mean cart had affected him with shame or sorrow. He esteemed it the most honourable and happy journey he had ever performed. His most merciful God and Redeemer had manifested His presence to him, to his great unspeakable comfort, and had illumined and elevated his soul with divine grace to overlook the reproaches of men, and fix his gaze firmly on Him alone, for whom he suffered their indignities."

Next day he was brought before the council. His speech has been preserved by Wishart. It is a noble peroration, and in few words explains his reasons for deserting the covenant, taking up arms at the command of his sovereign, and vindicates most fully his whole conduct. Returning to prison, his friends were debarred from visiting him. Two "more sullen" ministers obtruded themselves, and assured him of his "eternal damnation" because he would not receive their prayers or attentions. Our readers must not think that anathemas are restricted to the Roman communion. When the ministers left him Guthrie remarked, "We must with sad hearts leave you . . . having the fearful apprehension that what is bound on earth God will bind in heaven." His execution was fixed for the 21st of May. The night before he wrote some lines on the window of his cell. These are well known :—

> "Let them bestow on every airth a limb
>
> * * * * *
>
> Lord, since Thou knowest where all these atoms are,
> I 'm hopeful Thou 'lt recover once my dust,
> And confident Thou 'lt raise me with the just."

On the fatal morning he dressed himself with care, his friends having provided clothing suitable to his rank. "About two in the afternoon he put on a scarlet cloak richly laced with gold, and was led from the prison to the scaffold in the market." "His speech [there] was full of composure, and his carriage as sweet as ever I saw a man in all my days." Amongst his last words were these, "Into God's hands I commend my spirit, and He has deigned in grace and mercy to assure me of full forgiveness for all my sins, and peace and salvation in Jesus Christ my Redeemer." With the "name above every name" he closed his lips and addressed himself to private intercession. He was then ignominiously hung like a common malefactor—afterwards dismembered, and his limbs sent to and spiked at the "ports" or gates of Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, and Aberdeen. The clothes he wore were obtained and prized by his friends. Some are still preserved. In a family with which the writer is connected a handkerchief which had been dipped in his blood when the dismemberment took place was long preserved as a valued, almost sacred relic. Several of Montrose's officers also suffered. Harry Spottiswoode of Dairsie, grandson of the archbishop; sir Francis

Hay, Sibbald, colonel Charteris, and others were all executed. Nearly three hundred of his "common souldiers" were sold as slaves. At this time it was that the covenanting preacher cried out that the "good work went bonnily on," when the scaffold or rather shambles at the cross of Edinburgh, for the space of six weeks, was daily "smoking with the blood of the most valiant and loyal subjects."

King Charles the First.

PRINCE CHARLES, afterwards king of Great Britain, was born at Dunfermline on 19th November, 1600. He was a sickly child. Archbishop Spottiswoode tell us that "his death was much feared," and that therefore his "christening was hastened." The bishop of Ross performed the sacred office. Some two and a half years afterwards James, now king of England, proceeded there. Prince Charles was meantime left under the special charge of chancellor Seton. He was soon afterwards taken to England. Charles, therefore, had no experience of Scotch manners or men. He was brought up as an Englishman. In disposition very different from prince Henry—in manner distant, stately, and often silent, he stood by himself, and no doubt there was considerable truth in the character given him by his brother. It is stated that prince Henry remarked in joke that when he became king he should make Charles archbishop of Canterbury. James thoroughly understood Scotland: in finance often unwise, in English matters not skilled, in regard to Scotland always certain. Church matters then went well. The church was governed quietly but firmly, and no one could have foretold what was to happen when Charles became king. Both Charles and Buckingham were able men, the former virtuous and devout. When they went to Spain, we have preserved to us still the account of the magnificent garniture of the temporary royal chapel. Though wedded to a Romanist, Charles never swerved from the Anglican church. Its catholic creed and its stately ceremonial always appealed to him responsively. But here we can only speak of Charles as a Scotsman, and as favouring order and the church in the country of his birth and baptism. There are three great points in his life which we must notice, and these follow each other. They evolve—first, his decrees arbitral in regard to the right to tithes. James had at great cost improved the position of the clergy. Charles added to their endowments. He acquired the "abbacy of Arbroath from the

marquis of Hamilton, and the lordship of Glasgow from the duke of Lennox. Various estates were bought in the same way and given to others of the bishoprics." He intended more, but the rapacity of the nobles prevented it. The arrangement as to the tithes received parliamentary sanction in 1630.

In 1633 Charles visited Scotland. Laud, then bishop of London, and White, bishop of Ely, accompanied him. The king was crowned with great ceremony. Some ritual observances were commanded, and the official dress of the Scots clergy regulated. Choral service was revived in the chapel royal. Then came the second great point—Charles founded the see of Edinburgh. That great district had formerly been included in the archdiocese of St. Andrews. St. Giles' collegiate church was appointed the cathedral. A chapter was formed. Dr. William Forbes, whose wonderful preaching had so pleased the king, was nominated the first bishop. So far all was well.

Then the third point came into prominence. The service book and the book of canons being prepared were ordered to be used. Here Charles made a mistake—yet, in one way, at least, excusable. We forget too readily that Charles could not have much knowledge of the Scottish character. He looked for the same obedience which he received in England. But the circumstances and the nature of the people were entirely different, and so all was ruined, and in the ruins of the church both prelates and king were buried. All that had been built up in church order during the past forty years was overthrown in one day. The king yielded. But, like the wolves who follow the Russian sledge, one point given up only made the hungry pack more bloodthirsty. Charles resisted a good deal when required to give up the order of the church in Scotland. But all was in vain. The king had to be devoured—all had to be sacrificed; and so he fell a martyr for the church. Nothing but his blood could satisfy the tyrants who, by stratagems unworthy of men, compassed his end. Still the church rose from his blood and ashes, and the very action of its bitter enemies so astonished the British nation that when restoration came the church was more firmly fixed in their affections than ever it had been.

Charles "was very punctual and regular in his devotions; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at

public prayers; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions." He would tolerate no profanity. "He was always a great lover of the Scottish nation." Most know Clarendon's "sum of his character":—"He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian that the age in which he lived produced." After the king's murder the royal body was taken to Windsor. With difficulty access was obtained to one of the royal vaults. The coffin, with its black velvet pall upon it, was thrust into the ground, and then the earth thrown in. The use of the burial service was refused. But on that awful morning early the king had received the most comfortable sacrament of the body and the blood of Christ from Juxon, and, being thus in the possession of the best of gifts, had all things. Then—as Dr. Grub adds—"He had never been so loved and reverenced by the great body of the people as he now was." Silence, indeed, now reigned—the silence of death. Movement was like the deep rivers, apparently almost still. Men dissembled. They knew not who should follow next. Many did follow, and it took more than ten years to break the iron chain which bound the nations. The awakening came—a terrible account had to be given of "innocent blood." The very stones seemed to cry out, till God heard, and sent deliverance. Well would it have been for Scotland and her church if the successors of Charles had been inheritors of his virtues and devotion, as they were of his name. That the Roman court, and particularly the society of Jesus, had a hand in the troubles of the great rebellion, and in the murder of Charles, was long believed amongst, and taught by, Scotch episcopalians. In an historical sermon, the MS. of which is in the writer's possession, preached by the Rev. Alexander Christie, at Keith, in 1790, the following passage occurs:—"And when at last his majesty was brought to the block (and such a shocking sight, save one, the sun never beheld), Mr. Henry Spottiswoode, riding casually that way, just as his head was cut off, espied the queen's confessor there on horseback, in the habit of trooper, drawing forth his sword and flourishing it over his own head in triumph, as others then did. At which, Mr. Spottiswoode being much amazed, and being familiarly acquainted with ye confessor, rode up to him

and said, 'O father, I little thought to have found you here, or any of your profession, at such a dismal spectacle.' To which the good father, with a contemptuous smile, replied, that there were more than forty priests and Jesuits there present on horseback beside himself. . . . When the fatal stroke was given, the priest said, 'Now our greatest enemy is dead.' O hard fated prince! how hast thou suffered like thy blessed Master."

William Lauder,

Chantor of Ross.

IN 1597, James Lauder was appointed dean of Ross and parson of Ardersier. A few years after he resigned the deanery, and accepted the benefice of Avoch—the chantor's living. For about fifty years he lived there, in times better and worse; although in 1642 he resigned Avoch in favour of his eldest son, the subject of this notice. His life, too, was a long one. Brought up at the feet of the famous Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen, William Lauder is believed to have survived (in retirement) the Revolution of 1688. At the death of bishop Forbes in 1635, the obituary sermons, notices, and poems elicited from mourning pupils and friends were collected in a volume, printed at Aberdeen by Raban, and republished by the now defunct Spottiswoode Society in 1845. Three pieces in this volume were composed and offered as tributes to the bishop's memory by William Lauder, then a theological student at Aberdeen. They are elegant specimens of Latin verse. Avoch is about two miles from the cathedral city of Ross—"Fortrose, otherwise Chanonry—a neat little town, standing round a green, much more like England than Scotland. On one side of this green are the remains of the once glorious cathedral, the see of the bishops of Ross. It was not destroyed in the Knoxian reformation, but by Oliver Cromwell, who applied the stones to the construction of a fort at Inverness." Here, soon after his graduation, young Lauder was instituted, having obtained a presentation to the living from king Charles I.

How many of our older clergy seem but shadows; names only—a few entries in some mouldering register—perhaps a tombstone inscription—are all we know of long lives spent in the service of the church. Probably this would have been the case with William Lauder also, if one circumstance had not prevented it. We might have supposed the affectionate pupil of bishop Forbes retired, like George Herbert, to the vicinity of the cathedral town—his highest

aspirations the improvement and restoration of the old minster, which is still lovely in its "calm decay."

Some time ago, however, I became the possessor of a thick quarto volume, which must have been one of the chief treasures of the old chantor of Ross. It contains, bound together in a vellum cover, a number of his theological exercises, some sermons, poems, treatises on different historical subjects, besides dramatic pieces.

This volume opens up to us the life of a scholar and a divine. The former character we might have expected from his pieces on the death of the bishop of Aberdeen, but the volume shows us, also, how true his beliefs and principles were to the heritage of the church catholic. Some of our friends still labour under the delusion that before 1688 all Scotch theology was puritan, and all "rule, authority, and power," a sort of civilised presbyterianism. By-and-by, as the stores of unpublished history are brought out of old store-houses, many surprises will be met with. We are beginning to know better now than to present the church history of Scotland, for the hundred and odd years from 1566-1688, to the presbyterians, though, strange to say, some of our would-be church historians seem still to date the beginning of that history from the time of the Spottiswoodian consecrations. To return to our scholar. His writing is in parts extremely minute, and the Latin difficult to decipher, but the titles of some of the theses will show what subjects occupied his hours of study: Observations, historico-theological, on the subject of baptism against the Donatists; Of the intention of the minister in sacred acts; A specimen of a supposed dispute between a follower of St. Augustine and a Donatist; Of the efficacy of the sacraments; That the prayers, alms, and oblations that the ancients made for the dead do not favour the Roman purgatory; Concerning various schismatics and puritan heretics; An application of the arguments which the ancients used as to schismatics against the modern Roman schism.

Then we have poetical pieces—"In Natalem D. N. Jesu Christi," devotions in preparation for the festivals of the Ascension and Whitsunday—a poem written in tears amid the decay of the chapter house of Fortrose. In this piece Lauder commemorates archbishop Adamson, king James, and king Charles. This piece was evidently written before the restoration. The church he looks upon as another ruined Troy: happily he lived to see the episcopate restored in the person of Paterson, of whom perhaps we may some

day give a better account than that in Keith and Scott—from original papers—showing him to be one of the best of men and wisest of prelates. Some of Lauder's pieces are satirical. In one of these he describes a presbyterian assembly, of which "Tarquinius Superbus" is moderator, who commences business "post multas effusas preces." There are lighter pieces, and the chantor even indulges in a love song. In the volume are two sermons, both very interesting—the one preached on a Good Friday, from St. Luke xxiii. 39-43, the other "on Pasche day after the communion," text, "If ye be risen with Christ, seeke those things which are above." The concluding doxology of the latter is, "To God onlie wise, unitie in trinitie, be all honour, praise, power and glory, world without end. Amen." Lauder's theological treatises remind us somewhat of bishop William Forbes' "Considerationes." The opinions of the early church are considered conclusive in authority, and the realisation of what the church catholic is, is brought out fully and clearly. But the chantor was only one of many accomplished Latinists, well read theologians, deep thinkers, whom Scotland produced in the seventeenth century. Knowing Patrick Forbes, he may have seen Sage, and probably knew Hay, bishop of Moray, who died at Inverness in 1707. A person is still alive in the diocese of Ross who knew those confirmed by bishop Robert Forbes. That prelate's father and mother were baptized in the church before 1688—while still established—during the life-time of Lauder. This little circumstance may show us that, after all, it is not so long ago since our church in Scotland had her two archbishops, twelve bishops, and a thousand clergy—with all the glory of "an establishment of religion."

