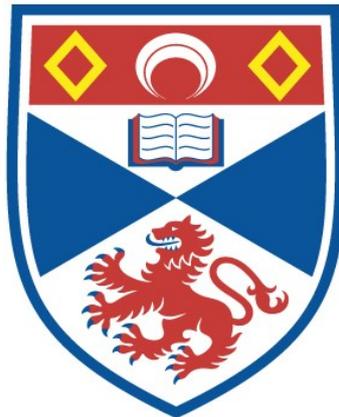


**THE RENASCENCE OF CHURCHMANSHIP IN  
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1850-1920**

William Horsburgh

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



1958

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IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,  
1850-1920



WILLIAM HORSBURGH.

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"Ask for the Old Paths . . . and walk therein."

- Jeremiah, Chapter 6, verse 16.

285,567

DECLARATION

This is to certify that this thesis has been composed by me; that the work of which it is a record has been done by me, and that it has not been submitted on any previous occasion for a higher degree.

Signed.....

STATEMENT

I matriculated at the University of St. Andrews in October 1938, and obtained the degree of Master of Arts in 1941. I graduated Bachelor of Divinity at the University of London in 1953. I was admitted to the course for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in October 1954, and since that time have been engaged on the research project under the supervision of the Rev. Professor W. R. Forrester, D.D., St. Mary's College.

Signed.....\*

CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that William Horsburgh,  
M.A., B.D., has spent <sup>seven and half</sup> ~~nine~~ terms of research  
work under my direction, that he has fulfilled  
the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 of the  
University of St. Andrews, and that he is  
qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in  
application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Supervisor of Research.

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CHAPTER ONEThe Revival of the Catholic Ideal of  
Churchmanship in the Nineteenth Century.

## I.

A Definition of Churchmanship.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century there arose in the Church of Scotland a group of men, most of them ministers of that Church, who found themselves deeply apprehensive about her condition. They believed that a mean and defective Churchmanship had been allowed to invade the Scottish Church, one which had grievously damaged her worship, her sacramental life and, especially, her doctrinal and historical perspective. Hence they considered it their duty to attempt to recall the Church to a nobler ideal of Churchmanship than that which they saw around them - to a Churchmanship which would help her to rediscover her true place, not only within the great family of the Reformed Churches, but also within that greater society, the Holy Catholic Church, the *Una Sancta Ecclesia* of Jesus Christ. These men - there were never many of them - came to be called the "High Churchmen" (and they will be designated thus in these pages). But,

as one of them remarked, a more appropriate name would have been the "Deep Churchmen",<sup>1</sup> because they sought to dig deep into the history and traditions of their Church and bring to light treasure that had been long buried in neglect and indifference.

To define Churchmanship is no easy task, for, as one of the lay members of the group pointed out, "it is with Churchmanship as with poetry: we can define neither the one nor the other, though we all, I trust, know a good Churchman and a good poet when we come across him".<sup>2</sup> But the High Churchmen did not have far to look in search of a satisfactory statement of the type of Churchmanship they desired to see reintroduced into the Church of Scotland. They found it ready to hand in the pages of the Church's official standards, notably in the Westminster Confession of Faith, where her status as a Church not only Reformed, but also truly Catholic, is clearly and unequivocally set forth. The Scottish High Church group were strongly of the opinion that the Church of Scotland had drifted from the Catholic and Reformed principles embodied in these standards, and had allowed herself to

1. Andrew Wallace Williamson in S.C.S. Report, 1902-3, p.14.
2. J.H.Millar: "The Revival of Churchmanship in Scotland" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol.II, p.67.

become idiosyncratic and isolated from the main stream of Christian tradition. She now appeared to regard her recognition as a national, established Church to be a sufficient raison d'etre. She had become content to be thought of as the Church of Knox and Melville, and the conception of herself as a branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ had faded from her mind. Had she shown herself consistently loyal to Reformed ideals, her rightful place within the Church Catholic would have been amply secured. For the Reformers emphatically insisted that they were not motivated by any desire to sever the Reformed Church from her Catholic antecedents, but only to banish those man-made excrescences and abuses which had come to disfigure the pre-Reformation Church. They would have been dismayed at any suggestion that they had created a new Church. They maintained the Reformed Church to be but the old Church in a new dress, her soiled limbs cleansed her blemishes and disfigurements removed - not a new, but a renewed Church, in which all that was best in the old had been carefully retained.

"Our Reformers", declared one of the High Churchmen, "were for the most part not only Christians, but Churchmen. It was their great aim, not to destroy the Church as a united and visible body, but to strengthen and perfect its

organization by purifying it from corruptions and restoring its Apostolic and primitive form. They removed the ordinances of men, and retained what they believed to be the ordinances of God. What man has instituted, man may take away; but it is not so with what is divine. The Church principles of the Reformers were thus 'a minimum admitting of no reduction whatever'.<sup>1</sup>

But, the High Churchmen asked, was it to be expected that a true ideal of Catholic and Reformed Churchmanship could survive in soil that had been poisoned, not only by seventeenth-century Cromwellian Independency, with its un-Catholic notions of the Church, but also by the fever and strife of schism? The Disruption of 1843 had brought disaster upon the Scottish Church. Narrow denominationalism and petty congregationalism had combined to make Scotland a hot-bed of sectarian rivalries. When the High Church group came into existence the Established Church was only beginning to recover from the staggering blows of the great Secession, and the spectacle of a great and proud Church, now splintered and broken, provided them with their most powerful stimulus to seek a nobler conception of Churchmanship than that which thrived on parochial feuds and denominational enmities. Could fissiparous Presbyterianism

1. G.W.Sprott: The Church Principles of the Reformation, p.8

they demanded, claim to be the true representative in Scotland of the Church of God, the Bride of Christ? Was not the Church in Scotland too often regarded as "a man-made thing, the result of our exertions, the product of our manufacture, an expedient, a convenience ---- a thing to use if it be useful, or dispense with if it annoys us ---- a thing to take or to leave, to 'join' or forsake, as seems convenient; a thing to patronise, to help, to encourage, to befriend as generally useful, and 'in some form', hardly (as yet) to be dispensed with".<sup>1</sup> How far removed was this idea of the Church from that Catholic and Reformed Churchmanship which sees her as "a society, born not by the will of men, but of God: divinely quickened, divinely ordered, divinely endowed".<sup>2</sup>

The prevalence of schism in Scotland had produced, too, a theory of "poly-churchism" - a notion that denominationalism is an inevitable, if regrettable, feature of Church life, and that the multiplicity of sects serve at least one good purpose in providing a wide choice for those who chose to differ from each other. To the High Churchmen such an outlook appeared not merely a denial

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: "The Revival of Churchmanship in Scotland". In S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p.80.

2. H.J. Wotherspoon: ibid., p.80.

of the true nature of the Church, but also of our Lord's prayer that "they all may be one". Yet Churchmanship, they knew, must be exercised in a local setting. In the existing state of the Church a Churchman must identify himself with the denomination of his choice. To be merely "a Christian at large", without associating oneself with any branch of the Church, is to evade our responsibilities as practising Christians. Effective Churchmanship implies a loyalty both universal and local. While a Churchman does not limit his interest and activity to a particular congregation or denomination, his Churchmanship would lack significance and purpose without that association.

The High Churchmen found themselves forced to construct a theory of Churchmanship which would meet the challenge of unbelief and scepticism. No longer, even by Church people, was the Divine inspiration and authority of Scripture unhesitatingly accepted. The Christian Faith was now confronted with a popular outlook dominated by the scientific attitude to life and the universe, and had become the target of constant attack by rationalists and free-thinkers. Amongst many of the clergy, too, there had appeared, chiefly owing to the acceptance of a liberal theology, a disinclination to acknowledge the credibility of certain aspects of revealed religion, particularly those

parts of it connected with the miraculous. Hence in many Scottish pulpits there was now proclaimed, not the confident assertions of the Christian Faith, but a thin and nebulous creed, flavoured by the current rationalism, or an argumentative scepticism in which the Catholic doctrines of the Church were ignored as obsolete or dismissed as superstitions.

The debased Churchmanship of the time had also resulted in a deplorably defective and barren system of worship. In her total abandonment of all liturgical forms, her sacramental apathy, her repudiation of even the major occasions of the Christian year, her refusal to recite a creed or even, in some congregations to countenance the repetition by the minister of the Lord's Prayer, the Church of Scotland had forsaken the "custom of the Churches of God".<sup>1</sup>

Thus, in the opinion of the High Churchmen, the most clamant need in the Church of Scotland was a return to the acceptance of Catholic doctrine, and its proclamation in the pulpits of the land. "If the standard of Churchmanship", declared one of them, "is to be raised, if the bulk of the laity is to be brought to an intelligent and living apprehension of Church principles

1. I Corinthians Chapter 11, verse 16.

---- it is to the ministers we must look to achieve these results. What we want - what we most urgently want - is systematic doctrinal teaching. We can get plenty of graceful essays in the magazines and reviews; we can gather from a hundred other sources that dogma is valueless. ---- But it is from the pulpit, and the pulpit alone, that we are entitled to expect a perpetual supply of wholesome teaching, a constant insistence upon the cardinal doctrines of the faith, a keen sense of the magnitude of the questions at stake, a merciless exposure of the assumptions upon which the sceptic builds".<sup>1</sup>

The High Church movement in Scotland was a clarion-call to the Church to rediscover the central, abiding truths of the Christian Faith, and, in an age of secularism and unbelief, to declare to mankind the "whole counsel of God" - those eternal verities which have constituted the Church's message since the days of the Apostles. The Church of Scotland, if she were to regain a true Catholic and Reformed Churchmanship, must "ask for the Old Paths .... and walk therein".

In a sermon to the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in 1877 Dr. G. W. Sprott enunciated the ideals of Churchmanship of his brethren in the High Church group

1. J.H.Millar: op.cit., pp.74/75.

when he declared:

"A Churchman is one who, besides believing in the Fatherhood of God, and glorifying in Christ and His Cross, believes also in the Holy Ghost as the Lord and Giver of life, and in the Church as the body of Christ filled by that Spirit, springing from and united with its glorified Head; that it is not a shapeless mass, but a divine organisation for administering grace and carrying out God's eternal purpose; that its life and order are coeval and both from above; that a faith has been committed to it which it must ever hold fast, and that it has a worship to offer which in its main features has been divinely prescribed. And whatever differences there may be among those who are leavened with this most powerful and penetrating leaven, they are at one in giving great weight to historical Christianity, and in regarding the Apostolic Church at least as the pillar and ground of infallible truth".<sup>1</sup>

The High Churchmen, it should be pointed out, were not Romanists. Dr. N. P. Williams remarks that "there can be, is, and in some measure always has been, a Catholicism which is neither Roman nor Byzantine; which is non-Papal, but at the same time specifically Western in its outlook and temper. Such manifestations are to

1. G.W.Sprott; op.cit., pp.7/8.

be found in the Catholicising movements which have sprung up within certain Churches of the Reformation".<sup>1</sup> What the Tractarians had achieved in the Anglican communion in restoring the conception of her Reformed Catholicity, the Scottish High Church group sought to do for Presbyterianism. It was a movement in many respects "parallel to the Oxford Movement, a stirring of the same spirit".<sup>1</sup>

## II.

### The Revival of Catholic Conceptions of Churchmanship in other Communions

The renaissance of the Catholic ideal of Churchmanship in the nineteenth-century Church of Scotland was no isolated, local phenomenon. Kindred movements may be traced, not only in the Church of England, but in Europe. As Heiler remarks: "The Catholic spirit (which is not to be confused with the Roman Catholic) has for the last hundred years been engaged in conquering the Reformation Churches".<sup>2</sup>

This neo-Catholic movement is very clearly seen in the German Lutheran Church. Luther's ideal was that all the essential aspects of Catholicity in the creeds, worship

1. N.P. Williams: Northern Catholicism, p.viii.

2. F.Heiler: The Spirit of Worship, p.185.

and constitution of the ancient Church should be retained in the Reformed Church which bears his name. Her life should be purged only of those defects which were clearly at variance with Reformation principles. Heiler points out that the Lutheran communion service is plainly a reformed Roman Mass; the use of the Roman Daily Offices of Matins and Vespers was retained.<sup>1</sup> Likewise private confession and absolution, the priestly vestments, incense, the sign of the Cross, the singing of Latin anthems and hymns were kept in Luther's system. The rich and ornate medieval churches were not despoiled or denuded of their beauty. The Lutheran Church was essentially a reformed Catholic Church.