Thomas Sydserff,

Bishop of Brechin, Galloway, and of Orkney.

SYDSERFF was one of the first presbyters ordained by archbishop Gladstanes after his consecration, and the only Scotch prelate who survived the troubles of the great rebellion. He was the eldest son of James Sydserff, an Edinburgh merchant, the younger son or cousin of the laird of Ruchlaw. Young Sydserff graduated at the university of Edinburgh, and his ordination took place in St. Giles', "the great kirk of Edinburgh," 31st May, 1611, when the primate notes that he had "in great solemnitie taken of him the oath of supremacie to your majestie, and obedience to me as his ordinair"; and adds that he himself "continewes in preaching everie Sunday before noone in the hie kirk." The appointment of Sydserff as one of the ministers of St. Giles' appears to have been made by the joint consent of the town council and session of Edinburgh. He laboured in St. Giles', and subsequently in the Trinity college parish, till his promotion to the see of Brechin in 1634. He must have given satisfaction, for after three years his salary is considerably increased. Sydserff was a scholar. This, indeed, his Latin life of bishop William Forbes, prefixed to his "Considerationes," proves; but he also excelled in Latin versification. When James VI. revisited his "calf country," in 1617, the university of Edinburgh addressed him in a "congratulatio"—a number of Latin and Greek pieces in verse, learned and pompous. Some of these are from the pen of Sydserff. One is entitled "Harmonia lyræ et leonis in insignibus regiis." Such offerings as these were always acceptable to "James, the peaceful and the just." During his whole ministry Sydserff was an ardent and consistent supporter of the measures urged by the king for the more reverent celebration of divine service. To all orders for conformity he gave ready obedience, and sought to bring others to the same standard as himself. This could not fail to make enemies; but even

these, as in the case of Henry Blythe, a minister "warded" in Inverness for contumacy, respected him. David Calderwood alone must be excepted. Yet to that historian we owe much. He has preserved a large number of curious letters and other documents and items in his "History." But even his friends were afraid of his opposition and temper. His "carriage" at the Glasgow assembly was, they said, "less considerable," and the most learned of presbyterian writers has referred to his "obstinacy of humour." But he was a great man, and his "Altare Damascenum" is probably the most learned attack of that age on the regimen of the church of England "as by law established." Before Easter, 1620, when arrangements were being made for the more reverend celebration of the paschal communion, Sydserff appears to have acted forbearingly, and, when overcome once by temper, admitted it and craved pardon. One of the puritan citizens asking "efter what maner wold they minister" the holy communion? was answered by Sydserff, "efter what maner ye please to receive it, sitting, standing, or kneeling"—his colleague Galloway afterwards adding that the humblest way (of kneeling) gave most comfort. In 1626, Sydserff became minister of Trinity college parish, and when the see of Edinburgh was founded was appointed dean. This was on the 19th of February, 1634. "Mr. Alexander Thomson, one of the ministers of the town, preached a sermon, and the bishop gave the dean many admonitions concerning the charge given unto him. All was done in the presence of the magistrates, several other bishops, and a numerous company of spectators." After the premature death of bishop William Forbes, some thought that the dean would be successor, but the vacant chair was filled by Dr. David Lyndsay, bishop of Brechin, the learned author of the "True narration" of the proceedings of Perth assembly. Sydserff was appointed to the see of Brechin. "Accordingly on the 29th of July, 1634, the bishops of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Ross, and severall other bishops, met in the royall chappell of Hallyroodhouse, and received Mr. Lindsay, upon the king's nomination and presentation, bishop of Edinburgh, and Mr. Sydserf was consecrated bishop of Brichen in his room. Upon the Sabbath before the English liturgy was read in the chappell royall, and worship was performed, and the whole service [conducted] according to the English rites, all the bishops [being present] and

the two to be received for bishops of Edinburgh and Brichen with them." "There were also two great feasts made; the one by the toune of Edinburgh for their new lord bishop; the other (a greater one) made by Mr. Thomas Sydserf for his consecration, with great joy, carousing, and jubilation." The last sentence is from the puritan Row, who evidently looked askance at the "jubilation." But we can soon point to Sydserff entering the house of mourning. In that wonderful collection, the "Funeralls" of bishop Patrick Forbes, we have his letter of condolence addressed to Dr. John Forbes. It is full of tender thoughts well expressed, and for himself he prays God that the true "representations of virtue and grace, which I ever saw in your father . . . may still have force with me to stirre up in me the lyke." Sydserff's seal as bishop of Brechin is preserved in the antiquarian museum, Edinburgh. In 1635 he was translated to Galloway. There he found abundance of work. In July, 1636, he made every possible effort "at sundrie dyetts in private" to induce the famous Samuel Rutherford to conformity. The attempt failed. Rutherford was sent in exile to Aberdeen, from whence he wrote "to his awin people and many others of all ranks" those extraordinary "Letters" which even still find admirers amongst educated and devout presbyterians. After the tumults as to the service book were somewhat stilled, another arose in which Sydserff nearly lost his life. On October 18th, 1637, as he and the lord justice-general, sir William Elphinston (formerly secretary to the queen of Bohemia) were peaceably passing along the street to the "council hous" to discharge a commission, an "enraged multitude surrounded the bishop of Gallowaye," and followed him with "fearful cursings and exclamations," so that it was only "with much adoe" he got safe within the door of the courtroom, and he only returned under a special safeguard to his "lodgings." In one of the "pasquils" of the time he is hailed as "black Tam o' Galloway." Truly every man's sword was against his fellow. "Tam" was duly and truly excommunicated by the Glasgow assembly, one ground being "that he called his horse Puritan, who would do nothing without beating." Forced to leave Scotland, Sydserff attended the king and royal army at Newcastle. Afterwards he took up his residence in Paris, and officiated in the ambassador's chapel there. Burnett of Cramond there met him, and thus speaks: "The Lord

is my witness, to whom I must answer at the last day, I think there was never a more unjust sentence of excommunication . . . I have known him these twenty-nine years, and I have never known any wickedness or unconscientious dealing in him; and I know him to be a learned and more conscientious man (although I will not purge him of infirmities more than others) than any of those who were upon his excommunication . . . All Scots and English here, both of one party and the other, respect him"—with more to the same purpose. Evelyn tells us in his diary that on Trinity sunday, 1650, he saw him hold an ordination at Paris, when after a sermon by Dr. (afterwards bishop) Cousin, Durell and Brevint, afterwards deans of Windsor and Durham, were ordained by Sydserff. He "officiated with great gravity . . . Both were made deacons and priests at the same time in regard to the necessity of the times." Before 1658 he was probably in London getting bishop Forbes' "Considerationes" ready for the press, the MS. having "runne all hazards that bishop Sydserff endured." At the restoration he again did the church of England good service, having "ordained according to the Scots form several hundreds of English nonconformists, who had some scruples and objections against the English church." Indeed, it is pretty well known that Tillotson, the famous archbishop of Canterbury, was one of those raised to the priesthood by the faithful bishop of Galloway. "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee." Kneeling before that worn old man, the candidates, many of them men of years and learning, believed that truly and really there was "a gift imparted" by the laying on of his apostolic hands, that neither presbytery nor consistory could bestow. When the new succession in Scotland was commenced in the consecration of Sharp and his brethren, Sydserff was not included in the commission, though he was the only surviving prelate of the older line. That line is, however, connected with, and was in succession bestowed upon, these candidates. Abernethy, bishop of Caithness, had assisted at the consecration of Morton, afterwards well known as bishop of Durham. The bishop of Galloway received the see of Orkney. It was then one of the best endowed. He never visited his distant diocese, but was by no means inert in promoting its interests. He had the dean up to Edinburgh, and furnished him with full instructions. He sent books to instruct the clergy there. Two

of these are now in my possession. They bear the monogram of Sydserff in his clear, delicate writing. The dean did his duty well, and before his death Sydserff had the satisfaction of knowing that church order was anew established in Orkney. In 1663 the magistrates of Kirkwall waited on their bishop, who had taken up his residence at Wrichtshouses, near Edinburgh. But the call came soon. The bishop died on Michaelmas day, 1663, in his eighty-second year, the fifty-third of his presbyterate, and thirtieth of his episcopate. He had served the church faithfully. After lying in state in the east kirk he was buried on the 4th October, being "convoyed to the grave very honorablie by all sorts of people, both of nobles, bischopes, gentlemen, and commons." The primate attended the funeral. It was a Sunday, and special commemorative services were held in St. Giles'. While the body "did than ly in the yle," the dean of Edinburgh preached in the forenoon, and the bishop of Edinburgh in the afternoon. They related "his pietie, his learning, his travells abroad, his life and conversation, his sufferinges for the gospell, and all utheris his gifts and graces to the full." The bishop left 400 merks to the cathedral church of Orkney. He left two sons, John, an eminent physician, and Thomas, a dramatic poet, the author of a well-known comedy, "Tarugo's wiles," and translator of "Entertainments of the cours." A presentation copy of the latter, with the autograph of the translator, is in the library at Innerpeffray.

James Sharp, D.D.,

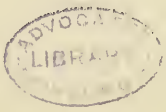
Archbishop of St. Andrews.

ARCHBISHOP SHARP was born at Banff, on the 4th of May, 1618, probably in the castle of that town, which belonged to his father, who was sheriff clerk of that county. His mother was of the family of Lessley of Kininvie, a family of antiquity and position. When about fifteen years of age he was sent to King's college, Aberdeen, where he graduated. His grandfather had been a merchant in that city. Afterwards he studied theology under Dr. John Forbes of Corse, and Dr. Robert Baron. With the latter he was a great favourite. His training under these eminent divines and his acquaintance with the other "Aberdeen doctors" may easily attest that his "first principles" were catholic and orthodox, a fact shown further by his refusal to subscribe the covenant when it was forced at the sword's point upon all in the north. He then retired to Oxford. He hoped that by-and-by he might return and devote his life to the service of the church of Scotland. While at Oxford he acquired the friendship of Sanderson, Hammond, and Jeremy Taylor. Soon afterwards, finding the rebellion gaining ground in England, and attacked with sickness, he resolved to come home. On the way he became acquainted with the Earl of Rothes, and by his interest was appointed professor of philosophy at St. Andrews. This and subsequent kindnesses on the part of Rothes did not prevent Sharp, when archbishop, reproving him most solemnly for his improper course of life. Afterwards he accepted the living of Crail in Fife, and here he remained till his promotion as a royal chaplain. He accepted presbyterian ordination indeed, as his tutor Dr. John Forbes had done—none other was then to be had in Scotland—but the authorities were even then suspicious of him, one remarking "that he spoke through a bishop." No doubt they were correct. When the restoration drew near Sharp acted as commissioner to Monk, who afterwards "repeatedly ac-

knowledged Mr. Sharp's important services to the king at this critical juncture, and there is no doubt but that to this cause he afterwards owed his promotion and favour with the king." He undertook another mission at London to arrange ecclesiastical matters in Scotland with Charles. In this he only acted for the "resolutioners," the more moderate party of the Scottish ministers. He has in this commission been charged with treachery. But the letters which passed between him, Robert Douglas, and others, show this to be false. Wodrow has most shamefully tampered with these letters, omitting large portions and changing others. Sharp did his duty in every respect. He was ordered to procure the royal protection for the presbyterian system. He attempted this, but soon saw that that system was desired by neither king nor country. Douglas even admits this. It was a moderate episcopacy which was desired, and which was set up. Dr. Grub, who does not altogether regard Sharp with favour, says of this portion of his life: "If the attempt [to establish presbyterianism] failed, it was not owing to any faithlessness or negligence on the part of the envoy. . . So long as he was entrusted with a commission for a specific purpose, he discharged his task with faithfulness and ability. When he found that presbyterianism could no longer be maintained, he was not unwilling to separate himself from a falling cause; and the offer of the primacy was a temptation not easy to be resisted by one of his energetic, aspiring disposition." He accepted the primacy. Sharp was unquestionably a very able man, an excellent scholar, and a gentleman of manner and address. A dignitary of the Scottish church once remarked to the writer, how different a figure his portraits present from the vulgar idea of a blood-thirsty, perjured tyrant. He looks calm, dignified, benevolent. The face is benign, kindly, and true. His private account books and other papers show how generous he was, and it is said that a daughter of the infamous Warriston acted as his almoner amongst the poorer puritan preachers who refused the easy terms of conformity which the government offered. He left large sums in charity, particularly to the poor of Banff and some other places near it. When he and the other bishops entered Scotland after their consecration, they were met at Musselburgh by a vast multitude, "whence they were conducted into Edinburgh in triumph: . . in great pomp and grandeur, with sound of trump and all other curtesies requisite. This done on Tuesday, the