But as the result of the rationalistic philosophy of the eighteenth-century Aufklärung a deterioration occurred in the Catholic outlook of Lutheranism. A new bias towards a more Protestant attitude arose, and many old Catholic usages were allowed to be abandoned.

In the early nineteenth century, however, chiefly through the work and influence of such liturgical scholars as Löhe and Kliefoth, of Schöberlein the theologian and Wackernagel the hymnwriter, the Catholic conceptions inherent in the Confession of Augsburg (1530) were reborn,

1. F. Heiler: "The Catholic Movement in German Lutheranism" in Northern Catholicism, p.480.

and have since shown signs of persistent vitality within the Lutheran Church.<sup>1</sup>

About this time, too, Professor J. H. Gunning, of the Dutch Reformed Church, attempted to revive popular interest in the Catholic tradition of that Church. His efforts, however, received little encouragement, and it was not until after the First World War that a distinct High Church group arose in the Reformed Church of Holland.

We ought to note also the singular witness of the Old Catholic Church in nineteenth-century European Churchmanship. This Church is made up of a federation of Catholic groups which, in 1700, separated themselves from Papal allegiance over a disputed point of canon law. The Churches of Utrecht formed the chief centre of resistance. All possibility of reconciliation with the Mother Church was removed with the promulgation by the Vatican Council in 1854 of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and her adoption in 1870 of the doctrine of Papal infallibility. The Old Catholic Churches of Utrecht, Germany and Switzerland entered into a formal union in 1889, and, although numerically small, the Church enjoys a position of considerable influence in

1. For a discussion of Löhe's contribution to Lutheranism, see V. Brillioth: Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement, p.12 ff.

these countries. In Europe there are seven Old Catholic dioceses, and about 400,000 members. The Church endeavours to preserve a "pure Catholicism", independent of Papal jurisdiction, from which the abuses and errors of the Roman system have been purged. The Old Catholics claim to have kept intact an apostolical succession from the Early Church, and to have maintained incorrupt the ancient Catholic teaching of the undivided, universal Church. The vernacular is used in the Liturgy and at the celebration of the Eucharist. Celibacy is not imposed on the clergy. In 1932 the Old Catholic Church entered into full inter-communion with the Church of England and the Scottish Episcopal Church.<sup>1</sup>

A vigorous revival of the Roman Catholic Church in France is evident at this period also. It was initiated with the publication in 1802 of Chateaubriand's Génie du Christianisme, which gave Catholicism in France a new power and popularity. Du Maistre, whose Du Pape appeared in 1819, and Lamennais both exerted a profound Catholicising influence, the latter especially amongst the younger clergy. His Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion (1817) is a brilliant apology for Roman Catholicism, and in his later works, especially in

1. See C.B. Moss: The Old Catholic Movement: its Origins and History. London 1948.

his journal L'Avenir (begun in 1830), Lamennais issued trenchant warnings against the growing subservience of the Church in France to State control, and against the dangerous nature of the Concordat between Church and State. The secular legislature, he pointed out, had assumed unwarrantable power in ecclesiastical affairs. The Minister of Religion, a State official, was in the habit of issuing to the French bishops "circulars of instruction": he had sent out an edict prescribing the content of public prayers, the observance of certain Church festivals and the abandoning of others: the parish clergy were under the surveillance of the local mayor, and were forbidden to confer with one another or to appeal to Rome for Papal guidance. Hence Lamennais advocated the complete separation of Church and State in order to preserve the Church from secular domination. At this time, also, Montalembert and Lacordaire were making renewed claims for the allegiance of their countrymen to the Papacy.

In Britain, too, chiefly as a result of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and the influx of Roman Catholic Irish immigrants, a vigorous expansion of the Roman Church took place. Romanism in this country was no longer, as J. A. Froude had described it in 1830, "a dying creed, lingering in retirement in the halls and

chapels of a few half-forgotten families".<sup>1</sup> It had become an increasingly influential part of British Church life, especially in the industrial regions of Lancashire and central Scotland.

The influence of a pre-Tractarian High Church group within Anglicanism was a factor of no small importance in the preservation of a Catholic Churchmanship during the early part of the nineteenth century. These High Churchmen claimed to be the heirs of a party, dating from the reigns of James I and Charles I, and represented in the eighteenth century by the Non-Jurors. They had never lost sight of the Catholic traditions inherent in the Book of Common Prayer, and quietly maintained such Catholic beliefs as apostolical succession, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and the centrality of the Sacraments in the worship of the Church and the life of the believer. "The torch of Andrewes and Ken", says Brilioth, "had not entirely gone out, and the thoughts of the Caroline Age had not died out with Jacobitism; 'Catholic traditions', actually as good as any which were preached after the Oxford Movement had done its work, had been cherished as valuable inheritances in Anglican families. But a

1. Quoted by G.W.E. Russell in Dr. Pusey, p.38.

neglected ritual and slack Church discipline prevented them from coming to their own".<sup>1</sup> John Keble's remark when the teaching of the Oxford Movement was first explained to him: "It seems to me to be the same as what my father always taught me"<sup>2</sup> indicates the influence of the old High Church party in his early life.

Mention must also be made of a minor movement in English Nonconformist circles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century towards a better ideal of Churchmanship than that commonly found in their midst. This movement took the form of a reaction, in some circles, from the Puritanism which was the distinguishing mark of English Independency. It showed itself chiefly in an impatience with the excesses of the "free" prayers so vigorously and vehemently declaimed from the majority of Nonconformist pulpits. From 1753, when there was published, by an unknown editor, A Specimen of a Liturgy designed for the use of a Private Congregation, in which the use of set forms of prayer is commended, there appeared many experimental Nonconformist liturgies, most of them with a predominantly unitarian outlook.<sup>3</sup>

1. Y.Brillioth: The Anglican Revival, p.22. For a description of the Pre-Tractarian High Church Movement see C.F.S.Clark The Oxford Movement and After, p.9.
2. E.Wood: John Keble, p.2.
3. For a full list of early English Nonconformist liturgies see W.D.Maxwell: The Book of Common Prayer and the Worship of the Non-Anglican Churches, p.33, note 7.

Nor must it be forgotten that the Wesleyan revival had in it a core of Catholic Churchmanship, for Methodism placed emphasis on the celebration of a weekly Eucharist when its centrality had been overlooked by Anglicans, and to the end of his life Wesley insisted that it was the duty of his followers to remain within the Church. "Both John and Charles Wesley", says C. P. S. Clarke, "cherished a warm attachment to the Church, and strongly opposed separation from it. They remained not only Churchmen, but definite High Churchmen to the end of their lives. They instructed their followers to communicate every Sunday in their parish churches, wherever this was possible, also to fast on all the Fridays of the year. They taught explicitly the doctrines of the Real Presence and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, preferring the term 'altar' to 'table'. They desired the revival of the daily Eucharist, and encouraged (and where possible practised) daily communion".<sup>1</sup>

Of considerable interest to the student of Scottish Churchmanship is the renaissance of High Church principles in American Protestantism, mainly through the witness of the "Mercersburg School". The two outstanding leaders

1. C.P.S. Clarke: "The Genesis of the Movement" in Northern Catholicism, p.3.

in the earliest phase of this movement were Philip Schaff (1819-1893) and J. W. Nevin (1803-1886), professors in the theological seminary of the German Reformed Church in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. Together they formulated what has come to be known as the "Mercersburg Theology", a Christo-centric doctrinal system which emphasised the Divine nature and authority of the Church as the mystical Body of Christ. Although the visible Church has passed through many historical "phases", she is, even in her divided state, the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church founded by Jesus Christ. Ordination by the laying-on of hands duly invests the ministry with authority to act in the Divine Name and to administer the Christian Sacraments. In their sacramental outlook Nevin and Schaff expressed their loyalty to Calvin's teaching, in opposition to that of Zwingli and Luther.

While not seeking altogether to supersede extemporaneous prayer the Mercersburg School advocated the revival of a liturgical type of Church service, such as was used at the Reformation period. The Liturgy, or Order of Christian Worship (1858), prepared by Schaff, Nevin and others, and the later book of prayers, An Order of Worship for the Reformed Church (1866), were sources

to which the Scottish High Churchmen turned for guidance and inspiration when attempting to improve the worship of the Church of Scotland.

### III.

#### The Catholic Apostolic Church.

The formation and growth of the Catholic Apostolic Church also helped to stimulate interest, both in England and more especially in Scotland, in a revived ideal of Churchmanship. This sect, often called "Irvingite", came into existence when Edward Irving was evicted in 1832 from his church in Regent Square, London, and deposed by the Presbytery of Annan for heretical teaching.<sup>1</sup> Some of his flock were not disposed to abandon the distinctive theological views of their pastor, and wished to continue to testify to the value of glossolalia (speaking in unintelligible "tongues", thought to be a clear indication of the possession of charismatic gifts), and of prophesying. This latter activity was also ascribed to the work of the Holy Spirit, enabling certain persons to interpret the hidden meaning of Scripture, explain apocryphal symbols such as are to be found in the Book of Revelation, and clarify the

1. See Chapter 2, Section III.

prophecies contained in both the Old Testament and the New.

That portion of Irving's congregation which adhered to his views were forced into a position of isolation, and became a distinct religious community.

The sect received its name in a fortuitous manner. It was, says Dr. A. L. Drummond, "due to the accidental enrolment of a census clerk. A certain householder was asked what denomination he belonged to. He replied 'the catholic and apostolic church worshipping in Newman Street'. The clerk registered 'Catholic Apostolic Church'".<sup>1</sup>

Gradually this group, at first Presbyterian in its worship and constitution, became a priestly institution with twelve 'apostles' in charge of the affairs of the Church throughout the world. The first 'apostle' was chosen in 1832. As its constitution claims to be a development of that established in the first-century Church, there is a fourfold ministry such as that set forth in the Epistle to the Ephesians, Chapter 4, verse 11, "apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors and teachers". The three orders of bishop, priest, and deacon are comprehended within this fourfold classifica-

1. A.L.Drummond: Edward Irving and his circle. p.234.

tion. The Second Coming of Christ was looked for at the death of the last 'apostle', and successors to the 'apostles' have never been elected. The Church has no sectarian aims, and does not seek to proselytize. Congregations were established in Britain, Germany, Switzerland, and North America, but the cause has now dwindled to the point of extinction.

The Church is Catholic in its use of the ancient creeds, lights, incense, and vestments. A literal view is taken of Holy Scripture, and the allegorical method of Biblical interpretation is adopted, as well as an unusual terminology. The name 'angel', for example, is used rather than 'bishop', and is the appellation, not of the chief minister of a diocese, but of the local church. There is a strong tendency towards apocalypticism and pre-millenarianism, and the Second Advent of Christ remains a subject of deep and abiding interest and hope to all adherents of this sect.

The ritual of the Church, where circumstances permit, is ornate and even magnificent. The Eucharist is regarded as the central rite, a weekly celebration being introduced into all Catholic Apostolic churches in 1836. The noble Liturgy, published in 1842, is a fine service-book, its contents being drawn from many sources, but

chiefly from Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Anglican rites. Vestments such as cope and chasuble, are used, and consecrated oil is employed for the anointing of the sick, for healing, and for ordinations. The baptismal rite stresses clearly the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

In its worship the Catholic Apostolic Church anticipated many of the ritual developments of Tractarianism, and its Liturgy has influenced in no small fashion the worship of the Church of Scotland.

#### IV.

##### The Oxford Movement.

It is in the Oxford Movement within the Church of England, however, that the resurgence of the Catholic ideals of Churchmanship is most clearly seen. The movement originated in a protest against Whig interference with the rights and privileges of the Established Church, threatened with spoliation as the Church in Ireland had recently been. This issue was made the starting-point of another, much more crucial. It prompted many Churchmen to ask: "What is the Church of England?" The answer of Keble, Pusey, Newman and the early Tractarians was that the Church ought not to be regarded merely as

an appanage of the State, a branch of the Civil Service, a creature of human origin, bound by the chains of Establishment in Erastian captivity. Tractarianism brought once more into prominence three essential marks of the Church. (1) Her supernatural origin and character. During a debate on the Public Worship Regulation Act in the House of Commons in 1874 Mr. W. E. Gladstone recalled the decayed state of Churchmanship which had prevailed in the Church of England in his youth. (It is interesting to observe how closely his words apply to the Established Church in Scotland at the same period). "I wish," he said, "every man in this House was as old as I am, for the purpose of knowing what was the condition of the Church of England forty to fifty years ago. At that time it was the scandal of Christendom. Its congregations were the most cold, dead, and irreverent; its music was offensive to anyone with a respect for the House of God, its clergy, with exceptions, worldly-minded men, not conforming by their practice to the standard of their high office, seeking to accumulate preferments with a reckless indifference, and careless of the cure of the souls of the people committed to their charge, and on the whole declining in moral influence. This is the state of things from which

we have escaped."<sup>1</sup>

This picture of dismal impoverishment within the English Church is corroborated by Newman's description of the same period. He refers to "a ritual dashed upon the ground, trodden on, and broken piecemeal; vestments chucked off, lights quenched, jewels stolen, the pomp and circumstance of worship annihilated; a dreariness which could be felt forcing itself upon the eye, the ear, the nostrils of the worshipper; a smell of dust and damp, not of incense; the royal arms in place of the crucifix, huge ugly boxes of wood, sacred to preachers, frowning on the congregation in place of the mysterious altar".<sup>2</sup>

In most churches the daily services of the Prayer Book were ignored: Lent, Holy Week, Good Friday and Ascension Day were allowed to pass by unnoticed. Baptism was usually administered in private houses, and Holy Communion was seldom celebrated, often not more than three or four times a year.

Only within the Old High Church Party was the standard of ministerial zeal upheld and the Catholic tradition maintained.

1. W.E.Gladstone: "Speech on the Second Reading of Public Health Act 1874", in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, Vol.CCXX, p.1387.
2. J.H.Newman: Essays Critical and Historical, Vol.2, p.443.

The Evangelical Party sought to revive the Church by infusing into their people a zeal for missionary activity. They maintained a high preaching tradition, and were active in the sphere of religious education. The work of the Wesleys was likewise a trumpet call, an attempt to arouse a sleepy and indifferent Church.

The Tractarians, however, sought revival by different methods. It seemed to them that the Church had become buried in a grave dug by the Establishment principle; she had become overmuch a State department, her ministers State officials. From this condition of things they sought to deliver her by their insistence that the Church is not merely a branch of the Civil Service, established by law for the convenient discharge of certain religious duties approved by the State, but rather the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England, a Divine, not human, creation. They saw her, in St. Paul's metaphor, as the Body of Christ, alert and active in His service. They awoke in her a consciousness of her Catholic heritage, gave to her a new realisation of her antiquity and her heavenly origin. The Tractarians' rallying-cry was: "Back to the Apostles and the Primitive Church"<sup>1</sup> - back, that is, to the true origins of the

1. G.P.S. Clarke: "The Genesis of the Movement" in Northern Catholicism, p.17.

Church: back to the Catholic creeds, ritual and organisation enshrined in the Prayer Book, but so long neglected and unacknowledged.

(2) The Tractarians brought into prominence once again the doctrine of the apostolic succession of the ministry. They repudiated the eighteenth century conception of the priesthood as an almost secular career, with "rewards", "livings", "dignities". "The Oxford Movement," says Professor Webb, "created a new ideal in the Church's ministry and a new type of clergyman".<sup>1</sup> The Tractarians' view of ordination was that it conferred on a man a Divine vocation, a heavenly commission in every respect identical with that bestowed by our Lord on His Apostles, and with identical duties and responsibilities to fulfil. Their conception of the validity of apostolic succession inferred that from age to age, and from one generation of priesthood to another, there had been conferred on the Church's ministry a continuous grace and an unbroken commission. Discussing this Newman stated: "There are some clergy who rest their Divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others who rest it on their popularity; others on their success; and others who rest it on their temporal distinctions.

1. G.C.J. Webb: Religious Thought in the Oxford Movement, p.71.

I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built - our APOSTOLICAL DESCENT."<sup>1</sup>

"It is possible and even easy", says Perry, "to deride the Catholic conception of the ministry. But on one fundamental point the vast majority of Christian people are agreed. A Christian minister cannot impose himself and his ministrations upon the Church of God. An inward call to minister in the Church is not sufficient. He must be given his authority by those already in possession of it. Spiritual powers of ministry are bestowed in Apostolic fashion by the Spirit of God acting in the rite of ordination through the laying-on of hands. Here Presbyterians are at one with Episcopalians; both believe in Apostolic Succession, the one through presbyters, the other through bishops".<sup>2</sup>

(3) But chiefly, the Oxford Movement set the Eucharist as the innermost shrine of religion, the Holy of Holies, the chief means of spiritual grace. This has been the most influential aspect of the Oxford Movement, an influence which has left its mark upon almost every parish church in England.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Holy Communion had become relegated to a subordinate place in

1. J.H. Newman: "Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission" in Tract I, p.2.

2. W. Perry: The Oxford Movement in Scotland, p.114.

the worship of the Church. In most congregations the sermon was exalted above the Sacrament, the pulpit above the altar in popular esteem. Celebrations were generally infrequent and poorly attended. At St. Paul's Cathedral on Easter Day, 1800 there were only six communicants.<sup>1</sup>

The Oxford Movement sought to change this attitude of indifference and neglect. "The Eucharist", says Perry, "was the meat and drink of the Tractarians. The 'Real Presence' in the Eucharist was not simply a dogma; it was a gift ready to be bestowed at every altar, the gift of Christ's Body and Blood".<sup>2</sup>

Hence there evolved from the Tractarian teaching on the Eucharist a deeper reverence for the Sacrament, a re-emphasis of its primary place in the Church Catholic throughout the ages, its spiritual worth as "the medicine of immortality". "The rebirth of eucharistic piety", Brilioth maintains, "is the most active of all the forms of fermentations which the Oxford Movement set working in the spiritual life of England".<sup>3</sup>

1. J.W.G.Wand: op.cit., p.205.

2. W.Perry; op.cit. p.116.

3. Y.Brilioth: Eucharistic Faith and Practice, p.215.

## V.

Revival of Scottish Episcopal Church.

The revival of Catholic ideals in the Church of England through Tractarian influence also produced renewed life and vigour in the Scottish Episcopal Church. In the North of Scotland, as Dean Perry points out, "clergy and laity were by sympathy and conviction Tractarians long before the Tracts for the Times were written".<sup>1</sup> In these areas the use of the Scottish Liturgy had been retained; ancient Catholic practices and truths were deeply embedded in Northern Episcopacy. Hence in the North the effect of the Oxford Movement was to strengthen a long established tradition of Churchmanship.

But in Edinburgh and the southern counties the prevailing Churchmanship was of a milder type; most of the clergy were "less Catholic", with less desire to insist on controversial matters which might savour of Popery. Thus the Tractarian influence in the south was mainly confined to a revival of the aesthetic element in the worship and ritual of the Church.

The spread of Tractarian ideals was greatly promoted by the influence of Alexander Penrose Forbes (1817-1875) who, at Oxford, found himself attracted to the teaching of

1. W.Perry: op.cit. p.37.

Pusey. As bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Brechin and incumbent of St. Paul's Church, Dundee, Forbes slowly, and in face of constant opposition, inculcated the ideals of the Oxford Movement. His wide scholarship bore fruit in various liturgical and devotional manuals, especially his work on the Arbutnot Missal, the Kalendar of Scottish Saints, the Nicene Creed and the Thirty-Nine Articles. He found himself involved in much controversy over his teaching on the Real Presence in the Eucharist.<sup>1</sup>

Through the munificence of private donors, especially the Duke of Buccleuch, many new churches were built in this period for Episcopal worship. Cathedral Churches were founded in Perth (1850), and Cumberae (1851). This latter was designed as a collegiate church for the use of a community of clergy and laity. At Glenalmond a well-equipped college, to be both public school and theological college, was ready for occupation in 1845. St. Paul's Church, Dundee was erected in 1853 and later became the Cathedral Church of the diocese. In 1866 the foundation stone was laid of the new cathedral in Inverness, and the diocese of Edinburgh followed with St. Mary's Cathedral in 1879. St. Mary's Church, Glasgow was consecrated in 1871 and later achieved cathedral status, as did St. Andrew's

1. vide W. Perry: Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, Chapters VI and VII.

Church in Aberdeen. Thus within forty years of the Disruption "Episcopacy was becoming visible and self-assertive".<sup>1</sup>

## VI.

The Romantic Revival.

The influence of the Romantic Revival in English literature, with its fostering of the historical sense, was a not inconsiderable factor in reviving Catholic conceptions of Churchmanship. "This historical sense", remarks Professor Clement Webb, "will perhaps be eventually considered the most original and distinctive feature of the mentality characteristic of the nineteenth century. Its rise was closely linked with the predominance of the idea of evolution. For under the influence of that idea certain suggestions could not but present themselves: namely, that the later states of communities and institutions might be connected with the earlier as the fruit with the flower and the seed, and as old age with maturity and infancy".<sup>2</sup> The work of Scott, Coleridge and Wordsworth, and, in particular, Scott's historical novels, helped to rekindle interest in the storied splendour of the past and opened up the romance of medieval times. "The light and

1. J.R.Fleming: The Church of Scotland 1843-1929, Vol.I, p.90.

2. C.C.J.Webb: A Study of Religious Thought in England from 1850, p.18.

colour, the music and vestments, all the gay pageantry of the Middle Ages were introduced by him to a generation wilting away in the blight of a dull and drab monotony".<sup>1</sup>

Addressing the Scottish Ecclesiological Society in 1910 Professor James Cooper declared: "What does not ecclesiology owe to Sir Walter Scott? He gave it, we may say, for the modern man, its birth and impulse".<sup>2</sup> Brillioth remarks that "we have very definite testimony that the Oxford men were conscious of their debt of gratitude to Walter Scott. Liddon reports of Pusey that in his conversation he often emphasised the relation of the Scotch poet to the Oxford Movement".<sup>3</sup>

## VII.

### The Emergence of Ideals of Catholic Churchmanship within the Church of Scotland.

With such neo-Catholic influences at work within the Reformed Churches of the Continent and, especially, within the sister Establishment south of the border, it is not to be expected that the Scottish Church should remain unaffected by the powerful provocatives that surrounded her. The High Church group which arose in the post-Disruption Church of Scotland sought to do for Presbyter-

1. J.W.O.Wand: A History of the Modern Church, p.206.
2. Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, 1911, p.129.
3. Y.Brillioth: The Anglican Revival, p.60.

ianism what had been done in Lutheranism and Anglicanism - to reawaken in the minds of Scottish Churchmen a realisation of the Church of Scotland's rightful place in the life, history and worship of the One Holy Catholic Church of Jesus Christ, and to rescue her from the condition of dismal impoverishment in which they found her.