8th of April, 1662." So much for the inclinations of the people. The others elected to the remaining sees were soon consecrated at Holyrood, &c. Entering on his difficult duties Sharp acted in a very prudent manner. His endeavours were "attended with very great success. He entertained his clergy with much brotherly love and respect, and was a great judge and encourager of learning, wisdom, and piety." Another writer tells us that "from the moment that he acquired this honour [the primacy] such as were equally enemies to kings and bishops persecuted him with slanders and invectives. The streets swarmed with libels against him." All these he appears to have treated with silent dignity. But at last blood was shed. The laws against nonconformity were rigidly enforced, but the first encounter was when, in 1666, Turner was seized in Dumfries. The plot had probably been concocted in Holland. At any rate the royal army defeated the insurgents at the Pentland hills, near Edinburgh. Several of the rebels were executed. Bishop Wishart did what he could to mitigate their hardships in prison. There is no doubt that in all the cases of political strife, Sharp acted straightforwardly. He approved of no mitigation of sentence. But he knew much more than the ordinary chroniclers. He knew that his life was daily in danger, and the church in great peril. Who could forget the scenes succeeding the riot in St. Giles'—the commencement of the great rebellion. Sharp was at least consistent, and it may be added really merciful. What he looked for came to pass. He narrowly escaped the pistol of Mitchell. Honyman suffered instead. Things then, thanks to his firmness, had been improving. Some of the ousted ministers had consented to fill vacant churches, and the archbishop allowed some of these cases in his own see. Firm and unbending as a privy councillor, he was indulgent as a bishop. A year after Mitchell's attempt the end came. We all know the story. The aged archbishop, journeying home, feels that something was about to happen. "It was remarked that on Friday night and Saturday morning he ate and drank very sparingly. He was likewise longer and more fervent than usual in his private devotions; as if he had had a presentiment of his approaching and fearful end. His religious deportment on Saturday morning was so impressive that the learned and pious Dr. Monro [afterwards principal of Edinburgh university] said he believed he was inspired." Journeying along, all his conversation with his daughter was on the subject of death and

judgment—the need of faith, good works, repentance, and growth in grace. When they reached Magus Muir, a lonely hillside some miles from St. Andrews, the carriage was attacked and the murder, long designed, accomplished. Probably not accustomed to such a near view of the primate, "the reverence of his person and his composed carriage surprised and awed the villains: one of them, relenting, cried, 'Spare those grey hairs.'" Having dragged him from the carriage, stabbed and maimed him, cut at him on the hands and head, he lay down "as if he had been to compose himself to sleep. The murderers then cut and hacked the back of his head, and gave him sixteen wounds on his head till they gashed into one hole. In effect the whole occipital part was but one wound. Some of them, to make sure work, stirred his brains in his skull with the points of their swords." The last words of the dying servant of God were, "Lord forgive them, for I do: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." This took place May 3rd, 1679. He was buried in the parish church of St. Andrews, under a stately monument of black and white marble erected by his son. In the kneeling figure in the monument the same mildness and benignity appear in the face as in the portraits. The writer will only add an abstract of his character, given by Mr. Gordon, presbyterian minister of Banff, in 1798:—"He bestowed a considerable part of his income in ministering to pressing indigence, and relieving the wants of private distress. In the exercise of his charity he had no contracted views. The widows and orphans of the presbyterian brethren richly shared his bounty without knowing whence it came. He died with the intrepidity of a hero and the piety of a Christian, praying for his assassins with his latest breath."



Robert Leighton,

Bishop of Dunblane and Commendator of Glasgow.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, "a prelate of eminent talents and learning, and of the most exalted piety, was born in the year 1611." He was descended from an ancient and respectable family in Forfarshire designed of Ulyshaven, or Usan, near whose lands may be seen by the traveller on the railway from Aberdeen to Dundee, after leaving Montrose, the romantic ruin of the chapel of St. Skea of Duninald, perched on the top of a rock washed by the "sounding sea." Alexander Leighton, the bishop's father, was a determined puritan, and his "Sion's plea against the prelacie" cost him severe loss and punishment. "The language of the book" (says M. le Bas in his "Life of Laud") "was such as might be expected from a lunatic." The family was strangely divided on religion. Sir Ellis, or Elias Leighton, the bishop's brother, was a Romanist. Robert Leighton "was accounted a saint from his youth up." Still, instances have been preserved to show that he was full of humour, and capable of severe satire. He took his degree of M.A. in 1631. He then travelled on the continent. Returning home in 1641, he became minister of Newbattle, near Edinburgh, under the presbyterian system. Immediately he took rank as a preacher. "His preaching," says bishop Burnett, "had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was such that few heard him without a very sensible emotion. I am sure I never did. . . . There was a majesty and beauty in his style that left so deep an impression that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago." The covenant was the chief thing preached then. Leighton soon became disgusted with "the follies of the presbyterians and to dislike their covenant. . . . He found they were not capable of large thoughts: theirs were narrow as their tempers were sour." He soon ceased attending their meetings and kept to his pastoral work at Newbattle.

In 1648 Leighton declared for the king, and in 1652 had to

resign Newbattle. He was disgusted with the state of religion—much profession, little depth. "He thought holiness, the love of God and our brethren the chief duty God was calling us unto, and sobriety and forbearance to one another. He knew not if it were not from his natural temper, or something of the English air (Leighton was baptized in the church of England, being born in London); but he thought it was the safest to incline in *mitiorem partem.*" Several relics of Leighton remain at Newbattle—his pulpit, the communion vessels he used, and a number of his books, still handed down from incumbent to incumbent. A brass has also been placed there in his memory. The books are thirty-one in number, and include volumes on different subjects, from his copy of Chrysostom to the works of Raymund Lullius; Bilson's "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church" to the catalogue of the books in the Bodleian. One volume is noteworthy. In Marloratus' "Thesaurus," a concordance—under P—PAX—where references are fully given to all the places where "peace" occurs in the Bible, . . . the pages are much worn and bear marks of "much reading—which is in keeping with the character of the man to whom the book belonged—Scotland's great peace-maker." Soon after leaving Newbattle Leighton was appointed principal of the university of Edinburgh. "He continued ten years in that post, and was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction that it had great effects on many of them. . . . He had laid together in his memory the greatest treasure of the greatest and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as Christians, . . . and he used them in the aptest manner possible." His Latin "Prelectiones" show him at his best. There is in them something so gently persuasive, and at the same time interesting, from little gems of quotation and of bright thought, that the reader never tires. He was professor of divinity at Edinburgh, as well as principal. Leighton loved all moral worth, wherever found, and quoted its records gladly. In his vacations he would visit the continent, where he became acquainted with the Jansenists; but at the same time he desired "to see what he could in the several orders of the church of Rome."

At the restoration all eyes were turned to Leighton. Naturally he was chosen to be one of the fathers of the restored church. It appears that he was offered his choice of preferment. He "selected Dunblane, a small diocese as well as a small revenue." He had

indeed signed the covenant, but had long held that it "was rashlie entered into, and is now to be repented of." He told his friend the laird of Brodie (who records the fact in his diary) that "the greatest error among papists was their persecution and want of charity to us. I found his satisfaction in the worship of England and all the ceremonies of it." He had no scruple as to re-ordination. His rules of humility and obedience shone forth in his own life. He governed "his own diocese like a truly Christian prelate, labouring very assiduously in his vocation, and uniformly pursuing measures of gentleness and conciliation." He did all he could to introduce better ways and more decent and regular celebration of divine service in his diocese. He recommended the clergy to prefer "long texts and short sermons," and did all that he could to persuade to uniformity and quietness. "He was willing to sacrifice a considerable part of the episcopal prerogatives in order to gain the presbyterians, and appealed for a precedent to the concessions made by the African church to the Donatists." The archbishop of Glasgow refused to submit to the pressure of the court and receive the "indulgence," by which the presbyterian ministers were to be allowed to officiate.

The king declared the see vacant, and at last, rather weakly, archbishop Burnett resigned. Leighton was appointed commendator. If any man could reconcile the parties in the west he would do so. Willing to submit to the supremacy of the crown, his learning and goodness, his primitive life and humble manner, led to hopes which alas! were never realised. Oil and water will not mix. He visited the indulged ministers, but they were "scarcely civil to him, and did not so much as thank him for his kindness and care." In fact, the clergy of the western diocese were badly used. They had many of them gone there from the north to fight the battle of the church, and found the support they had relied on withdrawn. When they complained of their ill-usage and the desertion of their congregations, Leighton could only advise them to look up to God, and bear the insults and injuries laid on them as their cross. The writer has a copy of Menzies' "Roma Mendax" which belonged to one of these western clergy, the Rev. William Fyffe, parson of Pettenain. He was "rabbled" from his parish by the presbyterians after 1688. Three words written on the book throw a side-light on the unfortunate position of these clergy, many of them confessors for the church. "Dum spiro spero" is written on the fly-leaf—"When I look up I

hope." That is all, yet means so much. To further his conciliatory ideas Leighton chose six clergymen to preach in favour of his compromise. The most famous of these were Gilbert Burnett, James Nairn, and Laurence Charteris—the latter, like Leighton, an ascetic in life and an ardent student of the fathers. The attempt came to little or nothing. In a farewell address Leighton very solemnly told the presbyterian ministers that he offered to yield "great diminutions of the just rights of episcopacy . . . for the prosperity of Christ's kingdom." He added that he had done his best "to repair the temple of the Lord," and that all consequences must be at the door of those who refused his compromise. Wearied with the struggle, Leighton sought leave to retire, and in 1673 obtained that favour from the king. "Now," he said, "there is but one uneasy stage between me and rest." He took up his residence with his sister at Horsted Keynes, in the county of Sussex. There he found repose. He assisted the clergy of the neighbourhood in divine offices, and in 1684, when on a visit to the earl of Perth, at London, was seized with a sudden illness. He had often said that he would like, if the choice was given, to die at an inn. So it happened the saintly prelate died at Bell inn, in Warwick Lane. He lies buried in the chancel of Horsted Keynes church. He was never married. All his property he left in charity, and his library to the clergy of the diocese of Dunblane. It is still preserved there, and may be seen by the thoughtful visitor, or the pilgrim who wanders amid the haunts of the sainted bishop of Dunblane—his walk by the river's bank, or in the cathedral, now, strange to say, restored to somewhat of its pristine beauty by the successors of those whom he vainly strove to bring into communion with that episcopacy which he was "well convinced had subsisted from the apostolic age of the church." All Leighton's works are learned, devout, and practical. They have often been reprinted. Of the whole the writer prefers his "Counsels of perfection, or rules and instructions for spiritual exercises." No one can read these wonderful writings without being deeply impressed with the intense spirituality of the writer. His "rules" are real; they are not mere sentiment. They are practical, full of wisdom, and knowledge of the divine life. The church owes a deep debt of gratitude to one of her priests—the Rev. William West, long incumbent of Nairn—for his edition of "Leighton." Like many other writers on behalf of the Scottish church, his labours have proved "caviare to the general." It is earnestly to be hoped, however, that Mr. West may

yet complete his labours by issuing a life of Leighton, for which he has collected large material, and which he is better able than any one else to compile. Such a volume would be of great service to the church, for "it may be doubted whether Christianity in the days of its youthful vigour gave birth to a more finished pattern than Leighton of the love of holiness."

George Wishart, D.D.,

Bishop of Edinburgh.

THE chaplain of Montrose and the bishop of Edinburgh was a gentleman of old family. His ancestors had long held the barony of Wishart in Forfarshire. Educated at the universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, he graduated at the latter in 1613, at a time when the old metropolitan city was beginning to arise from its ruins. On September 20th, 1625, Wishart received ordination from archbishop Spottiswoode in his church at Dairsie, close by which the traveller may still see the ruins of his castle. The worthy prelate had rebuilt Dairsie church, with chancel, screen, and fittings, more worthy of the service of God than had been recently seen in Scotland. He desired that it might be a pattern for others. Even in its present state it is noteworthy, and its turret tower a gem of ecclesiastical design. Wishart was at once appointed minister of Monifieth, a parish whose session records go further back than most in Scotland. These tell us of him. At his entry the church was being repaired with stones from the old abbey of Balmerinoch, and its chancel received due attention during Wishart's short incumbency. At Easter, 1626, he became one of the clergy of St. Andrews—colleague to archbishop Gladstanes, then "handsome, gentell, wise, eloquent, and discreet," but of whose sad fall the appendix to Wodrow's life of his father gives a sad account. The change from Monifieth must have been pleasant to a scholar like Wishart. The old city was rising from the dust of the "reformation" period. Proposals were being made for the rebuilding of the cathedral. The college library had been enriched by king James, and was now being increased by Spottiswoode and his family. The result of the revival of ancient learning may be seen in the primate's "History of the Church of Scotland," in which the ancient period is so much more fully treated than by Knox or Calderwood. Many young nobles attended the university.

There Wishart met Montrose, who, when fifteen, won the silver arrow on the golf links. What strange futures were in store for all these gallant and learned gentlemen! Montrose visited Dairsie frequently, and when his early wedding was to go forward it was Wishart who saw to his trunks and baggage. The baptismal record of St. Andrews shows the friends of Wishart in their sponsorships for his numerous family. The Spottiswoodes and other fathers of the church and state are all there. In 1629 Wishart received the honour of D.D. Alas! the stormy wind and tempest were at hand—that storm in which Henderson prevailed over Charles, and of which, as Wishart's biographers say, the "echo in our own time founded the Free kirk." When all was cast down, and the wild boar roamed at large, Wishart withdrew, along with the archbishop and others, to London. The pleasant and refined society of St. Andrews was broken up for ever. In the time of Sharp it was but as a poor echo of former greatness. In 1638 the communion was again "celebrat" in "the old fashion sitting." Wishart settled for a time at Newcastle. He got a lectureship at All Saints' church. The vicar of St. Nicholas was his zealous fellow-worker. The siege of that town by Leven followed. A most interesting MS. volume has recently been discovered, containing sermons by Wishart, some of them preached during the siege. They are mostly for saints' days, and show the scholarship and style one would expect from the author of the "Deeds of Montrose." He was busy writing a sermon, still unfinished, when "his quarters were broken up, for the third time, by the covenant." As usual, the covenanting army gave no quarters. Wishart, some Scottish lords, and others were sent on to Edinburgh. He was there imprisoned in "the thieves' hole." This "meant bad company, scanty food, foul bedding, dim light, and a stench even worse than the stench of the neighbouring close through the luckenbooths, named the 'stinking style.'" The rats gnawed his face, and the marks remained till his death. His experience there for nearly *twelve months* "made him a friend of prisoners for ever." In the days of his episcopate "he could not enjoy the good things of his table till he had sent some of them up to the tolbooth to alleviate the hunger pangs of his covenanting successors in the place of suffering." When he got liberty from the "thieves' hole" he "appears to have followed Montrose throughout the

remainder of the campaign, and put to sea with him and his companions, September 3rd, 1646, when all hope was for the present gone." At last he had to separate from his hero, and for a time lived in Holland. While in Hamburg he heard of the death of the marquis. I must quote his farewell, from his poem on the hero :—

> "Verus amor nullis fortunæ extinguitur undis ;
> Nulla timet fati fulmina verus amor ;
> Immortalis amor verus manet, et sibi semper
> Constat, et æternum, quisquis amavit, amat."

But his scholarship has perpetuated his memory. His "Deeds of Montrose" will ever be read and cherished by those who appreciate true valour and faithful friendship. The work was first issued in 1647. In that year both a Latin and an English edition appeared. It has been reserved for our time to produce a fitting edition of this great work, upon which Wishart's fame must ever rest. The writer wishes to say that he entirely owes the material for this brief sketch of Wishart's life to the labour of canon Murdoch and Mr. Simpson, in the preface to their magnificent work.

At the restoration Wishart was at once restored to his benefice at Newcastle; but promotion soon followed. He was consecrated bishop of Edinburgh, June 1st, 1662, at his old church of St. Andrews. How mingled must his thoughts have been! What memories must the ruins of Dairsie and the state of the city have called up! But Wishart was always a stout-hearted divine. He braced himself for work. Nine years were allotted to him in the chair of Edinburgh. He held his first synod on 14th October, 1662. It was attended by fifty-eight ministers. The bishop preached from Phil. iv. 5—"Let your moderation be known unto all men: the Lord is at hand." Several orders and regulations similar to those in other dioceses were issued. "Daily prayer was to be offered" in the churches "of all burghs" morning and evening. The rest of his time he fulfilled in peace and quietness. The evening of his life seems to have been unclouded. His love for the prayer book is seen in little notices which show him using it in its occasional offices. In 1680 the Scottish privy council authorised the use of the book in private families—no

doubt hoping soon to use it in the greater family of the church gathered together.

Bishop Wishart died at Edinburgh on July, 1671, in the seventy-second year of his age. He lies buried in Holyrood abbey church, where his monument may still be seen. About three weeks before he died he made his will, in which he "leaves his soul to God, hoping to be saved throughe the onlie merits of our dear Saviour, Jesus Christ," and ordains "his bodie to be decentlie and honestlie buried amongst the faithfull, when and where it shall pleas God to call him out of this mortalitie." He left three sons and two daughters. A contemporary "character" of bishop Wishart has been preserved. It is printed by Murdoch and Simpson from a MS. in the episcopal chest:—"A churchman who was reverenced as a bishop when he was a minister, and desired to be esteemed but as a minister when he was a bishop; wishing to be higher than his bretherin in nothing more than in devotion, nor to be richer than they in nothing but virtue; who never invaded the secular power, nor never yealded to their invasion upon the church; the church's Athanasius in religion, and its Ambrose in government." The biographers add truly: "He was a genial, kind-hearted, free-spoken man, unconcerned as to how he looked in puritan eyes, as he mingled with kindly Scots in feast or fray."

The Guthrys.

BISHOP JOHN GUTHRY was a most active member of the episcopal order. Bishop Henry Guthry, again, was more of the scholar, who, in his study at Kilspindie, "investigated the whole subject of church government," and composed those "Memoirs" of Scottish affairs from the year 1637 to the "murder of good king Charles I." Of these "Memoirs" two editions have appeared, that of 1702 and that of 1748, the latter with a life of the author. The book is valuable; we have few histories from the church side, and a new edition might well be provided; MSS. exist, and, it is believed, more correct than those which furnished the issues named.

Bishop John Guthry of Moray was the one bishop who defied the covenanting party, and although he had to give up his episcopal castle of Spynie—the square tower of which yet stands—he appears to have come off much better than some who left their flocks and fled away.

The old tower of Guthrie is a conspicuous object between Aberdeen and Perth, close to the railway line. The church of the parish was originally collegiate. The bishop of Moray was the son of a near cadet of this ancient family, and indeed became the purchaser of their estates, which his descendants still possess. The first important charge which he held was that of Perth, to which he was appointed in 1617, on the resignation of bishop Cowper. At the famous Perth assembly of 1618 he was one of "the privie conference." The conduct of the burghers of Perth showed the aptness and success of his teaching. At Easter, 1619, all agreed —both session and people—"that the ministers give the bread and wine with their own hands to the communicants, and that they be humbled on their knees, and reverently receive." Very much against his own will, and not till ordered by a royal mandate, he became one of the ministers of Edinburgh. In 1623 he was appointed bishop of Moray and consecrated "in autumn." The synod record of that diocese is preserved. It dates from

1623-1644. This very interesting volume, in close and most neat writing, expresses the business done in quaint and terse language. But the record does not throw much light on doctrines or ritual. Church discipline was very strict, and "papists" diligently sought for. The bishop visited different parishes and directed matters by a strong personal government. In the records of the "presbyteries," or "exercises," as they are at this time more commonly called, are many curious items. The holy communion was regularly celebrated at "pasche." During Guthry's episcopate new and costly vessels were provided. In one parish the minister "had caused macke a great founte stone, and sett it up in his parish church."

Going to court on church and other business in 1631 bishop Guthry appears then to have made the acquaintance of Laud. At the coronation of Charles at Holyrood in 1633, the bishop of Moray took a leading part—he assisted Spottiswoode to place the crown on the king's head. But the weaker brethren were more offended by his preaching in St. Giles' before the king, "clothed in a surplice." Some even made scornful remarks. To these Guthry replied that "he would yet be more vyle to please the king"; and well might bishops, presbyters, and people do their best to please one who had done his best for them. In the compilation of the service book of 1637 Guthry was one of the chief workers, and so at the Glasgow assembly was named as one of the chief offenders. He had "all the ordinary faults of a bishop," whatever these may have been. He had actually allowed baptism to children born in fornication. One witness testified that he was a "prettie dancer." The story of the three black crows is immediately equalled, for the next witness stated that at his daughter's bridal he had "danced in his shirt," and the third that he had countenanced "a dance of naked people in his own house." This was, however, too much. The presbyterian Baillie rightly "suspected" that *this* was "not sufficiently proven." But a still more awful development of nakedness was yet to be discovered. The three black crows story was outdone. "Lykeways Mr. Andrew [Cant] said he had conveyed some gentlewomen to a chappell to make a pilgrimage—all bair-footed." How different from these absurdities are the lines of Arthur Johnston—

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

Englished more freely than correctly by a recent translator—

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

The bishop treated the sentence of the covenanters with contempt, and fortified his castle of Spynie. Honest Spalding may tell us the result. Colonel Monroe "now resolves to go and see the bishop and the house of Spynie. He takes 300 musketeirs with him," besides ordnance. After a little "the bishop of Moray comes forth of the place and spake with Monroe," and rendered the house. Till fresh orders came to Monroe, the bishop entertained his conqueror "most kindly, eating at his own table." Fresh orders did come, and the good bishop did not then, as the presbyterian historian of Elgin tells his readers, retire to Guthrie, but was imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh from the following September to November 1641—fourteen months in a felon's cell. He was only released on a promise not to return to Moray. Meantime the covenant was imposed on his flock. Till this was accomplished he had to remain in jail. In fact, they were afraid of him. And what was the moral result in Moray—was the diocese new born in a day? Let the synod record of 25th February, 1640, tell us. It speaks of "gryte disorders that have fallen out in dyvers parts of the land by drunkenness and tuizling"—*i.e.*, fighting and brawling. Even ministers were charged with having "penny bridals" in their houses. As might have been looked for when the chief shepherd was absent, Romish practices came again to light. In 1642, mention is made of "the frequent repairing off persones of all rankes unto superstitious wells and chappells." This was followed by the appearance of a large number of wizards, sorcerers, and charmers.

The bishop had retired to Guthrie, where he spent the last days of his life in solitude, and alas! in bereavement. His son, the incumbent of Duffus, died of melancholy; and little wonder. His younger son, a follower of the great and brave Montrose, taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, was done to death by the cruelty of the covenanters. "He was a young man of great bravery, and strength, and showed no less consistency and resolution in despising and suffering death." Refusing the aid of the puritan ministers, he said that he reckoned it an honour to die on behalf of so good a king and in defence of so good a cause." For his sins he humbly "begged mercy and forgiveness at the

hands of the most gracious God; but with respect to that crime for which he stood condemned, he was under no apprehension. He encountered death with the greatest fortitude and resolution." The bishop himself only survived his royal master a few months, and was gathered to his fathers at Guthrie castle, August 23, 1649. He lies buried in the family vault—an aisle of the pre-reformation church of Guthrie. Scott describes him as "a worthy and hospitable father in the church"; and his cousin, bishop Henry Guthry, in his "Memoirs," adds: "As he chose not to flee, so upon no terms would he recant, but patiently endured excommunication, imprisonment, and other sufferings, and in the midst stood to the justification of episcopal government till his death."

Henry Guthry, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was a cousin of the bishop of Moray. His father was parson of Coupar-Angus He appears first in public in 1640, when he opposed the custom some of the covenanters had of holding private meetings for worship. He succeeded in his contention. He was then minister at Stirling, having been ordained before the great rebellion. At last he was proceeded against as a "malignant"—the common name then for those who firmly supported church and king. He was deposed, but eventually restored to the ministry at Kilspindie. He had been at one time chaplain to the earl of Mar. During his retirement at Kilspindie he seems to have composed his "Memoirs," and, having investigated the whole subject of church government, was convinced, even before the restoration, that "a parity in a church could not possibly be maintained so as to preserve unity and order among them, and that a superior authority must be brought in to settle them in unity and peace." Bishop Henry was a scholar also. When at St. Andrews he had specially distinguished himself by his proficiency in classics. But he suffered much for the royal cause, and at the restoration had a grant from the Scottish parliament of £150. In the summer of 1665 he was chosen bishop of Dunkeld, and consecrated at St. Andrews on St. Bartholomew's day by the primate, assisted by the other bishops of the province. It is stated that his promotion took place by the influence of Lauderdale. He is said on presbyterian authority to have been "wise, prudent, and exemplary." He died in 1676, being about 76 years old.

The Annands.