CHAPTER TWOThe Church of Scotland in the first  
half of the Nineteenth Century.

## I.

New Vistas in Nineteenth Century Scottish Life and  
Thought.

Although this Scottish High Church group lived and worked in the second half of the nineteenth century, their contribution to the revival of Churchmanship within Presbyterianism cannot be properly assessed without a backward glance at the previous half-century. During this period momentous changes took place in almost every department of Scottish life, not least within the Church. Eighteenth-century Church life in Scotland had been dominated by the Moderate party. But when the new century dawned Evangelicalism had usurped the power and prestige of the Moderates, and although a party calling themselves by the old name still survived, Moderatism could no longer claim undisputed leadership. In the new century all the most influential Church leaders were Evangelicals. The Evangelical ethos, with its rigorous doctrinal orthodoxy, firmly based on the Westminster Confession and the teaching

of Calvin, produced among the stricter Evangelicals, both clerical and lay, an austerity of belief and strictness of life which not infrequently degenerated into religious intolerance and pharisaism. This is particularly evident in the attitude of many of them to secular literature, to the works, for example, of Sir Walter Scott. "With the stricter sections of the Church, now in the ascendant, and already beginning to hark back to the severities of Puritanism, Scott fell under the suspicion with which such minds always regard the artist. They were inclined to regard the writing and reading of works of fiction as sinful, and though many of the Evangelicals read the Waverley Novels with delight, they did so with a certain secrecy, as if books of that sort ought not to be found in godly homes".<sup>1</sup> With its sharp distinction between secular and sacred Evangelicalism tended to narrow the outlook and interests of Church people.

But despite Evangelical religious zeal, powerful factors were at work which greatly disturbed the faith of many of the orthodox. Notable among these new influences was the spectacular expansion of scientific research and invention. "We seem", said a Moderator of the Free Church in 1900 in a review of this period, "to be listening to a

1. A.J.Campbell: Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1929, p.167.

fairy-tale as we read of the extent to which nature has yielded up her secrets to patient investigators, and of the success with which inventive genius has brought the mightiest and most subtle of Nature's forces under control. In these respects, the century is without parallel in history. In every department of knowledge there is the throb of eager enquiry: and ever and again the spirit of expectancy is gratified by hearing of fresh scientific triumphs".<sup>1</sup> To many the proud progress of science had "created a widespread uncertainty with reference to beliefs formerly unquestioned".<sup>2</sup> When, for example, three celebrated Scottish geologists, Sir Robert Murchison, Sir Charles Lyell and Hugh Miller, propounded their theory of the age of the earth from their observation of rock strata and fossil remains, it was widely believed that their conclusions discredited not only Archbishop Usher's long-accepted date of the world's creation (4,004 B.C.), but even cast doubt on the reliability of Holy Scripture and, in particular, the Creation narrative in the Book of Genesis.

The new science of Biblical Criticism likewise appeared to many to be a highly destructive force. With its microscopic scrutiny of every word and sentence of

1. W.R.Taylor: Religious Thought and Scottish Church Life in the Nineteenth Century, p.10.
2. W.R.Taylor: op.cit., p.11.

Holy Scripture, its thorough investigation of Biblical manuscripts, this method of Bible study seemed to dethrone the popular conception of the inerrancy and infallibility of the Holy Book as a record of the history of mankind and of the Divine relationship with the world and the human race.

From such sources there arose, as the nineteenth century advanced, a growing attitude of religious uncertainty which, in many instances, led to scepticism and agnosticism. "The nineteenth century", says Campbell, "was the age of science. In one direction science produced a hard, utilitarian type of mind, which paid heed only to immediate practical results; and this mind denied the worth of anything spiritual. The Church had hitherto operated in a society which, on the whole, accepted the Christian faith and ethic. It had now to turn its attention to a widely diffused temper which bluntly declared that neither Christianity nor any other religion possessed any value".<sup>1</sup> "The ferment of the nineteenth century", he continues, "produced a new religious phenomenon - the type of thought which was generally, if vaguely, described as Doubt. Its most prominent expression was Agnosticism, the temper which did not deny the existence of God, but declared that the human mind had no knowledge

1. A.J.Campbell: op.cit., p.281.

of Him and that no knowledge of Him was possible".<sup>1</sup>

Within the Church, too, there was evident, amongst friends and critics alike, an increasing dissatisfaction with the state of religion in the land, and a growing realisation that, in order to meet the challenge of the times, the Church must bestir herself to discard outworn attitudes of thought and method, and adopt new ways of winning the allegiance of her people. This impatience with the contemporary Church was a feature of the best of the Evangelicals, and is conspicuously seen in three of the most notable Churchmen of the day who, each, in widely different ways, sought to revitalise the Church of which they were ordained ministers - Thomas Chalmers, Edward Irving, and John McLeod Campbell.

## II.

### Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847).

In the life and work of Thomas Chalmers is seen, more clearly perhaps than in any other ecclesiastical figure of the time, the upsurge of renewed vitality and evangelical enthusiasm which animated the minds of the more eager ministers of the pre-Disruption Church in Scotland. Chalmers claimed to be a Moderate during his

1. A.J.Campbell: op.cit., p.282.

early ministry in the Fifeshire parish of Kilmany, and confessed that he was more concerned with his lectureship in mathematics at St. Andrews University than with his ministerial duties. One weekday was given over to his clerical work in the parish; the rest of the week was spent in the prosecution of his studies in political economy.

When he passed over to the Evangelical side of the Church a new zeal for the duties of the ministry took hold of him. In particular, his preaching was infused with such vigour and fervour as to delight and surprise not only his parishioners, but the crowds from neighbouring towns who were attracted to his little church. From that time onwards, Chalmers was recognised as Scotland's foremost preacher. In 1814 he was elected by the Town Council of Glasgow to be minister of the Tron Church, and there, as in the parish of St. John's to which he was shortly translated, his ministry was marked by a popularity unequalled in his day. Both parishes contained populations whose poverty and squalor of environment appalled the young minister and awoke in him an acute consciousness of the Church's failure to reach the inhabitants of the crowded tenements around his church, the majority of whom were completely alienated from the Christian religion. He noted with special concern that although in the previous

thirty years the population of Glasgow had almost trebled, yet no new parish churches had been erected to meet the needs of the newcomers, and that the existing churches were mainly occupied by the prosperous commercial and professional classes.

Hence there arose in Chalmers' mind a realisation of the clamant need for Church Extension, a work to which he gave the first impetus and which he urged on for many years, until in 1834 he was appointed Convener of the General Assembly Committee on Church Extension. During the seven years of his convenership more than two hundred places of worship were erected throughout Scotland (eighty having previously been built). These new churches could claim no architectural merit or beauty. "In a land full of ugly churches the Chalmers Extension churches are on the whole the ugliest ---- uncouth edifices of the cheapest material and the roughest workmanship, crammed with deal pews".<sup>1</sup>

To Thomas Chalmers must be given the credit of bestirring the pre-Disruption Church to a new zeal, particularly in the task of evangelising the masses of population outwith her care. In his concern for the "home-heathen" and the lapsed, his ideal of a National Church caring for every person in the land, his vision of

1. A.J.Campbell: op.cit., p.212.

a school associated with each church, especially in the poorer districts where children often had no opportunity of school attendance, his system of poor relief in each parish, Chalmers "determined the form and method of the Church life of his countrymen for a century".<sup>1</sup>

His subsequent career was chiefly spent in academic work. In 1823 he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews University. Five years later he was transferred to the Divinity Chair at Edinburgh University. He became a leader of the Non-Intrusion party in the Ten Years' Conflict, and at the Disruption in May 1843 he was among the most notable of the ministers who quitted the Establishment. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Professor of Divinity in the Free Church, and Principal of the New College, a post which he held until his death.

### XIII.

#### Edward Irving (1792-1834).

At first glance, it may not seem that Edward Irving was in a position to make any notable contribution to the Churchmanship of the nineteenth-century Scottish Church. Except for a brief assistantship in Glasgow to Dr. Thomas Chalmers, his ministerial career lay outwith Scotland, and

1. A.J.Campbell: op.cit., p.176.

towards the end of his life a charge of heresy resulted in his deposition from the ministry of the Church of Scotland. But, through the influence of the Liturgy of the "Irvingite" or Catholic Apostolic Church which arose during the latter period of Irving's London ministry, the contemporary worship of the Church of Scotland has been greatly influenced.

His early ministry in London achieved remarkable popularity, especially among the leaders of West End society. The street in which his chapel was situated was thronged with the carriages of people renowned in public life, who listened enthralled to Irving's passionate oratory and were captivated by the novelty of his preaching style. His popularity amongst the wealthy and fashionable waned, however, when his teaching began to diverge from orthodox Presbyterian lines, and especially when he began to give special prominence in his preaching to the Second Coming of Christ, which he regarded as imminent. Later he became involved in the "speaking with tongues" phenomenon which was first observed in the unusual behaviour of a woman in Roseneath (Robert Story's parish, and to whose manse Irving was a frequent visitor). This woman had, circa 1830, on several occasions burst into frenzies of loud, unintelligible speech which, she declared, came upon her through the promptings of the Holy

Spirit. Irving took the keenest interest in the woman's claim to be a chosen vehicle of the Holy Spirit, more especially as this gift of "tongues" was, as in New Testament times, alleged to be accompanied by miraculous powers of healing and gifts of prophecy.

Soon similar manifestations of glossolalia were observed in Irving's congregation. From this date scenes of disorder and extraordinary excitement were witnessed at the services of worship. Self-constituted prophets and (more often) prophetesses claiming charismatic gifts gave utterance to incomprehensible prophecies, in loud voices and with violent physical contortions. It is worthy of notice that although Irving himself did not "speak with tongues", he did not question the authenticity of the prophecies of those who exhibited what he regarded as a renewal of Pentecostal grace.

Ultimately the Presbytery of London was required by the trustees of the congregation to investigate the irregularities of Irving's ministry. Although the glossolalia and prophesyings seem to have been the major point at issue, a charge was brought against him that he publicly taught the heretical doctrine of the sinfulness of Christ's human nature. But, as Story points out, this accusation was unjust. "What Irving did teach was the

Catholic doctrine that Christ, having taken our nature with all its sinful tendencies, kept it in perfect sinlessness through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost".<sup>1</sup> The publication in 1830 of his pamphlet, The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature, ought to have prevented this charge of heresy. Yet the Presbytery, eager, no doubt, to be rid of a troublesome member, condemned his writings and expelled him in 1832 from his charge. In Scotland the 1831 General Assembly which deposed John Macleod Campbell condemned Irving as a heretic. In 1833 the Presbytery of Annan, of which he was a member, deposed him from the ministry of the Church of Scotland.

After his expulsion from Regent Square Church, London in 1832, about 800 of Irving's flock established themselves in a hall in Newman Street. A constitution was introduced which later became the basis of the Catholic Apostolic Church. The primitive fourfold order of apostles, prophets, evangelists and pastors was revived. Since Irving was no longer an ordained minister he had to be re-ordained by the "apostles" to the office of "angel" or minister of the congregation. "I do not know", declares Dr. James Black, "many acts just so humble as

1. R.H.Story: "Edward Irving" in Scottish Divines, St.Giles' Lectures, Third Series, p.249.

this --- this great man who had been everything for these people was re-ordained by those whom he had aroused and made. Thus the Catholic and Apostolic Church, which historically owed its origin to Edward Irving, made him one of its less important members",<sup>1</sup> In this new congregation daily service was held and there were frequent services of Holy Communion. But Irving did not long minister in Newman Street. His laborious life had greatly impaired his health, and he died in Glasgow in 1834, aged 42.

In addition to his association with the Catholic Apostolic Church, Irving is also noteworthy in being a pioneer of the general revival of the Catholic ideal of Churchmanship, and in anticipating many of the most important features of the Oxford Movement in his London ministry. A perusal of his writings, particularly his Ordination Charge delivered to the Reverend Hugh Baillie at the Scotch Church, London in 1827, and reprinted in his Miscellanies (1866), shows that Irving was conscious, as few in his day were, of the apostolic heritage of the Presbyterian ministry. He exhibited a profound reverence for the Sacraments, and insisted on regular ordination as an essential feature of the Holy Ministry.

1. J.Black: "The Catholic Apostolic Church" in New Forms of the Old Faith, p.168.

Of Irving's Churchmanship Principal Story remarks that "he believed, with a faith above that of bishop or patriarch, in his own apostleship and divine commission. There was always in him a more than Presbyterian doggedness of devotion to the Kirk of Scotland, combined with a higher than most High Churchman's belief in the divine origin, character, and significance of the Kirk, its priesthood, and its sacraments. And, in his own opinion, no bishop inherited a more undoubted episcopate than he".<sup>1</sup> It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that Irving was in any way responsible for the ornate worship which grew up in the Catholic Apostolic Church. "His simple Presbyterian soul", says Dr. Black, "would have had no part or parcel in this diverse and elaborate symbolism and ritual. The people whom he attracted to him, eclectics from every strange church, were the originators of this diverse ceremonial".<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.

#### John Macleod Campbell (1800-1872).

The name of John Macleod Campbell evokes an unhappy chapter in Scottish Church history, for "the miseries to which the Church submitted him were deplorable and

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., p.235.

2. J.Black: op.cit., p.176.

indefensible. He was one of the most spiritual of its clergy, a man of unusual purity of heart and beauty of character".<sup>1</sup>

As the young minister of the parish of Rhu in Dumbartonshire, Campbell was greatly influenced by the mystical teaching of the saintly Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, who lived for several summers in nearby Helensburgh. During the early years of his ministry Campbell's intensive study of Scripture led him to formulate a doctrinal outlook drastically at variance with the rigid Calvinistic orthodoxy of the day, especially with the austere doctrine of Election which, as set forth in the Westminster Confession, declared the Divine choice of the few to eternal life, and the predestined fate of the remainder - the non-elect - to everlasting perdition. Christ's sacrifice upon the Cross, this theology emphasised, was efficacious for the salvation of the elect only. Campbell came to believe that Scripture taught a sweeter doctrine - that of universal atonement. This was the key that, for him, unlocked the whole mystery of Christ's sacrifice. Christ died for all men, without exception or distinction.

When these opinions of the young minister became

1. C.L.Warr: Principal Caird, p.59.

known, both Moderate and Evangelical parties in the Church showed increasing hostility. Campbell found the pulpits of the neighbouring clergy closed to him, yet amongst thoughtful people his teaching came to command growing interest and acceptance. His village church became, in the words of his friend, Robert Story, "a centre of light to which many came - often from a great distance - to learn the way of the Lord more perfectly".<sup>1</sup>

Story tells of Campbell's arraignment before the Presbytery of Dumbarton in 1830. "A memorial was presented, entreating the Presbytery to investigate and deliver the parish from the oppression of such pernicious errors as were taught by the minister. Into the competency of the memorialists there was no inquiry, although one of them was a notorious smuggler, and another a drunken tailor". A member rose to move "in a furious speech that they should proceed at once to root out the pestilential heresy".<sup>2</sup>

Another document was submitted to the Presbytery from eighty householders in Campbell's parish expressing their great respect and affection for their minister. This, however, was ignored. At a later meeting Campbell

1. R.H.Story: Robert Story of Roseneath, p.152.  
2. R.H.Story: op.cit., p.153.

was ordered to preach before the Presbytery, and having done so, the members by a large majority "recorded their detestation and abhorrence" of the doctrine contained in the sentence which declared that "God loves every child of Adam with a love the measure of which is the agony of His own Son".<sup>1</sup>

When the case was brought before the General Assembly of 1831 the verdict was highly unfavourable. It was reached after midnight, when many of the members had left the Hall, not imagining that a final verdict would be reached that night. "All through the process the impression is left that the judges came to the consideration of the case with their minds made up. Macleod Campbell's teaching was unsettling, and ecclesiastics, helpless as usual in the presence of an idea, were well content to be rid of him".<sup>2</sup>

Cast out of the Church of his fathers and from his quiet parish on the shores of the Gareloch, Campbell rented a hall in Glasgow and gathered round him a sympathetic congregation. In 1837 a chapel was built in Blackfriars Street. During these years he set himself to the compilation of his momentous book The Nature of the Atonement which, says Professor Storr, "is

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., p.156.  
2. A.J.Campbell: op.cit., p.190.

certainly the most important English contribution to dogmatic theology made in the first sixty years of the century".<sup>1</sup> From Macleod Campbell's brave witness Scottish theology at last broke the fetters which had so long bound her to the grim doctrine of election, and has brought the Church into the knowledge of the kindlier Gospel of the love and mercy of God extended to all his creatures.

## V.

The Disruption.

During the second quarter of the century, however, the Church had little leisure to be concerned with matters of administration, liturgy, or doctrine. All such questions were pushed into the background by the urgent issues of the patronage controversy and the resultant Ten Years' Conflict which finally ended in the Disruption of May, 1843. But the witness and ideals of such men as Chalmers, Irving and Macleod Campbell were not allowed to be forgotten.

In 1843 the Free Church of Scotland was inaugurated on a high spiritual note, a dramatic assertion of the sole Headship of Christ in His Church, a repudiation of

1. V.F. Storr: The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, p.424.

any encroachment by law court or Parliament on the spiritual liberties of the Church. The Disruption controversy was much more than a spectacular protest against the system of patronage then existing in the Established Church. It was the bursting into flame, after long smouldering, of an exalted conception of the Church as the household of God whose ultimate authority was not the State, but Christ, the King and Head of the Church; whose existence was rooted, not in any act of Parliament but in the Word of God and the faith of believers. "It is impossible even to dip into the Non-Intrusion Controversy", declared an Edinburgh advocate in 1895, "without being struck with admiration for many of the mental and moral qualities which it called forth. We find in the ephemeral pamphlets on both sides a conception of the Church, a confident belief alike in the necessity and validity of Presbyterian Ordination, a view of the Presbyterian form of Church Government, a steady attempt to reason from primary principles, that would vastly surprise a generation which is all but ignorant of such matters, and all but unaware that such things as first principles - or principles of any sort - exist at all".<sup>1</sup>

1. J.H. Miller: "The Revival of Churchmanship in Scotland" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p. 68.

But this noble conception of the Church was soon submerged in a decade of almost incredible scrimony and sectarian bitterness. The venom accumulated during the Ten Years' Conflict now assumed a form that can only be described as malignant. By 1850 there were to be found in every part of Scotland the steeples of three denominations soliciting the allegiance of the Presbyterian population - the Established, Free, and United Presbyterian Churches. Denominational strife poisoned the ecclesiastical and social life of the land. The Established Church was confronted with determined, active, and sometimes not too scrupulous opposition from those whose new-found principles demanded the complete annihilation of the National Church.

The seceders were encouraged, at the beginning, with hearty popular enthusiasm and support. Financial help poured in to achieve the work of church and manse building and for the stipends of the ministers and professors of the Free Church. In many communities, both urban and rural, the secession of the minister was followed by that of the majority of his congregation.

Much has been written since Disruption days of the self-forgetting sacrifice shown by the outgoing ministers in forfeiting the security of their manses, glebes and

stipends. But the very real suffering of those who elected to remain within the Establishment ought not to be overlooked. They were regarded by their Free Church parishioners as mere "stipend-lifters", their ministrations unwelcome and unsought. The "minister-moderate", especially in the Highland areas, found his flock so diminished that in order to occupy his time and justify his existence he had to take to farming his glebe, or engage in "cow-doctoring" . . . he could look after their animals, but not the souls of his parishioners. The parish minister found himself disregarded, almost, in some extreme cases, to the point of ostracism. In 1845 Dr. Candlish, the recognised leader of the Free Church, toured the Western Isles, and wherever he preached included in his animadversions against the Establishment the sin of worshipping in a parish church.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, at the Disruption the Established Church found itself bereft of most of its leading and most brilliant clergy. "Surrounded by every influence that could dishearten, sustained only by the sense of a good conscience and a worthy cause, the ministers of the Established Church had to set themselves to the task of rehabilitating the venerable institution left in their

1. N. Maclean: Life of J. Cameron Lees, K.C.V.O., LL.D., p.88.

care".<sup>1</sup>

With so many vacant pulpits to fill, men were ordained to the ministry who in normal times would not have been considered for charges - "schoolmasters, worn-out probationers, men of dubious morals and inadequate training, and frequently without any distinct call to preach the Gospel to their fellows, found themselves accepted because of the urgent need. These emergency men were in many instances a heavy drag on the progress of vital religion, and it is significant that between the years 1848 and 1853 no fewer than nineteen ministers were deposed for immorality, a grievous record which caused much searching of heart among the friends of the Establishment".<sup>2</sup>

Such was the state of local animosity and national rivalry created by the presence of two strong denominations, indistinguishable in doctrine or worship, each competing with each other, and with the vigorous United Presbyterian Church, for a position of superiority in the land. In such a situation, where even families were divided on sectarian loyalties and friend would not speak to friend, it was impossible for a lofty ideal of the Church to survive. The conception of the Church Catholic

1. J.A. McClymont: ed: The Church of Scotland, p.135.

2. J.R. Fleming: The Church of Scotland 1843-1929, Vol. I, p.58.

was submerged in a sea of narrow prejudices and parochial feuds.

## VI.

Worship in the first half of the century, and some efforts to improve it.

But not only was the Church of Scotland harried by sectarian strife. It had become the home of a dreary and unlovely form of worship, "probably", as Principal Story scathingly remarked, "the baldest and bleakest in Christendom".<sup>1</sup> For this dismal worship the English Independency which, in the seventeenth century, had cast its blight over Scotland must be recognised as chiefly to blame. For in the Church, more than in any other aspect of Scottish life, the grim legacy of Puritanism survived longest. "To a great degree Puritanism drove from life its colour and its charm, and nowhere did this hit Scotland with greater severity than in the public worship of the Church".<sup>2</sup> "It is only fair that English people should be asked to remember that in two ways they have unwittingly exercised an evil influence on the Church of Scotland. It was owing to the attempt of an English Primate (Archbishop Laud) to force upon the Scottish people a ritual that would not have been endured in England

1. R.H.Story: The Reformed Ritual in Scotland, p.36.

2. C.L.Warr: Principal Caird, p.95.

itself, that the Scottish people have in the past broken so completely with liturgical worship. Not only so, but it was owing to another English interference that this antagonism became deep-rooted and intensified. This was the influence of the English Independents. In the endeavour to conciliate the English Independents, a partially liturgical worship, kneeling at prayer, the response of the audible "Amen" which were common in Scotland from the time of the Reformation to the time of the Westminster Assembly, and in some quarters even later, were discontinued. When, therefore, English people jeer at the bald worship of Presbytery, they should remember the part their own countrymen played in bygone days in bringing about the present condition of things".<sup>1</sup>

One of the Scottish High Churchmen, whose name will recur often in later pages, put the matter succinctly when he declared: "From Puritanism the Church of Scotland may have received some valuable principles, though I do not know what they are; but its influence upon worship, rites and ceremonies has been injurious and is the cause of the dissatisfaction which has sprung up in Scotland in the present day. It has made the Church less churchly than it was for a greater part of a century after the Reforma-