ONE of the ablest of the Spottiswoodian presbyters, William Annand, is best known as parson of Ayr. He was of the family of Auchterellon in Aberdeenshire—their family tomb may still be seen in the churchyard of Ellon—and was settled at Ruthven, in Strathbogie, in 1615. Wodrow wrote a biography of him, which is still in MS. in the library of Glasgow university. Translated to Falkirk, he laboured there for eight years. In 1625 he became minister of Ayr. The previous incumbent had been deprived, and Annand, described as "a learned, qualifiet, and modest person," was presented by the archbishop of Glasgow to the magistrates of the town to be appointed. At first the magistrates did not relish the order, but eventually it was obeyed. He worked bravely and assiduously at Ayr, and being a thorough churchman, and, according to the presbyterian Baillie, "having exceeding great gifts," by and by overcame opposition. Annand made no secret of his principles. He "kept sainctes' days and holy days, he railed on such as opposed the service book, and compared the author therof to the author of Job." At the last synod held by the archbishop at Glasgow before the troubles he preached the opening sermon. He took as his text 1 Tim. ii. 2: "I exhort that prayers be made for all men." "He ran out upon the liturgy, and spake for the defence of the whole, and sundry most plausible parts of it, as well, in my poor judgment, as any in the isle of Britain could have done." Such was Baillie's opinion. He paid for his temerity. The holy sisterhood were ready. Next day "at the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our *honestest* women, in one voice before the bishop and magistrates, fell a-railing, *cursing*, scolding with clamours on Mr. William Annan." "Honest cursing women" seems a strange expression in a sober presbyterian mouth! They threatened more than this. Annand disregarded warnings, and after supper, going to call on the bishop, "some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves [fists], staves, and

peats, but no stones. They beat him sore; his cloak, ruff, and hat were rent; however, upon his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger even of killing." Next day Annand was conveyed by the magistrates out of the city. Of course the Glasgow assembly of 1638 made short work of such a "malignant." He had stated his conviction that kneeling was the only legal gesture at receiving the holy communion, and moreover wished that "popish orders" were restored in the church—he referred, probably, to the restoration of the minor orders. Some knowing one added that Annand had even gone further, and said it was "lawfull to heare the devill preache." But, indeed, if a sermon from that preacher was "intimated" there *would* be a temptation to go "for once" and "sit under him." Mr. Annand retired to England, where in 1639 he obtained the living of Selling, and in 1645 that of Throwley. He survived his troubles, and happily saw the restoration, at which he was allowed £200 sterling by the parliament of Scotland in sympathy for his sufferings for the royal cause. Mr. Annand died in 1663.

He had one son, William, whom he sent to University college, Oxford, in 1651. Although his college tutor was a presbyterian he showed no attachment to that communion, but when a youth "embraced every opportunity of hearing the episcopal divines who, during the commonwealth, preached clandestinely in and about Oxford." His father, who is spoken of as having been "resolutely opposed to all things which he considered puritanical," brought up his son an earnest churchman. When ready for ordination the difficulty was to obtain it, the church, prayer book, and bishops being then proscribed. He succeeded, however, and in 1656 received holy orders from Dr. Thomas Fulwar, the outed bishop of Ardfert, in Ireland, afterwards archbishop of Cashel. He was appointed to the living of Weston-in-the-Grove, and afterwards to the vicarage of Leighton Buzzard, in Bedfordshire. When there he published the first of his works, all written in defence of church and creed. It was printed at London, and sold "at the sign of the crane in St. Paul's churchyard, anno dom. 1661." It is entitled "Fides Catholica, or the doctrine of the Catholic Church: in eighteen grand ordinances. Referring to the word, sacraments, and prayer, in purity, number, and nature, catholically maintained, and publickly taught against

hereticks of all sorts," &c. The work, full of learning, extends to 541 pages small quarto. It is dedicated to sir Francis Norreys of Weston, and in it the author states his design "was to maintain the power, dignity, and purity of these three grand ordinances, the word, sacraments, and prayer." Though the style is somewhat uneven, the work is of considerable force. This is particularly the case when he treats of the apostolic succession, which he says was "from Peter or any other apostle a certain sign of a true call unto holy orders among the ancients." He imagines a call being made for the "church registers of Crete," and "asks one by whom were you appointed to dispense the word and sacraments and exercise the power of the keys?" the answer being "by such a one, he by him, and he by him, and so you would fall on Titus himself." His method of teaching on confirmation is also interesting. As to the eucharist he very strongly inculcates that "the same reverence or respect that we would give to Christ, were He visibly present with us, we must give unto Him represented before us by bread and wine." "The bread is blessed: that is, prayer is made that that bread might be to the faithful soul the body of Christ broken for its sin, and after the institution is read it becomes so." Some of Annand's other works (seven in all) are quaint and interesting, but as a preacher he is not so able or refined as Dr. Monro. To return to his personal history. He published two smaller works soon afterwards —one, "A sermon in defence of the liturgy, on Hosea xiv. 2"; the other called "Panem quoditianum, or daily bread, in defence of forms of prayer." These, it is said, being brought under the notice of Middleton, obtained his patronage. Annand became his chaplain and returned with him to Scotland. He was then appointed minister successively of the Tolbooth and Tron kirks in Edinburgh, and afterwards one of the clergy of St. Giles'. In 1663 he preached the funeral sermon on bishop Sydserff, whom his father had doubtless known. In 1676 he became dean of Edinburgh, and in 1686 was dignified with the degree of doctor of divinity from the university of St. Andrews. Some time previously he had the disagreeable duty, along with the Rev. Laurence Charteris, of accompanying the traitor Argyll to the scaffold. This melancholy duty affected the dean so much that he "weeped sore" when giving him the last address. Zealously and acceptably fulfilling his duties at Edinburgh, it has been

said of him that "there was scarcely a more innocent man in Britain." Dean Annand died on the 13th June, 1689. "Before his departure he received the eucharist, according to the form in the book of common prayer, from Dr. Monro, bishop-nominate of Argyll, assisted by Dr. Strachan, several clergymen and laymen communicating at the same time. The dying presbyter referred with tears to the state of ecclesiastical affairs, saying that he never thought to have outlived the church of Scotland, but that he hoped others would see its restoration." He was buried in the Greyfriars churchyard. Annand was a man of considerable learning. His published works show this. He was not without an interest in and knowledge of the curious in historical science. One of his books is in my possession. It bears his autograph in beautifully clear writing, and is a copy, in small folio, of Fludd's "Mosaicall philosophy: grounded upon the essential truth, or eternal sapience"—London, 1659. Fludd, who lies buried in Little Bearstead church, Kent, was one of the most learned and religious men of his age, and bore the title of the "English Rosicrucian," having been, it is supposed, a member of that mysterious brotherhood.

Two Bishops of Ross.

John Paterson. James Ramsay.

JOHN PATERSON, bishop of Ross, and father of the last archbishop of Glasgow, was the son of Alexander Paterson, parson of Insch and afterwards of Logie Durno. He was ordained by bishop Patrick Forbes, being a graduate of King's college, and settled in Foveran, in Buchan, in 1632. His predecessor there lived to be nearly 100 years old, and Paterson allowed him a yearly pension of 400 merks. When the covenant was imposed he fled to the king, but returned (and submitted) in 1639. He became minister at Ellon. When there he again showed generosity in assisting the poor and in augmenting the paltry pay of the schoolmaster. In 1659 he was chosen by the town council to be one of the ministers of Aberdeen. The restoration was joyfully welcomed there; rejoicings were held and thanksgivings offered. Paterson preached a special sermon. It is an extremely rare piece, but well worth perusing. It is entitled "Post nubila Phœbus, or a sermon of thanksgiving . . . preached in the city of Aberdeen, at the desire of the lord provost, bailies, and councill thereof upon the xix. day of June, by Mr. John Patersone, minister of the gospell in the said burgh . . . Aberdene: printed by James Brown, 1660." The text is Ps. cxxvi. 1 and 2. It commences, "We may look on this day as upon the springing up of a bright and faire morning, after a cloudie dark night, wherein so many beasts of prey did creepe out of their dens and lurking places of their hatefull and hellish hypocrisie." Strong language is used in reference to the murder of Charles I., when "these canniballs cutted the throats of three kingdoms." Paterson was chosen to preach before the parliament, which he did on the 17th February, 1661. This sermon is also preserved. It is entitled "Tandem bona causa triumphat, or Scotland's late misery bevailed and the honour and loyalty of this ancient kingdom asserted." It is dedicated to the earl of Middleton, and the text

is Ezek. vii. 23, "Make a chain: for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence." The preacher compares the bondage and captivity of the nation to a chain of iron. Paterson was undoubtedly a very able preacher. Passages in his sermons remind the reader of the fervid imagination of Jeremy Taylor. He was at once nominated to the see of Ross, and was one of those consecrated at Holyrood in May, 1662. In the autumn he appears to have taken up his residence at Fortrose. I have a MS. relating to his reception. It appears to be the original and is entitled "Salutatio ad Episcopum Rossensum," and was composed by the Rev. George Dunbar, parson of Suddie. It is a highly-strung performance in Latin verse, followed by a curious acrostic. The latter runs on the words "Magister Johannes Patersonus," and is five-fold. After this comes "A short descant on the name of the right reverend father in the Lord, lord bishop of Ross, anagrammatised thus: Maister John Paterson—anagr. . . . man, arts, pietie, honours; or arts, pietie, honours, man." The first verse runs:—

> "Four words from three extracted by translation,
> Off character, decipher to the eye
> Him, well judged after due probation,
> Fitt for the station of church prelacie."

Other ten verses follow, pointing out the good qualities and the duties of the new bishop. Paterson quietly and carefully administered the see of Ross for seventeen years. He died in 1679, in the 75th year of his age, respected and regretted by all. He left five sons and one daughter—Elizabeth, who married, in 1700, colonel Alexander Mackenzie, son of the third earl of Seaforth. Her grandson was the able but unfortunate "Cabar feidt," the last great chief of Seaforth.

Paterson's eldest son, John, became eventually archbishop of Glasgow, having been previously bishop of Galloway and of Edinburgh. He was consecrated in 1674. He survived the revolution for twenty years, and died at Edinburgh before Christmas, 1708. He is buried in the chapel royal at Holyrood. Archbishop Paterson is interesting to the members of the church in Scotland as having been the prelate who performed the first consecration after the disestablishment of the church had taken place. This was in 1705, when, along with bishop Rose of Edinburgh and

bishop Douglas of Dunblane, he consecrated bishops Fullarton and Sage.

James Ramsay, who became bishop of Ross in 1684, was one of the most eminent of the later succession. Appointed parson of Hamilton and dean of Glasgow after the restoration, he was the trusted friend and coadjutor of the saintly Leighton. He entered into all his schemes for comprehension, accompanied him to meetings with the nonconformist ministers, and assisted the cause of unity in every way. Alas! these schemes were doomed to almost utter failure. Leighton retired to England, to meditate and to die, and Ramsay was appointed his successor at Dunblane. In a letter to the writer from the late Dr. Grub, the ecclesiastical historian, he speaks of Ramsay in very high terms as "deserving of a special notice. I was the first, perhaps the only, writer who referred to his great worth and ability." After his consecration to Dunblane in 1673, Ramsay, along with the bishops of Edinburgh and Brechin, attempted to procure the calling of a national synod of the church of Scotland. They felt that the court with its officials held the church in a grasp of iron, cold, unbending, with no power of expanse. Naturally they thought that conference would help the church, more fully reveal her needs, find remedies, and apply them. Burnett, archbishop of Glasgow, supported the idea, but the primate opposed it. It is difficult to see what the result might have been if Ramsay's wish had been granted. If the writer might humbly express an opinion, it would be that the primate was right. With the exception of the assembly of Glasgow in 1610 and that of Perth in 1618, little, if anything, had been accomplished by such meetings. The bishop's work is in his diocese, the priest's in his parish. Meetings of clergy are seldom pleasing, and as of old, in the days of the apostles, so now probably "conference would have added nothing" helpful. But the sincerity and intentions of Ramsay were most sincere and praiseworthy. In 1674, at a meeting of the bishops and some presbyters held at St. Andrews, the matter was again mooted. Ramsay stood alone. The primate appears to have been greatly offended, and spoke so strongly that Ramsay left the meeting. A royal letter was soon procured which suspended the bishop of Dunblane from his episcopal functions and translated him to the see of the Isles. He appealed to the king; a commission was

issued, when Ramsay appeared, denied all factious motives, but urgently pointed out the need of a national synod, a liturgy, a catechism, &c., referring too truly to the anomalous state of matters then existing. Eventually he submitted and was restored to Dunblane. Afterwards he showed himself to be strenuously opposed to the abolition of the penal statutes against Roman catholics. He, however, signed the address of "intrepid and steadfast" allegiance to James VII. This very curious and interesting document, one most important in the subsequent bearing on the fortunes of Scotch episcopacy, may be seen in full in the 57th volume of the *Scots Magazine*, page 709. In 1689 Ramsay, of course, lost the temporalities of Ross. He retired to Edinburgh, where it is said he died in great poverty. The sees he had held were amongst the poorest in Scotland, and having a large family—eight sons and three daughters—must have been unable to make any provision for himself or them. He lies buried in the Canongate churchyard.

Bishop Ramsay's principles of integrity were also seen in the life of his son of the same name, minister of Prestonpans at the revolution. He was deprived in 1689 for not reading the proclamation enjoined by the estates, and appears to have been forcibly ejected, after legal proceedings were taken. He retired to the Canongate and died in 1699. His library (probably including the remains of his father's) was sold by auction for £621 Scots, under the direction of two well-known churchmen, Charles Lumsden and David Freebairn. He left two sons and a daughter.