1. W.W.Tulloch: The Ecclesiastical Position in Scotland, pp.16/17.

tion, or than the other Reformed Churches are now".<sup>1</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century Scottish worship reached its nadir in chaotic and dreary formlessness. A. K. H. Boyd speaks of the "graceless irreverence" he had so often seen in country churches, "the barn-like building, the horrible singing, the general rudeness and squalor that characterise the entire service".<sup>2</sup> Strangers to Scottish ways of worship found the public prayers intolerably long, each lasting not infrequently for no less than forty minutes, and generally quite devoid of sequence of subject or seemliness of language. After hearing prayers of this nature delivered by a Highland minister, Coleridge remarked that he had never valued the English liturgy more.<sup>3</sup> The strictures of the Rev. John Sage, a Bishop in the Episcopal Church, in his Presbytery Examined (1695) were still applicable 150 years later. "Our present Presbyterians", he remarks, "observe no forms in their public prayers either before or after sermon. For the most part they observe no rules; they pray by no standard; nay, they do not stick by their own Directory. All must be extemporary work and the odder the better . . . . Nay, so much are they against set

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, pp.3/4.
2. A.K.H.Boyd: "The Place of Ritual" in Present-Day Thoughts, p.46.
3. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Liturgics of the Scottish Kirk" in St. Andrews and Elsewhere, p.203.

forms that it is Popery, for anything I know, to say the Lord's Prayer. Our Reformers never met for public worship but they used it once or oftener . . . . . Our present Presbyterians will not only not use it, but they condemn and write against the using of it.<sup>1</sup>

The postures adopted by worshippers were often criticised by strangers to Scottish ways of worship. "If we go into one of our Scottish parish churches", writes the minister of the Scotch Church, Crown Court, London in 1840, "the indolent and indifferent attitude of sitting during the praise of God, and the wandering eyes and diversified positions of those who are standing at prayer make an impression on the mind of a stranger by no means in our favour".<sup>2</sup> Professor James Beattie, of the Chair of Moral Philosophy and Logic in Aberdeen University, had, as early as 1778, criticised the practice of sitting at praise as inconvenient to the singer and an indecorous attitude in a worshipper, and the prevalent custom of reading the lines of the psalms before they were sung.<sup>3</sup>

The music, too, was generally mean and unedifying

1. The Works of the Right Reverend John Sage, a Bishop of the Church in Scotland, pp. 552-555. Printed for the Spottiswoode Society, Edinburgh, 1844.
2. J. Cumming: The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland, or John Knox's Book of Common Order, Preface, p. xvii.
3. J. Beattie: On the Improvement of Psalmody in Scotland. Printed but not published 1778. Published Edinburgh 1829.

in its uncouthness. Only a few tunes were used in the average Church, and there was strong resistance to any proposals to enlist the aid of instrumental music. An attempt had been made in 1807 to introduce a chamber-organ into the services of St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow, but the Presbytery accepted the motion that "the use of the organ in the public worship of God is contrary to the law of the land, and to the law and constitution of the Established Church, and therefore prohibit it in all the churches and chapels within its bounds."<sup>1</sup>

The reading of Scripture had fallen out of use in many parishes, for that could be done at home, it was alleged. Where Holy Writ was read, no attempt was made at a systematic course of lections. The sermon was the principal feature of the service, and in addition there was included in the forenoon diet of worship "the lecture" - a detailed exposition of a portion of Scripture throughout its successive chapters and verses.

Robert Lee of Greyfriars in 1864 expressed his regret at the formlessness of Scottish worship. There were too many possible "permutations and combinations". "In some churches there are two prayers at each service, in many

1. Presbytery of Glasgow: Minutes, 7th October 1807.

three, in some four. Two psalms are sung in some cases, in some three, in some four; and frequently the number is varied according to the judgment or fancy of the minister. The Lord's Prayer is now frequently used, but generally it is not; and it is introduced at what part of the service the minister pleases".<sup>1</sup>

The great "occasions" of the previous century, at which crowds drawn from the surrounding parishes had gathered for sacramental celebrations lasting from the Thursday fast day to the following Monday, and accompanied by "tent preachings" at which many ministers officiated in turn, had by the middle of the nineteenth century lost their popularity. The Fast Day had degenerated into a public holiday and had everywhere lost its sacred character, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was now observed at an annual or bi-annual celebration in each church. The practice of pew-communion, with the elements consecrated at a small table, was now becoming general in place of the long-accepted custom of communicating in relays at a table set across or down the church. The new method, an importation from England, was first used in St. John's Church, Glasgow in 1824. This afforded the next General Assembly an opportunity of condemning

1. R. Lee: The Reform of the Church of Scotland, p.14.

the practice by insisting that "to sit at or around a Communion table or tables was the law and immemorial practice of the Church of Scotland".<sup>1</sup> Baptisms were generally administered privately, and marriages in church were almost unheard of. Referring in 1856 to the mode of celebration of the Presbyterian wedding service, Spratt said: "Occasionally one hears a clergyman of taste performing the ceremony beautifully and solemnly, but as all clergymen are not men of talent, and still fewer men of taste, in most cases it is a sorry exhibition. The unsatisfactory state of our marriage service is no doubt one of the reasons why so many of the better class go to the Episcopal minister to be married, thus dishonouring the parish minister and the National Church".<sup>2</sup>

In the same article Spratt refers to the Scottish system of interment of the dead as "scarcely decent" and "opposed to all the instincts of the human heart".<sup>2</sup> No prayers, no words of Scripture, no note of Christian hope of immortality were said at the burial of the dead. "It is", he declared, "a practice unworthy of those who believe and hope in Him Who is the Resurrection and the

1. T. Leishman: "The Ritual of the Church of Scotland" in R.H. Story: The Church of Scotland, Vol. 5, p. 421/2.
2. G.W. Spratt: "Eutaxia, or, The Presbyterian Liturgies" in Edinburgh Christian Magazine, September 1856, p. 174.

Life".<sup>1</sup>

At marriages and funerals the custom of providing refreshment to those present often led to scenes of boisterous and unseemly intoxication. "Marriages and funerals afforded the opportunity", said Herbert Story, "of the severest drinking usages".<sup>2</sup>

Little care was bestowed, in most cases, on the church buildings, which were still in the deplorable condition of the eighteenth century which caused the traveller Pennant to remark that "in many parts of Scotland our Lord still seems to be worshipped in a stable - and a very wretched one".<sup>3</sup> Many of the churches erected by the heritors were plain, utilitarian structures, in which cheapness was the primary consideration. The furniture often consisted merely of pews, pulpit and precentor's desk. There was sometimes no sacramental furniture, nor any attempt at adornment by means of stained glass or carved woodwork or embroidery. "So far as distinctive Christian symbolism was concerned, there was nothing in these buildings which would have rendered them unsuitable as the temple of either a Jew or a Mohammedan. Only neither Hebraism or Islam would have tolerated their hideousness for a moment".<sup>4</sup>

1. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.175.

2. Principal Story: A Memoir by His Daughters, p.49.

3. T.Pennant: Tour in Scotland, Vol.I, p.254.

4. C.L.Warr: Principal Caird, p.96.

As the century advanced, however, signs were not wanting of a growing mood of dissatisfaction with the worship of the Church. This is particularly evident in the number of manuals of prayer which were published in the first half of the century -- works from the pens of individual clergymen, compiled in the hope that they might be of assistance to those on whom rested the responsibility of leading the devotions of the people Sunday by Sunday.

As early as 1802 there appeared The Scotch Minister's Assistant, an anonymous publication which Hew Scott, in his Fasti of the Church of Scotland, ascribes to the Rev. H. Robertson, minister of Kiltearn. The first edition was produced in Inverness, the second in Aberdeen under another title in 1822. The work consists mainly of forms for marriage, Baptism, and the various parts of the Communion service.

Of greater value as a record of contemporary Presbyterian worship is William Liston of Redgorton's Service of the House of God according to the practice of the Church of Scotland (1843). This book was designed to provide a complete service for three Sabbaths for the use of those unable to attend church. It includes for each Sunday's meditation not only a set of three prayers, typical of the time in form and phraseology, but also a

"lecture" such as was usually delivered at a morning service, and a sermon. The book's value to the student of early nineteenth-century Scottish worship is further enhanced by the insertion of a complete Fast Day service, a full order for Communion (with two sermons, a form for the "fencing of the tables", five "table addresses", a consecration prayer, and a concluding exhortation to the communicants), and forms suitable for ordination, Baptism and marriage.

The author compiled this volume, he tells us, not only for the benefit of the younger ministers of the Church, but also with the thought that it "might be of vast service to multitudes of emigrant countrymen who, being removed often, in many of our colonies, from the possibility of hearing the Word of God preached, might find it much to their religious consolation to be able, in their distant settlement, to go over on the Sabbath the same kind of religious exercises to which they had been accustomed at home".<sup>1</sup>

For similar reasons, there appeared in 1822, by Dr. George Burns of St. John, New Brunswick, a book of prayers designed to meet the needs of remote settlers and their families.

1. W. Liston: The Service of the House of God according to the practice of the Church of Scotland, p.viii.

In 1849 the General Assembly took a decisive step in appointing a Committee on Aids to Devotion to draw up a book of prayers as an aid "to the exercise of Social Worship, according to the manner of the Church of Scotland, by soldiers, sailors, colonists, sojourners in India or in foreign countries, who are deprived of the regular services of a Christian ministry; and also by the inhabitants of remote and secluded districts of Scotland who, being far removed from their churches, or separated from them by friths or arms of the sea, are frequently excluded from the ordinances of the sanctuary".<sup>1</sup>

The Committee thus formed comprised 58 clerical and 21 lay members. Among the names listed it is interesting to note several members of the "Middle Party", including Dr. Matthew Leishman of Govan, Dr. John Paul of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and Dr. A. L. Simpson of Kirknewton, Clerk to the General Assembly. The younger members included Professor James Robertson, Dr. Norman Macleod, Dr. John Macleod of Morvern, Principal Tulloch of St. Andrews, and the Rev. A. K. H. Boyd, then of St. Bernard's Parish, Edinburgh.

The resultant publication in 1859 of Prayers for

1. Prayers for Social and Family Worship, Preface, p.v.

Social and Family Worship marked a big advance in the realm of Presbyterian worship. For the first time since the Reformation there now appeared an officially-recognised book of prayers, although it should be noted that the volume was published "by authority of the Committee" and not of the General Assembly.

There are ten orders of service in the book for Sunday morning and evening prayers. As the preface states, the prayers were mostly compiled "from the devotional writings of Calvin, Knox and other Reformers, from the Westminster Directory for Public Worship, and from the prayers of Richard Baxter and Henry Smith".<sup>1</sup>

A comparison of the earlier privately compiled books of devotion and this official book demonstrates its marked superiority. Here the traditional "floating liturgy" - the unwritten source from which ministers drew their stick-in-trade of pulpit devotions - has been firmly discarded. The language is chaste, Scriptural, seemly, and the prayers orderly in sequence and much shorter than in previous manuals of devotion. The book was not designed, as the preface points out, for the use of ministers in the conduct of public worship. But the possession of such a book would undoubtedly bring to the

1. Prayers for Social and Family Worship, Second Edition, p.vi.

notice of ministers and people alike a better standard of public prayer than that to which they had grown accustomed, and stimulate a desire for an improvement in the haphazard, extempore prayers of the Church.

It is noteworthy that the Lord's Prayer is given its rightful place, in contrast, for example, to Liston's book, where it is neither included nor suggested in any of the orders of worship. A consistent place is given to post-sermon intercessions, as the rubric of the Westminster Directory enjoins. No orders are included, however, for the Sacraments, or for burial or marriage, nor is there any recognition of the Christian Year, or the repetition of creed or responses. The suggested order for Sunday morning and evening services is:

Singing of Psalm.