The Scougals.

THE family of Scougal of that ilk has produced two famous painters, two eminent lords of session, and two great divines. With the latter this sketch deals. The estate of Scougal is in Haddingtonshire, and there was born in 1607 Patrick, afterwards bishop of Aberdeen, father of Henry Scougal, author of several devout treatises. Patrick was the son of sir John Scougal of Scougal. Archbishop Spottiswoode ordained him to the church and parish of Dairsie; soon after, during the great rebellion, he was translated to Leuchars. Lord Fountainhall says Patrick was "but halfe episcopall in our judgment." He easily conformed to the covenant, and possibly this was the reason why Baillie calls him "a good and noble scholar"; at any rate all seem to agree with bishop Keith that "he was a man of great worth." Up to the time of his appointment to the see of Aberdeen we hear very little of him, except that in 1661 he was one of the parliamentary commission for "trying the witches in Samuelton." The other Keith (*ultimus sacerdotum*) from Aberdeenshire tradition describes him as "big-eyed, grey-haired, tall and stooping, and of a very *fearful* aspect." But we must not take the word *fearful* as necessarily meaning *frightful*; rather let us say *inspiring fear*. We have Scougal's picture to guide us. It hangs in King's college, showing him as a venerable, white-haired, yet fresh-looking ecclesiastic, a contrast to the appearance of his son, who appears as devout indeed, but not comely. Patrick Scougal was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen on Easter day, 1664. He died of asthma in the chanonry, Old Aberdeen, in February, 1682, in the 75th year of his age. His monument is still, I dare say, a wonder to youthful eyes. On it the prelate, in cap and rochet, stands as guard at the west end of Cheyne's aisle in St. Machar's cathedral. The monument is elaborate and striking. Henry Scougal lies buried in King's college chapel. He died at the early age of 28. Dr. Grub, who knew every tradition about these two divines, gives us very high encomiums of both. The only fault the puritans had

to the father was that he was said to be too much under the thumb of archbishop Sharpe. Of Henry Scougal they have nothing but praise. Principal Wishart, who writes an introductory note to his "Life of God in the soul of man," joins Burnett in laudations. The only hard measures the elder Scougal meted out were to the quakers, whose chariot wheels then rolled very heavily. Even Burnett, who is often hard on the later Scotch bishops, has nothing but praise for Scougal: "His endearing gentleness to all that differed from him, his great strictness in giving orders, his most unaffected humility and contempt of the world, were things so singular in him that they deserved to be much more admired than his other talents, which were also extraordinary. . . . He took great pleasure in discoursing often with young divines, and set himself to frame in them right and generous notions of the Christian religion and of the pastoral care; so that a set of men grew up under his labours that carry still in them clear characters of his spirit and temper." During his episcopate Gordon's treatise of the "reformed bishop" appeared, but no special steps seem to have been taken by Scougal against Gordon. He believed in his good intentions, but thought him "too forward." Scougal opposed the test, and to his opposition chiefly "the church was indebted to the mitigated form of subscription allowed by the privy council." This bishop, distinguished for "rare temper, great piety, and prudence," left three sons and two daughters. Katharine, one of the latter, became the wife of bishop Scroggie of Argyll.

Henry Scougal was the elder of the bishop's sons. In his childhood his biographer tells: "He was not taken up with plays and little diversions of those of his age, but did usually retire from them . . . going to some privacy and employing his time in reading, prayer, and such serious thoughts as that age was capable of." When he came to Aberdeen his virtues grew apace, and at the university he so distinguished himself that soon his companions looked upon his sayings "as the sayings of a grey-beard, and thought they savoured of the wisdom of a senator." Having graduated, Henry Scougal was "entered into holy orders," and became parson of Auchterless. When only twenty-four years of age he was chosen to fill the position of professor of divinity in king's college. Sad to say, he only lived four years after. His writings will be valued by the church in all time. In this respect they occupy a similar place with those of Leighton. The men were not

dissimilar, and the younger delighted to point the young students under his charge, to such men as Leighton and Herbert as "lights in Israel." "Learning and piety never appeared in a more attractive form" than in the life and writings of Henry Scougal. In addition to his "Life of God in the soul of man," we have a number of his "Discourses on important subjects," and "A sermon at the author's funeral by George Gairden, D.D.," besides a less well-known volume of his "Private reflexions and occasional meditations, together with some essays, moral and divine," and lastly his "Morning and evening prayers," to be used in the university chapel. These are touching and refined in their diction, and incorporate considerable portions of the "orders" in the book of common prayer. We have no room for extracts. The books themselves are worthy of careful and thoughtful study. Perhaps one of the finest, at any rate the most popular, of his "Discourses" is that "On the passion of our Saviour," from Lamentations i. 12.

He gives in another place his view of the mystery of the eucharist thus: "This sacrament doth not only represent a wonder that is already past, but exhibits one anew. The bread and wine that we receive are not bare and empty signs to put us in mind of the death and sufferings of Christ. Our Saviour calls them His body and blood; and such, without question, they are, to all spiritual purposes and advantages; . . . that food, which before could yield but a little refreshment to the body, is now a means to nourish and strengthen the soul, an instrument to convey to us all those blessings that the body and blood of our Saviour can afford us." Henry Scougal's death was in keeping with his life. Dr. Gairden, who knew him well, tells us that "the time of his sickness was as cheerfully spent in suffering the will of God as the former was in doing it. He manifested the greatest meekness and cheerfulness of spirit throughout the whole course of it. He used not the least harsh expression, either to any of those that waited on him or concerning the present providence. He expressed a perfect indifference as to life and death, and an entire resignation to the will of God, to dispose of him as He thought meet. . . . He was wrapt in the admiration of God's goodness to him, and the little returns he said he had made to it, and acknowledged his own great unworthiness, and his humble confidence in the mercy and goodness of God, through the merits of his blessed Saviour. And thus meekly did he pass his sickness and resign his spirit, without any trouble from the world, or great pain of

body or any anguish of mind : for mark the perfect man, and behold the upright ; for the end of that man is peace."

Henry Scougal, as his epitaph adds, "being desirous of heaven, and ripe for it, he died in the year of our Lord 1678." He left his books to the library of his college, and five thousand merks "to the office of a professor of divinity in the said college."

The Honymans.

THE Honyman family were long connected with the city of St. Andrews. Here were born, in the reign of James VI., Andrew Honyman, destined to be archdeacon of St. Andrews and bishop of Orkney; Robert Honyman, D.D., minister of St. Andrews for thirty-three years; James Honyman, minister of Kinneff, ordained in 1663, and died in 1693; George Honyman, parson of Sandwick and Stromness, afterwards of Livingstone, ordained by his brother the bishop in 1672, and who was still alive in 1729. All these divines were sons of David Honyman of Pitairchney, said to have been a baker in St. Andrews. Their birth was "cast up" by the puritan writers, one of whom describes them as being "cakes unturned, neither raw nor roasted." Two of these brothers may be called confessors for the episcopal order and discipline. These were Andrew and George.

Andrew, born in 1619, was first minister of Ferryport-on-Craig—presented to it in 1641 by king Charles. Afterwards he was translated to St. Andrews and eventually became archdeacon. This was in 1662, when "at his admission he received in the towne church from the bishope the bibell, the keys of the church door, and the bell-tow all in his hand. Aprill 11, 1664, att St. Andrews, the said Mr. Andrew Honyman was consecrat bishope of Orkney." Scougal, bishop of Aberdeen, was consecrated at the same time. Honyman had already deserved well of the church. He had just published "The seasonable case of submission to the church government as now re-established by law, briefly stated and determined. By a lover of the peace of this church and kingdom." This pamphlet had considerable influence in producing obedience and comprehension. The whole strain of the book is soothing, calm, and persuasive. It concludes: "Ministers are not to employ themselves in considering how to maintain and uphold the interest of a party or cause they have espoused, as how far they may go—what they may without sin do in the practice of what the law enjoyneth." Honyman did not reach Orkney

till June, 1665, having been engaged in performing episcopal duties for the primate, who was often absent in England. But when he arrived in his distant see he was warmly welcomed. A synod immediately met, and the bishop preached before it from St. John xxi. 15-17, the charge to St. Peter. The records of his episcopate show him to have been ever diligent as a preacher, visitor, and pastor. In his retired hours he occupied himself in writing another book, which was printed in 1668. This was his "Survey of the insolent and infamous libel entitled 'Naphtali,' &c., wherein several things falling in debate in these times are considered, and some doctrines in Lex Rex and the apolog. narration (called by this author martyrs), are brought to the touchstone." "Naphtali" was written by Stuart and Stirling. It dealt with the "wrestling of the church of Scotland for the kingdom of Christ." If any one nowadays could be found willing to wade through these two controversial works, he would, I think, find in the bishop's some curious notes and a very able defence of episcopacy. An answer was made by the puritan party entitled "Jus populi vindicatum," &c. In it the writers cry late names at poor Honyman. They refer to the "Survey" as "hatched by a cock prelate," and "having indisputably the venome of such an one in it." Honyman thoroughly exposed the dangerous tendencies and principles which had overthrown the church and throne in the time of Charles I., and which were to do so again in the time of James II. Being in Edinburgh for the publication of these treatises and other church business, Honyman, one day in July, 1668, was stepping into archbishop Sharp's coach. His grace had already entered. But behind the carriage was lurking "a lean, hollow-cheeked man, of a truculent countenance." The primate delayed—he was distributing some money to poor persons in the street—when the "hollow-cheeked man," who had a pistol and five poisoned bullets ready for the archbishop, fired. Honyman received the shot in his wrist. The assassin fled, and meantime escaped, although afterwards he was caught. "Mr. James Mitchell"—according to Wodrow "a youth of much piety and zeal"—was the prisoner. But from other sources we know that he was a man of bad character and no morals. He had been the friend of the notorious major Weir. Strange to think that such an act could be by any one vindicated, yet one writer of the presbyterian school adds, "God does, as it were, beat the pen out of his hand by a bullet that lighted on his arm and wrist." Even

at his execution this wretch recommended to others "the sweetness of such assassinations."

Honyman never recovered the stroke, and often suffered great agony from the effects of the poisoned bullet. He soon returned home, and ever after devoted himself in Orkney to the furtherance of church order and discipline. In 1671 the cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall was struck by lightning and the steeple and part of the inside of the tower destroyed by fire. The bishop happily was at home, and "animated" the people to save the church by his "liberalitie." This was happily effected, and the building repaired and internally improved, although the spire has never been rebuilt. Honyman procured the services of the Rev. James Wallace, Orkney's first historian, as minister at Kirkwall. The bishop and Wallace worked most harmoniously together. A solemn celebration of the holy communion was held in the cathedral on Sunday, August 24, 1674, the first for many years. The bishop preached the sermon from Cant. v. 2, and consecrated the sacred elements. In autumn he was visited by his next neighbour, Patrick Forbes, bishop of Caithness, "an honest-hearted and holy man," who preached in the cathedral. We may imagine the two prelates earnestly consulting about the welfare of the church in the north, and their brotherly farewell at the shore of Scapa. The wound Honyman received was, however, the cause of his premature death. This took place at Kirkwall, in the 56th year of his age, on February 21, 1676. A malicious report was spread that he had died in misery and unhappiness; but Wallace, who was present, put a stop to these wicked stories, telling in his history that "he died in great peace and composure." For the funeral the mortcloth was newly lined and repaired. The inhabitants wished to show all sympathy and respect to the memory of their bishop. He was laid to rest in the cathedral choir. His picture has been preserved—a man of swarthy face, black hair, but of a mild and soft countenance. He is dressed in surplice, cut low and square at the neck, with a black scarf and bands. The "black gown" was not then so uniformly worn as some writers would have us believe. In Caithness, too, Dr. Hew Scott tells us in his *Fasti*, the surplice was sometimes worn by the clergy of this period. He refers to the Rev. Hector Paip, parson of Loth in that diocese, who died in 1719, as being "the last" in that parish "that appeared in the pulpit clothed in a surplice."

Honyman was succeeded by Murdo Mackenzie, the bishop of

Moray, who, after a life of great usefulness and dignity, died, beloved and lamented by all, in 1688.

The Rev. GEORGE HONYMAN appears to have been the bishop's youngest brother. He was appointed to Sandwick and Stromness in 1672. The bishop's daughter had married Harry Grahame of Breckness, the chief landholder in Sandwick. The bishop wished to leave some permanent memorial of his episcopate in the Orkney Isles, so he renewed, slated, and repaired the church of Sandwick. George Honyman did not remain long in Orkney. He removed to Livingstone, in Linlithgowshire, in 1675. That district seems to have been very puritanical. At the revolution he was "rabbled" from his living, and his wife treated with great barbarity. On December 22, 1688, "thirty [presbyterian] men-at-arms" forced the door of his house, and Mrs. Honyman, who "had been brought to bed only six days before that time, which was not unknown to the assassins," was so frightened by their rudeness and threats to her husband that she got up, and "having put on only a night-gown, did on her naked feet interpose for his rescue." The ruffians took away a quantity of Mr. Honyman's property, including his horse. They afterwards paid other two visits, which appear to have equalled the former in rudeness and cruelty. He afterwards settled at Crail, in Fife, where he officiated for many years to the churchmen of that town and district. In his "meeting house" there he used the "English liturgie." For this "innovation" he was libelled before the presbytery of St. Andrews, but continued to officiate till after Whitsunday, 1729. One of his books is now in my possession. It bears his signature, and is entitled "CVIII. lectures upon the Fourth of John, preached at Ashby-de-la-Zouch by the Rev. Arthur Hildersham. London, 1656," in folio. A descendant of bishop Honyman was the well-known Scottish judge, sir William Honyman, Lord Armadale, who died in 1825.

Colin Falconar,

Bishop of Moray.

THE family of Falconar of Hawkertown, in the Mearns, as the name may tell, were anciently keepers of the king's falcons or hawks. They held this office from the time of king William the Lion. The family is now represented by the earl of Kintore. William, the fourth son of sir Alexander Falconar of Hawkertown, and designed of Dunduff, was father to Colin Falconar, archdeacon of Moray, bishop of Argyll and of Moray. Colin Falconar was born in 1623, and became minister of Essil in 1651. Essil is a parish now united with another to form that of Speymouth. The old churchyard yet in use is near the mouth of the Spey, close to the village of Garmouth. It is a calm, quiet, and retired spot, one suitable for any modern Hervey who may desire to "meditate among the tombs." There he might notice the old-fashioned flat stone covering the remains of "Master George Cuming, minister of the Gospel at Essil, who departed this life the 20th day of September, 1723." He was ordained by one of bishop Falconar's predecessors, and kept possession of his church, without submitting to the presbyterians, till his death. His two sons he trained in faithful steps. They both became priests of the church of England. All this by the way. Our country is full of the "remains of prelacy," if we look for them. Falconar was appointed minister of Forres in 1658, and archdeacon of Moray at the restoration. He was much attached to Forres, and at one time desired to be buried there. This, however, did not take place.

One of the most curious diaries printed is that of the laird of Brodie, a Morayshire gentleman, who was devoted to presbyterian polity and puritan manners. Episcopacy was very distasteful to him, yet he highly esteemed "Mr. Colin," as he was commonly called. The latter appears to have been "remarkably happy in reconciling differences, and in removing discords and animosities

among the gentlemen of his diocese." In 1672, when at Forres, near which Brodie dwelt, we have the following entry in the diary: "Mr. Colin Falconar drank with me, and we recreated the bodie by pastime at golf. Lord! let this be no snare to me." Is was not wine or malt liquor, however, in which the companions had been indulging. It appears that there was a mineral well near by. A Mr. Thomas Ross—surely a puritan indeed—looked askance at the innocent well. He appears to have smelt popery (or brimstone) in it, "had no opinion of the well, and declined Mr. Colin's company." It appeared that "common people misunderstood and constructed it as if I placed som holiness in the well, or saints or creatures." Brodie, however, was not quite satisfied with the archdeacon's preaching. He either did not make noise enough, or sweat enough (a great sign, much looked to in these days). He preached, indeed, "I could not say but soundlie, yet truths so general that the soul was not wakned." Still, when the vacancy was likely to occur, "they said Mr. Colin was to be bishop. I said, I rather he was bishop than ani other. . . . The bees did cast, and I desired to be instructed by this." No doubt in those days of curious omens (and remains of witchcraft) Brodie saw some connection between the bees and the bishopric. Falconar was consecrated to the see of Argyll at St. Andrews, on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 1679. Bruce, elect of Dunkeld, was consecrated at the same time. Falconar was translated to Moray and installed at Elgin, September 5th, 1680. All praise him. He was a model bishop, "hospitable, pious, and peaceable." His portrait, which I have seen, represents a dignified and grave-looking person. His opinion of the fanatics of his time was expressed to Brodie; as to "Mr. King, that he was drunk before the council," and had "som other suspicions of scandal on him." Falconar was extremely diligent in the visitation of his diocese. The records yet remaining show this. It was needed. In 1682 things appear very backward in one parish in Inverness. No communion vessels or proper necessaries were to be found. In a year's time Falconar had an assistant provided for that parish, instituted with "all solemnitys usuall in such cases." That same year we find mention of his sickness. He suffered much for some time. He had a great supporter in church order in the person of the earl of Moray. The arch-

bishop of St. Andrews, recommending that nobleman to Sancroft, speaks of him as one who "hath upon all occasions been the most affectionate and constant friend that we have met with, and is as much concerned for this poore church as any of our owne number." It is pleasant to get glimpses of such laymen of the era of the restoration. Lord Duffus was another friend of the church. He had fitted up part of his gallery as a chapel—a fact which Brodie looks at with evil eyes. He thought this smelt too much "of form and ostentation." Sad to say, bishop Falconar's tenure of the see of Moray was but a short one. He died at the castle of Spynie, November 11th, 1686. He had worked for the church till within a month of his death. In the episcopal chest at Edinburgh is preserved the list of the clergy present at "the synod of Murray, holden at Elgin, October 6th, 1686, Colin, lord bishop of Murray." It contains sixty names. In 1742 the clergy of Moray elected William Falconar, grandson of bishop Colin, as bishop of Moray. Instead of sixty the names are six in number. So far was the church then "minished and brought low." William Falconar, as is well known, rose to the office of primus, and long governed the church in troublous times with great sweetness of temper and in calm faith. Bishop Colin's funeral was very largely attended. I read in the record of the exercise or presbytery of Inverness their "reason why the brethren did not meet until this day was because the brethren did attend the funeralls of the right reverend father in God, Colin, late bishop of Murray, whom God called out of this life, November 11th, 1686, to the enjoyment of eternal happiness, whose funeralls were honourably and solemnly celebrated, with great greaff, at Elgin, November 22nd." The bishop was buried in the church of St. Giles', the old parish church of Elgin, and the pro-cathedral of the later bishops. The grave was in the south aisle, "at the bottom of the tower or steeple toward the east." A monument had been erected by the bishop during his lifetime "for himself, Lilian Rose, and their posteritie." St. Giles' ancient church and all its monuments have been swept away. A marble tablet was, however, erected in the chapter house of the old cathedral to his memory in 1812. It may still be seen there.

Alexander Monro, D.D.,

Principal of Edinburgh University and Bishop-elect of Argyll.

THE university of Edinburgh is generally believed to have been founded by king James, but it really took its rise from a bequest made by Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney and abbot of Kinloss. Robert Rollock, "an eminent scholar and divine," was the first teacher and principal, commencing his work there in 1583. Studying to "be quiet and do his own business," Rollock was looked upon by Calderwood and his friends as "too complying"—"a man simple in church matters." This last part of his character cannot be imputed to his successor, Dr. Alexander Monro, who was principal at the revolution of 1688. He was ejected by the new government for refusing to qualify by signing the confession of faith, &c. Monro, we are told, "was a gentleman by birth, a thorough scholar, and an able head of the institution." Dr. Grub describes him as a "clergyman of learning and piety, one of the most eminent of a race of divines which had now arisen, attached from principle and conviction to the doctrines and ritual of the church of England and anxious for their full establishment in Scotland." Dr. Monro, who came from St. Andrews to Edinburgh, as Rollock had done a hundred years before, was an excellent preacher. We can judge for ourselves. After his extrusion from the university he published a volume of "Sermons preached upon several occasions (most of them) before the magistrates and judges in the north-east auditory of St. Giles' church, Edinburgh." The volume is dedicated to his friends and acquaintances in the parish. In the "Epistle dedicatory" he mentions that he "was unanimously and cheerfully named to the government of the college of Edinburgh, without his knowledge or interposal, by the lord provost and town council." He advises his "friends and acquaintances" therefore "to take hold that they do not separate from the catholic church of Christ, her antient rules and constitutions, by which she was preserved in the primitive ages."

The sixth sermon in the volume is probably the most carefully prepared. It was "preach'd before the bishop and synod, April, 1687, in St. Giles' church, Edinburgh." The text is Canticles iv. 15. In it he states that "the heretics of all ages have been proud, and subtle, indefatigable, and there is no antidote against their poyson but to adhere to the simplicity of the gospel, the pure canon of the scriptures, the ancient creeds and liturgies of the church, the faith which was delivered to the saints, the doctrines that have been received *uno ore apud omnes Christianos*: the golden rule of Vincentius Lirenensis, *quod apud omnes, quod ubique, quod semper.*"

The eighth sermon in the volume was preached on Good Friday —text, St. John xviii. 11; and the eleventh on Whitsunday, 1688. The twelfth sermon is on the holy communion—text, Psalm xxvi. 6. He speaks of the holy eucharist as "the highest mystery of our religion, nay, all the mysteries of it be gathered together in one; and, therefore, all the graces of the spirit ought to adorn our souls when we come so near unto God; they meet together at this solemnity all of them in their highest flight and exaltation." At the end of this interesting volume is printed—the title being enclosed in a broad black border—"A sermon preached at the funeral of the right honourable William viscount of Strathallan, lieutenant-general of all his majestie's forces within the kingdom of Scotland: at Inverpeffray, April 4th, 1688." The writer has referred to this in his sketch of lord Madertie. This sermon, from St. John xi. 25, is a most beautiful composition. Lord Strathallan appears to have been a gentleman of the highest honour, probity, and devotion, one who at last, feeling that he was likely to die, "sent for a pious and grave divine of our church, with whom he took sweet counsel how to order his soul for its last flight to the other world: and in this interval gave all evidences of the greatness and goodness of his spirit." This divine was Dr. Laurence Charteris, at one time a professor of divinity in Edinburgh university, "of composed, serene gravity," who died after great suffering, "which he bore with the most perfect patience and submission," in 1700. His catalogue of Scottish writers, printed by Mr. Maidment, shows how great his knowledge of our national literature must have been.

Dr. Monro was the author of various other treatises, but one we cannot omit to mention. It is "An enquiry into the new opinions (chiefly) propagated by the presbyterians of Scotland": London, 1696. This motto is Jeremiah vi. 16. In this lucid little work he

refers to "episcopal government" as "established by divine authority." He uses the argument that as all receive the canon of holy scripture as fixed by divine guidance in the church, why will any be so "impious as to imagine that the apostles did not plainly and without disguise convey to us the outward and visible polity of the church"? He offers nine questions on the subject, concluding with a query whether all objections to St. Ignatius' epistles have not been "already sufficiently answered"? It appears that a "vindicator of the kirk"—Gilbert Rule (of whom presently)—had stated that "Christmas was kept by the heathens in honour of Julius Cæsar, and hence called yule in Scotland"! This wonderful discovery is sufficiently dealt with. Monro then refers to the "fabulous stories" of presbyterian culdees and other such items. In concluding his "enquiry" our author urges his readers, "in season and out of season," "to keep within the unity of the Christian church. Let us examine their pretences by the most ancient and genuine records, and stand in the good old ways, for in these only we shall find rest unto our souls. Truth loves to inhabit calm and serene spirits. It cannot enter where all the avenues are blocked up with bitterness and indignation." Monro acts up to his teaching. His writings are not tainted with the *personal* spirit so common in most writers of the time.

Dr. Monro's book was answered by his opponent, Gilbert Rule, who had been placed in the principal's chair at Edinburgh. The answer is entitled "The good old way defended," with about twenty lines of small print following, one of the longest title-pages the writer has ever seen. Gilbert was a famous man in his day. In the same book he attempts an answer likewise to bishop Sage's "Fundamental charter of presbytery." Maidment tells us that "Gilbert Rule was nicknamed Doctor Guiltius from an exhibition he made of himself in a public lecture, where he remarked *si aliquis virius colebit falsum Deum seu verum Deum ut non prescræpitum est, iste virius est guiltius idolatriæ* (!!) This ignorant and presumptuous man was actually placed in the university of Edinburgh, upon the removal of Dr. Monro." Bishop Sage also tells a very curious story as to Rule's ignorance of the works of St. Cyprian. Lest the writer should be considered "biassed" or "weakly prejudiced," he will quote the words of the greatly learned Dr. David Irving, than whom no one was more conversant with the literature of Scotland. He says: "Of the learned ecclesiastics who have been found entitled to our appro-

bation, a very inconsiderable number was of the presbyterian persuasion. Under the auspices of the Genevan discipline literature has rarely made any rapid strides. . . . When they [the schools of learning] at length fell under the jurisdiction of the presbyterians, elegant and useful knowledge seemed to languish in a state of hopeless decay." As Dr. Irving was an elder in "Free St. John's church," Edinburgh, he can scarcely be called a prejudiced writer. Dr. Monro also published an account of the ejection of his colleagues and himself from Edinburgh university. It is entitled "The presbyterian inquisition, as it was lately practised against the professors of the college of Edinburgh." He was charged with using the prayer book in the college. This he admitted. Dr. Grub is of opinion that he was the first who used it publicly after the revolution. Monro's own words are interesting. "When I left off preaching in the High Church, I advised with some of my brethren, and the result was that we should read the book of common prayer, and preach within our families *per vices*, since most of them were acquainted somewhat with the liturgy of the church of England. . . . The matter succeeded beyond what we proposed or looked for. We preached to the people upon the Sundays. They came by hundreds more than we had room for, and very many became acquainted with the liturgy of the church of England, and perceived by their own experience that there was neither popery nor superstition in it." The prayer book was well known. An act of the Scottish parliament had been passed encouraging its printing and use in families. Its occasional offices were also used. In the funeral sermon on lord Strathallan, quoted above, the very first words show this: "The first sentence that I have read is placed in the frontispiece of the *office for the burial of the dead*"—referring to St. John xi. 25.