{ Prayer of Approach and Adoration, Confession  
 { of Sin and Petitions for Pardon, Supplication,  
 { Lord's Prayer.

A Prose Psalm to be read.

Lectures from Old and New Testaments.

Singing of Psalm.

Prayers of Thanksgiving and further supplication.

Singing of Psalm.

Sermon or Exposition.

{Prayer for a Blessing upon the hearing of  
 {God's Word, followed by Intercessions.

Singing of Psalm or Paraphrase.

The Blessing.

The publication of these early prayer-books in large numbers demonstrates that the Church's mode of worship had become, for many, a subject of thoughtful consideration and critical examination, and that dissatisfaction had prompted many to seek to compile a worthier vehicle for the worship of Almighty God than that commonly used in the churches of Scotland.

This desire for improvement in worship also reflected itself in several attempts to augment and enhance the material of congregational praise. In 1778 Dr. James Beattie, of the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen, had published an open letter on The Improvement of Psalmody in Scotland. He suggested that not only should metrical psalms be sung, but that the prose psalter should be chanted, and the great Scriptural prayers and doxologies in both the Old and New Testaments brought into the Church's offering of praise. He also advocated the standing posture during singing, and the abolition of the reading of each line of the psalm before singing it. Although not averse to the introduction of the organ into

Scottish churches, he did not think this would ever become a popular innovation.

In 1820 Dr. Andrew Thomson, minister of St. George's, Edinburgh produced a small collection of psalm and hymn tunes in order to promote variety in the metres used in Presbyterian worship. He included 178 tunes, among them his own stirring tune, named after his church, and usually sung to the closing verses of Psalm 24. In his musical activities Dr. Thomson had the assistance of his precentor, Robert Archibald Smith, a prolific composer of tunes suitable for congregational use. He issued two or three volumes of tunes, and the well-known psalm-tune "Invocation" is connected with his name.

In 1811, 1814 and 1829 presbyteries had before them various specimens of an enlarged Psalmody. A step towards hymnology was taken in 1854, when a collection of 123 hymns was presented to the General Assembly by the Committee on Psalmody. In 1860 a further selection of hymns was brought to the notice of the Assembly, but none of these compilations ever received its authority, and were little used.

In the use of hymns the Established Church allowed herself to lag considerably behind the other Presbyterian denominations of Scotland. In 1794 the Synod of Relief

approved a hymnery of 231 "Sacred Songs and Hymns", and in 1842 the United Secession Church appointed a committee to compile a selection of paraphrases and hymns for use by congregations. A hymnbook was authorised by the United Presbyterian Church in 1851, and thirty years later a Free Church hymnbook appeared.

## VII.

Secessions to Episcopacy.

During this period of ill-ordered and slovenly Presbyterian worship there occurred a considerable secession, especially of the better educated, the affluent and the devout from their parish churches to Episcopal places of worship. In 1851 Principal Campbell of Aberdeen published a pamphlet entitled Scattered Sheep in which he states that "by far the most powerful and widely-working cause of the estrangement of the upper ranks from the Church is to be found in the defects of her system of public worship and the unfavourable contrast which in that respect she presents to the Episcopal Church".<sup>1</sup> This tendency was especially marked among the land-owning class and the professional circles of the metropolis. "The absence of reverence and decorum in

1. P.C. Campbell: Scattered Sheep and how to reunite them, p.8.

the services of the Scottish parish churches", says Story, "estranged the hearts of many who were capable of some visions of the beauty of holiness. Educated and enlightened men and women could not but feel repelled by the frequent defects of a service which, undoubtedly impressive when performed by a clergyman of piety and eloquence, was apt to be positively irksome when performed by one of mediocre gifts".<sup>1</sup> Robert Lee corroborated this in 1864 when he declared that the separations from Presbyterianism were most often due to "the general want of solemnity, decorum and refinement in the services of the Established Church". And Dean Perry, referring to this period of defection, attributed it to the fact that "the prevailing Calvinism of Scotland was at this time becoming distasteful to numbers of educated Presbyterians, and the services of the Book of Common Prayer to not a few of them were a welcome change from the dreariness of Presbyterian worship. As a consequence the (Episcopal) Church in Edinburgh was growing dangerously popular. It was 'genteel' and almost fashionable in some circles to belong to the Episcopal Church".<sup>2</sup> As Lee scathingly remarked, many who attached themselves to the Episcopal Church were

1. R.H. Story: Life and Remains of Robert Lee, Vol. I, p. 328.

2. W. Perry: The Oxford Movement in Scotland, p. 39.

motivated merely by "the ambition to go to heaven in fashionable company".<sup>1</sup> But the commonest reason for the defection from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy was indicated in a remark made to Lee: "We go to the Episcopal Chapel because we like the worship there better than that in the Kirk".<sup>2</sup>

1. R.Lee: The Reform of the Church of Scotland, p.51.  
2. R.Lee: ibid., p.57.

CHAPTER THREEThe Revival of the Established  
Church and Genesis of the High  
Church Party

## I.

The Revival of the Established Church.

By 1850 the Established Church began to show signs that she was regaining her primary place in the ecclesiastical life of the nation. After the Disruption the Church had endeavoured, in face of massive difficulties, to maintain all branches of her work in operation, both at home and in the Indian mission-fields. As Dr. J. R. Fleming points out, this revitalising of the Establishment was due to several considerations. One of these was the prestige of the old sanctuaries, places of worship which, however gaunt and unattractive in appearance, were hallowed by sacred associations; another was the influence of Queen Victoria who, in 1848, began to reside frequently at Balmoral and became a regular worshipper at Grathie Church, choosing Presbyterian ministers as her chaplains. "Presbyterianism as by law established gained an éclat it had never had under the

reign of any previous monarch".<sup>1</sup>

## II.

### The Middle Party.

No small share of the credit for this renewed vitality in the Established Church is due to the "Middle Party" which arose at the close of the Ten Years' Conflict preceding the Disruption. Their acknowledged leader was the Rev. Matthew Leishman (1794-1874), minister of Govan. The group received the sobriquet of "The Forty Thieves", since this was the number of signatories to a Declaration presented in 1842 to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in which it was emphasised that those whose names were appended would in no way countenance schism as a remedy for the problems besetting the Church. Although most of the Middle Party espoused the Evangelical cause in the pre-Disruption controversy, they could not acquiesce in the views of the majority within that party who were ready to secede, if need be, rather than tolerate any longer the existing state of affairs within the Church. The "Forty" (there were many more of them than this name would suggest) were convinced that schism would do more harm than good. They wanted reform within the Church, not disruption.

1. J.R.Fleming: The Church in Scotland, 1843-1929,  
Vol.I, p.61.

The Middle Party was unable, however, to avert the calamity of 1843. "Had they come earlier into the field", says J. F. Leishman, "they might have staved off the secession altogether. As it was, they robbed the seceders of the spoils of victory".<sup>1</sup> By remaining within the Church they diminished the ranks of the outgoing ministers and provided a reservoir of stability from which the weakened Church could draw strength in the years of strain and stress following the Disruption. "If the Church of Scotland recovered from the Disruption - as it quickly did - it was due on the whole to 'the Forty' and their disciples".<sup>2</sup>

By mid-century the Middle Party had so grown in influence that it could claim a large part in the administration of the Church's work, both at home and abroad. The convenership of such important departments of Church activity as the Home, Foreign and Colonial Committees were held by Middle Party men. A newspaper comment in 1856 notes that "while the Moderates have slidden down into the vaults, Dr. Matthew Leishman and his friends, old and new, have risen to the upper stories, and keep watch over the higher interests of Zion".<sup>3</sup>

A feature of the theological outlook of the "Forty"

1. J.F. Leishman: Matthew Leishman of Govan, p.158.
2. A.J. Campbell: Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1929, p.26.
3. North British Daily Mail, 17th October 1856.

was the adherence of most of them to the doctrinal outlook of John Macleod Campbell. The impression made on them by Campbell is indicated by a remark of Robert Story of Roseneath to Matthew Leishman. The latter describes how "before Mr. Campbell's deposition, Story one day said to me 'Leishman, you and I have not been preaching as we ought. We should have preached this simple Gospel - 'God is Love!'"<sup>1</sup>

It is of interest to the student of the revival of Churchmanship in nineteenth-century Presbyterianism to conjecture whether the Middle Party can claim any share in the original impulse of the movement which was soon to arise in the Church. Is not the seed-bed of the High Church movement to be found in the Churchly ideals of the "Forty", and especially in their abhorrence of schism?

Moreover, it is of no small significance that three or four of the most prominent and active members of the High Church group were, in their early years, closely associated with Dr. Matthew Leishman. One of these was his son, Thomas, who often acknowledged that it was from his father that he derived his ideals of Churchmanship, and who, in his youth at Govan Manse could not fail to see in his father a fine type of Scottish Churchman, Catholic in sympathy, yet tolerant and conciliatory to-

1. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.123.

wards those who in 1843 had rent asunder his beloved Church.

Three others whose names are amongst the most honoured of the High Churchmen of the later nineteenth century - George W. Sprott, John Marshall Lang and A. K. H. Boyd - often frequented Govan Manse and Church during their student years, and it appears not unlikely that it was from the teaching and example of the venerable Dr. Leishman that they found their minds opened to wider horizons of Churchmanship than that which prevailed in their midst. "In after days Sprott often spoke of the salutary impression left upon his mind by a sermon on religious reverence, heard from Leishman's lips".<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Matthew Leishman was amongst the first to see the need for reform in the Church's worship. He did not, it is true, join the Church Service Society at its inception in 1865. This lack of support was not due to want of sympathy with the Society's aims, but "on account of its supposed connection with that most impractical of all men - Dr. Robert Lee".<sup>2</sup> But he gave cordial support and assistance to the Committee on Aids to Devotion appointed by the Assembly in 1849, and, says his biographer-grandson, "was largely instrumental in securing

1. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.173.

2. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.203.

the Act of 1856 which ordained all ministers to read two lessons of Holy Scripture in Church, a practice which had gone out with the Knoxian readers".<sup>1</sup>

Thus in the lofty ideals of Churchmanship of Matthew Leishman and the Middle Party may be detected the first movement of the tide which was to result in the formation of the High Church Party. But one intriguing question remains - an all-important one in the history of the revival of Churchmanship in nineteenth-century Scotland. From what source did Matthew Leishman acquire his fine ideals of Catholic Churchmanship? Is it fanciful to suggest that he gained them from one who, as his grandson declares, exercised a "potent" influence on him from student days, and who was ever a welcome guest at Govan Manse? Is it likely that Irving would keep his ideals of Churchmanship to himself in the long, ardent discussions with one whom he regarded as a "kindred spirit".<sup>2</sup> Here, indeed, in the association of these two men, may be found the primary impulse towards the renaissance of Catholic ideals in the modern Church of Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

1. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.205.

2. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., pp. 55 and 67.

3. For a further discussion of this question see page ?

## III.

The Broad Church Movement.

From the Middle Party sprang another small and brilliant group of ministers who helped to revive the fortunes of the Established Church. Prominent among them were such celebrated younger Churchmen as Dr. Norman Macleod, minister of the Barony Parish, Glasgow; the Rev. Professor James Robertson, of the Chair of Church History at Edinburgh University; Principal John Caird, Professor of Divinity and Principal of Glasgow University, and one of Scotland's most notable preachers, whose sermon Religion in Common Life, preached before Queen Victoria at Crathie, was published by royal command; Principal John Tulloch, of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews; the Rev. Robert Lee, Minister of Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh; Professor William Milligan, of the Chair of Biblical Criticism at Aberdeen University; the Rev. Dr. A. K. H. Boyd, and Principal Herbert Story of Glasgow University.