After his deprivation Dr. Monro continued to reside in Edinburgh and to officiate in a congregation there. He died in 1715, leaving, with several daughters, a son James, a graduate of Balliol college, Oxford, and a physician "famous for his treatment in cases of insanity."

Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh.

WITH the exception of archbishop Sharp and viscount Dundee, no one has suffered so much from presbyterian calumny as sir George Mackenzie. To most Scotsmen he is merely known as "Bloody Mackenzie," the persecutor, the slayer of the faithful remnant. He is supposed to have abused his power as lord advocate, believed to have compassed sea and land to procure the deaths of the faithful covenanters. Let us look into his history a little. We shall find him to have been what his political opponent, lord Fountainhall, calls him—"the brightest Scotsman of his time." Dryden, whose friend he became later in life, says of him that he was "*the* noble wit of Scotland." Truly very unfortunately have the most gallant and learned gentlemen of the seventeenth century been treated. Sir George Mackenzie was a Ross-shire man, born about 1636. His father was Simon Mackenzie of Lochslinn, near Tain; his mother, a daughter of Dr. Andrew Bruce, "rector of the university of St. Andrews." He was a very clever boy, and at the age of fifteen was an accomplished scholar, having passed the university curriculum at Aberdeen and St. Andrews. Afterwards he studied civil law at Bourges, in France, and became a member of the Scottish bar at the age of twenty-three. Soon he rose to the first rank. His defence of the traitor Argyll was masterly and effective. Speaking of his compliance with Cromwell, he urged that "without complying at that time, no man could entertain his dear wife or sweet children; this only kept men from starving." True, but there were darker crimes against Argyll. The able defence Mackenzie then made at once established his position at the Scottish bar. He was soon a privy councillor and lord advocate. But amid his busy professional duties he found time for literary work. In the year 1661, Mackenzie gave to the world a story called "Aretina, or the serious romance," probably the first novel written in Scotland. But to refer, even shortly, to all the works written by sir George (nearly thirty in number), would be far beyond the scope of this paper. The worthy Anthony Wood gives

an account of most of them, and a complete edition was issued in two folio volumes at Edinburgh, 1716-1722. His works may be said to be moral, historical, and legal. After "Aretina," he produced the "Religious Stoic," and the "Essay on Solitude." His "Vindication of the government of Scotland in the reign of king Charles II. against the misrepresentations made in several scandalous pamphlets," is probably one of the most valuable and interesting of his works. It is short and effective. Wodrow laments that although several attempts had been made to answer it, no satisfactory rejoinder had appeared. Napier, in his "Wigtown Martyrs," refers to this pamphlet as dispelling the "mendacious" story of "Margaret, virgin martyr of the ocean wave, and her like-minded sister Agnes"—not to speak of old Margaret Lauchlison.

Sir George also wrote on heraldry, and published several treatises in defence of monarchy, particularly referring to "the antiquity of the royal law of Scotland." His "Institutions of the law of Scotland" are well known and still referred to. This work reached an eighth edition in 1758. Though abused—even cursed—by the "hillmen" and their later and modern friends and followers, Napier speaks quite correctly when he says of sir George: "This refined and highly accomplished gentleman performed the functions of his laborious and terribly responsible office [of lord advocate] with a humanity, under the most trying circumstances, that was equal to his firmness. He had no love of strife; on the contrary, his desire was for a country life, quiet, and study. The estate of Rosehaugh, where he always took up his residence while in the highlands, was profusely covered with the dog-rose—a plant which first suggested to the famous lawyer the idea of designating that property by the name of Rosehaugh, or *Vallis Rosarum*." He had no love for the bustle of Edinburgh, which he calls the "most unwholesome and unpleasant town in Scotland." This he contrasts with rural peace:—

> "Oh, happy country life, pure like its air,
> Free from the rage of pride, the pangs of care.
> Here happy souls lie bathed in soft content,
> And are at once secure and innocent."

Sir George Mackenzie deserves to be remembered as the munificent founder of the advocates' library—a fact unknown to or forgotten by most of the frequenters of that store of books and manuscripts. He had many ups and downs in life. Lauderdale hated him,

but he succeeded in his aims notwithstanding. When James VII. proposed the repeal of the penal laws, like many other earnest churchmen in Scotland and England, he opposed the repeal, and "chose to cease to be lord advocate rather than yield to the king." Yet he was ever faithful to the race of Stewart, in defence of whom three of his books were written. When Dalrymple proposed the famous resolution in the parliament of Scotland—that by his conduct James had forfeited the throne—sir George was not afraid to record his vote in that melancholy minority of five who were still found faithful, in the most trying circumstances, to a king who was unfaithful to himself and his people.

Then Mackenzie's work in the Scottish senate and at the Scottish bar was finished. In 1689 "he retired to Oxford in the month of September, and became a sojourner there for a time, a frequenter of the public library, and on the second day of June, 1690, he was, by the favour of the venerable congregation of regents, admitted a student therein." At Oxford "he was a welcome guest at the tables of whigs and tories, who were equally captivated by his wit and learning." But his stay was short—the glass was soon to run out. Sir George died at Westminster, 8th May, 1691. He was only fifty-five. He had in one of his earlier works thus expressed his religious hopes: "When I consider what joys are prepared for them that fear the Almighty, and what craziness attends such as sleep in Methusalem's cradle, I pity them who make long life one of the oftest repeated petitions of their paternoster." Anthony Wood adds this character of Mackenzie: "He was a gentleman well acquainted with the best authors, whether ancient or modern, of indefatigable industry in his studies, powerful at the bar, just on the bench, an able statesman, a faithful friend, a loyal subject, a constant advocate for the clergy and universities, of strict honour in all his actions, and a zealous defender of piety and religion in all places and companies. His conversation was pleasant and useful, severe against vice and loose principles, without regard to quality or authority, a great lover of the laws and customs of his country, a contemner of popularity and riches, frugal in his expenses, abstemious in his diet." After death his body was conveyed to Scotland, and first placed in the abbey of Holyrood. On the 26th June, 1691, it was "buried in great state and pomp (being attended by all the council, nobility, colleges of justice, university, gentry and clergy, and so great a concourse of people that hath not yet been seen on such an occa-

sion) in a vault, made some time before by himself, with a cupola of freestone over it, in the yard of the Franciscan or Greyfryers church," in Edinburgh. Sir George married Elizabeth, a daughter of John Dickson of Hartree, who long survived him. Their three sons died young. "His books," says a presbyterian writer, "have not received that measure of justice which is really their due." They are too little known. Any of my readers who have leisure might buy or borrow the two folio volumes, and spend some winter evenings with pleasure, and perhaps with surprise, in conning the maxims and digesting the results of the historical researches of "Bloody Mackenzie."

John Graham, Viscount Dundee.

IN "little more than twenty years after the death of Montrose another Graham, head of an ancient branch of the noble house, entered upon the stage of Scottish troubles, and became for a short space conspicuous in the rapidly shifting scenes that ensued." For about one hundred and fifty years after his death viscount Dundee had been believed to be all a man should not be—crafty, cruel, bloodthirsty; in fact, so deeply "engaged" with the enemy of souls that he had the wondrous power given him of being bullet-proof. No story was too dark and awful but might be believed when the "bloody Clavers" was involved in it. He is the "hero-fiend." Sir Walter Scott and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe were amongst the first to question the wondrous tales of Wodrow and Shields. Letters and papers were exhumed from charter chests and other repositories, and it was found that Dundee had been the victim of the grossest misrepresentation. Yet it is strange to see the power tradition holds over some minds—over persons gifted and industrious. Macaulay, whose graphic style and clear diction lends enchantment to his story, rehearses the old tale. He does not take time, as Napier has clearly shown, to verify facts, even mistaking Dundee's first name. He calls him James Graham; "but the man's name was John." This mistake arose from Macaulay's trust in Wodrow. He makes the same ignorant blunder. Professor Aytoun and sheriff Napier have brushed away these cobwebs. Pushing home the researches begun by Scott and Kirkpatrick Sharpe, they have shown Dundee to be a man not free from faults—who is?—but a man forbearing, humane, earnest only in carrying out the instructions of his superiors—a man on whose private character, in a licentious age, no blot has been found—a man in his private life God-fearing, regular, and happy. As a soldier, Dundee's great idea was *duty*.

"I am as sorry," he says, "to see a man die, even a whig, as any of themselves. But when one dies justly for his own faults, and may save a hundred to fall in like manner, I have no scruple." To

Claverhouse the royal cause was "God's cause." Writing to lord Moray, he says "that if that nobleman stand true to the king, he will have the everlasting blessing of almighty God, which is above all." In the memoir of sir E. Cameron of Lochiel we are told that Dundee "was a good Christian, an indulgent husband, an accomplished gentleman, a brave soldier. . . . Besides family worship, performed regularly morning and evening at his house, he retired to his closet at certain hours." Some writers have held up Dundee's correspondence to contempt as the production of an illiterate man. They forget that great laxity of spelling was then allowed, and the fault they find in Dundee may be found in almost any statesman's correspondence of the period.

Born in 1643, Dundee was educated at St. Andrews university. There he "made considerable progress in the mathematics, especially in those parts of it that related to his military capacity; and there was no part of the *belles lettres* which he had not studied with great care and exactness." That during the last days of Charles II. and in the earlier part of the reign of his brother, many cruel deeds took place in Scotland is unquestionable. The government was carried on in an arbitrary manner. All cruelty and severity are to be deplored. Severity should only be resorted to when milder measures fail. But were the severities greater, were the court measures more cruel than those which broke out under presbyterian rule at the great rebellion in Scotland? Both were equally severe. If we blame the troops under Dundee and Dalziell, shall we acquit the atrocities which followed Philiphaugh, or the massacre at Linlithgow bridge? Do we not know that the covenanting motto at one engagement was "Jesus and no quarter," and that the "bloody banner" used at Drumclog and Bothwell brig bore the words, "No quarters for ye active enimies of ye covenant"? We deplore all cruelty, all outrage. Still we cannot forget that Dundee bore the royal commission. But the details have been vastly exaggerated. John Brown, "who was shot before his own door," had a magazine of arms in a cavern in the hill near by. He had drilled many "godly youths" for open rebellion. We find sir Walter Scott speaking of the covenanters as men simply because "they stood on their hind legs." On the other hand Wodrow must "draw a veil over many of the dreadful impieties" of the soldiers. It is difficult to keep the *via media*.

The writer has read most of the literature on both sides

relating to this time, and he must confess his sympathies are with Dundee, the church, and order, and not with the murderers of Sharp, and the heroes of Shields and Macaulay. Dundee, the hero of duty, was not awanting when his trial time came. Loyal to the core, he attempted to maintain the cause of James, when that foolish monarch had forgotten his own oaths and duty. In vain he endeavoured to persuade the minority in the convention of estates of 1689 to hold a meeting at Stirling. He then left the meeting, "but it was for the purpose of rallying the northern clans in support of king James." Killiecrankie followed. "William's soldiers were entirely routed; but Dundee was slain, and with the fall of their heroic chief the cause of the Scottish royalists became hopeless." The history of Dundee and of Killiecrankie has been told in glowing verse in the "Gramiad" of Philip of Amyrclose, recently published by the Scottish History Society, under the able editorship of canon Murdoch.

The last scene was tragic but noble. After he had fallen, Dundee asked "how the day went." The answer was that "the day went well for the king," the trooper adding "that he was sorry for his lordship." Dundee replied, "It was the less matter for him, seeing the day went well for his master." He was laid to rest in the church of Blair. The verdict of the church of which he was a devoted member, and for which he fought, may be added in the words of principal Monro: "I had an extraordinary value for him, and such of his enemies as entertain any generosity will acknowledge that he deserved it." His flag at Killiecrankie bore the words, "For God and Scotland."

"Oh, last and best of Scots! thou didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign;
New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne!
Scotland and thou did in each other live;
Nor wouldst thou her, nor could she thee, survive.
Farewell, who, dying, didst support the state,
And could not fall but with thy country's fate!"