This "Broad Church" group was a product of the times. By 1850 Scotland was in the throes of an intellectual and spiritual awakening. The construction of the railway system linking London and Edinburgh facilitated communication between the two centres and broke down the barriers

of nationalism and isolation. Scotsmen found themselves introduced to a wider social and intellectual life. Tennyson, Carlyle, Browning, Ruskin, Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot became literary idols north as well as south of the Border. The Idealist philosophy of Kant, Schelling and Hegel was read and discussed in Scottish University circles. New vistas of life and manners were opened up in Scotland in which the severities of Calvinism and the narrow bigotries and rivalries of divided Presbyterianism were matters of indifference.

The publication of Darwin's Theory of Evolution in 1859 received much attention, for it was thought by many to undermine the postulates of Christianity, and thus a beginning was made by the Church in the problems of the relationships between science and religion.

But without doubt the most far-reaching contribution to nineteenth century Scottish theology was that of John Macleod Campbell in his book The Nature of the Atonement. The Broad Church group found in this work the inspiration of much of their thought and teaching. "The narrow, exclusive, hard hyper-Calvinistic schools repel me", wrote Norman Macleod, "and make me nervously unhappy".<sup>1</sup> "The awful conviction is deeply pressing

1. D.Macleod; Life of Norman Macleod, D.D.,  
Vol.2, p.127.

itself upon me", he declared on another occasion, "that the Gospel is not preached in Scotland; that the Name of God, Father, Son and Spirit, which is Love, is not revealed but concealed; that it is not a Gospel of gladness, but of lamentation and woe; that it is not a Gospel of goodwill to man, but to a favoured few".<sup>1</sup>

The group came to realise also the merits of the method of Biblical Criticism which was beginning to challenge the traditional fundamentalism then in possession of Scottish theology. They saw that, in an age given over to research and discovery in every field of learning, when new light was being shed on the history and meaning of Holy Scripture and the old ideas of verbal inspiration were being superseded, to insist on out-moded doctrinal tenets would injure the cause of truth and bring discredit upon the Christian religion. Hence they came to replace the old emphatic dogmatism by a spirit of reverent enquiry.

#### IV.

Two members of the Broad Church group merit special mention for their notable contribution to the revival of the fortunes of the Established Church.

1. D.Macleod: op.cit., p.198.

James Robertson (1803-1860).

When Dr. Chalmers threw in his lot with the Free Church in 1843 the Established Church lost its most ardent advocate and architect of Church Extension, a work to which he had given the best years of his life. That this cause continued to prosper despite his defection is largely due to the exertions of Professor James Robertson, whom the Church called to the convenership of its Endowment Committee in 1846.

Chalmers had striven, with no small success, to supply more churches for the increasing population of Scotland, particularly in crowded urban areas. No less than two hundred chapels had been built in the years immediately preceding the Disruption. But when, after a lengthy law-suit opposing the claim of the Free Church to these buildings, the Established Church gained possession of them, the problem of their endowment still remained unsolved. Chalmers had unsuccessfully solicited Government aid. The depleted and dispirited Established Church in the years following 1843 found itself faced with the gigantic task of meeting this urgent necessity of endowment of chapels through the voluntary offerings of the people. James Robertson rose amongst what seemed the ruins of his beloved Church and played a hero's part

in this vital aspect of her reconstruction.

Robertson was born at Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire in 1803, and after his education in Arts and Divinity at Aberdeen University, where he matriculated in 1815, he returned to his native parish as schoolmaster, with the status of a licentiate of the Church. In 1829, at the early age of 26, he was appointed headmaster of Robert Gordon's Hospital - now Gordon's College - Aberdeen, and in 1832, through the good offices of the Duke of Gordon, to whose family he acted as tutor, he was presented to the parish of Ellon. It was during his ministry there that he became an authority on Church law and prominent as a leading debater in the General Assembly during the Ten Years' Conflict. Chalmers described his reply to Cunningham in the Strathbogie debate of 1841 "as the greatest display of intellectual gladiatorship he had ever seen".<sup>1</sup> Yet his oratorical prominence was won despite a heavy, ponderous, style and a harsh voice that never lost its Aberdeen cadences. While in Ellon, Robertson fell under the spell of Chalmers - a spell that remained potent throughout life and gave him a lasting enthusiasm for the work of Church Extension.

1. G. Wilson: "James Robertson" in Scottish Divines, St. Giles' Lectures, Third Series, p.329.

Robertson's greatest years began when he was appointed to the Chair of Divinity and Church History in the University of Edinburgh a few months after the Disruption, for during this period he was called to serve the Church as convener of the Endowment Committee. New churches were still needed in many areas. An Act of Parliament had to be sought to facilitate the erection of parishes quoad sacra, "the inertia of a too drowsy people and a too indifferent ministry had to be overcome",<sup>1</sup> and sectarian jealousy and opposition constantly contended with. Yet with dauntless courage Robertson undertook the gigantic task of raising the sum of \$600,000 for the work of further Church Extension and Endowment.

The cause to which Robertson devoted the last years of his life prospered greatly, and at the 1860 General Assembly - his last - he was able to report that since the Disruption sixty new churches had been built and half a million pounds raised for Church Extension and Endowment. He died of overwork, but not before "he had raised the Church from what many thought her ruin to a vigour and influence which made self-respect reasonable".<sup>2</sup> "If the Church of Scotland", remarks Campbell, "recovered

1. G.Wilson: op.cit., p.339.

2. G.Wilson: op.cit. p.341.

quickly from the Disruption, it was due in great measure to the work of Robertson".<sup>1</sup>

Norman Macleod (1812-1872).

Except in his capacity for hard work - Professor Flint said of him that "the amount of work he ordinarily got through in a day, when minister of the Barony, was almost superhuman"<sup>2</sup> - Norman Macleod bore little resemblance to Professor James Robertson. Robertson was grave and deliberative in speech and demeanour; the younger man gave the impression of sparkling spontaneity and overflowing vitality. But Macleod never failed to acknowledge his indebtedness to Robertson. "He believed in him, leaned on him and loved him till death removed him. In the days that succeeded the Disruption the minister of Dalkeith (Macleod) brooded in downheartedness over the state of the weakened Church; but his fear passed away, his great energies were quickened, his eloquence thrilled with hope, as he saw Dr. Robertson bend his strength to raise again the standard of the Scottish Establishment. In Dr. Macleod's brilliant life there is not a little of the healthy flavour of Dr. Robertson".<sup>3</sup>

1. A.J.Campbell: Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1929, p.296.

2. R.Flint: "Norman Macleod" in Scottish Divines, St. Giles' Lectures, Third Series, p.437.

3. G.Wilson: op.cit., p.349.

Macleod's other abiding loyalty, as with most of the other members of the Broad Church group, was to the doctrinal teaching of John Macleod Campbell.

Born in 1812, son of the Reverend Norman Macleod, one of the ministers of Campbeltown and afterwards of Campsie and St. Columba's, Glasgow, young Norman spent many of his schooldays in Morvern, his grandfather's parish. There he imbibed a lasting love for the Gaelic language, literature, and song and the open-air pursuits of a Highland sportsman.

At the completion of his university career at Glasgow, Dr. Thomas Chalmers recommended Macleod to the patron of the vacant parish of Loudon. From 1835 to 1843 he ministered there to a mixed congregation of landed proprietors, "Chartist" weavers, and numerous families of old Covenanting stock. Then followed seven years as minister of Dalkeith, during which he became increasingly aware of the magnitude of the social problems affecting Scottish urban areas, especially those of pauperism and destitution, drunkenness, and irreligion.

In 1851 Macleod was translated to the charge which was to be linked with his name for the remainder of his life. It was as "Norman Macleod of the Barony" that he was everywhere known. His brilliant gifts as a preacher, his ability as an administrator and, most of all, the

love and affection he evoked from his parishioners in the squalid and crowded tenements around his church, made his name a household word in Scotland, and marked him out as the undisputed leader of the brilliant group of younger ministers in the Established Church who were intent on revitalising her life and witness. Macleod's ministry gave the Church a new pattern of pastoral method. Here was a new type of minister, far removed from the old and rather somnolent "Moderate" school of Scottish clergy - a minister aflame with religious conviction, with a burning zeal not only for the spiritual welfare of his parishioners, but passionately concerned about their living conditions and working environment. He instituted evening services, then a novelty, to which admission was given only to those in working garb, and thus brought into the worship of the Church many of those who had no "Sunday clothes" to wear at the more decorous morning or afternoon services.

The most permanent of Macleod's labours, however, was his herculean work for the Foreign Mission enterprise of the Church. As a consequence of the Disruption, missionary activity had been heavily curtailed. In India the missionaries had seceded in a body. To a Church beset with so many problems at home, the resuscitation of missionary work seemed a task beyond her powers.

But pessimism was forced into retreat during Macleod's convenership of the Foreign Mission Committee. In successive General Assemblies he was able to submit such encouraging reports of missionary activity and expansion as to give the Church new heart and hope. At his death in 1882 the Church could proudly claim that she had vigorous and highly successful agencies at work not only in India, but in China, Central Africa, and amongst the Jews.

Yet another fine achievement was his magazine GOOD WORDS. Begun in 1860, it enjoyed a tremendous vogue, for Macleod was able to enlist the services of many of the most popular writers of the day - poetry by George MacDonald, Alexander Smith, Jean Ingelow: fiction by Anthony Trollope: scientific articles by such men as Brewster, Geikie, and Herschel. Presbyterian, Anglican and Nonconformist divines gladly contributed to the new periodical, which gave to Scotland a new standard of "Sunday reading".

As a royal chaplain, Macleod was a frequent guest at Balmoral and was honoured by the Queen's friendship and confidence.

He was accorded the biggest funeral ever seen in Glasgow: and as the cortege passed through the densely-lined ranks of mourners, many, remembering his incessant

labours, must have given thanks to God for one who had done so much to infuse with new life and prestige the Church of his fathers.

## V.

The Emergence of the High Church Group.

This small but influential group was not, of course, allowed to work undisturbed. Keen criticism and opposition was levelled at them, especially from the traditionalists within the Establishment who clung to the corpse of a dead Moderatism. "The Broad Church group", says Campbell, "was small and its doings were watched with dislike by many within the Church of Scotland. It was long before the rigid, uninspired conventionalism of the middle years of the century gave way; but the tide was with the Broad Church group and not with their opponents".<sup>1</sup> The absence of heresy cases in this generation is an indication that a new attitude of tolerance towards theological opinions had now taken root.

Out of this virile Broad Church group emerged another which found itself eager to reform the worship and Churchmanship of the Church of Scotland. From it the pioneers of the renaissance of Catholic Churchmanship

1. A.J.Campbell: op.cit., p.284.

in the second half of the nineteenth century would claim spiritual descent. Indeed several leading Broad Churchmen - the names of Robert Lee, Professor William Milligan, Dr. A. K. H. Boyd, Principal Story come at once to mind - were amongst the most prominent figures in the High Church group which now arose.

"The Broad Church Movement fulfilled its function when it emancipated Scotland from the sterile dogmatism into which Evangelicalism had congealed. In its wake came a very different spirit, intent primarily on declaring its allegiance to the Catholic faith".<sup>1</sup>

1. A.J.Campbell: op.cit., p.167.

CHAPTER FOURThe Leaders of the  
High Church Group

## I.

Robert Lee of Old Greyfriars (1804-67) - the Pioneer  
of Worship Reform in the Church of Scotland.

Born at Tweedmouth in 1804, Robert Lee was educated at Berwick Grammar School and at St. Andrews' University, where he undertook the eight years curriculum then required of a candidate for the ministry of the Church of Scotland. At the end of his academic career, Principal Haldane said of him: "This university has not for many years sent forth a more distinguished student".<sup>1</sup>

In 1833 he was elected minister of Inverbrothock Church, Arbroath, then a chapel-of-ease, but raised to full status as a parish church during Lee's energetic incumbency. "There is not an unoccupied seat in the chapel", it was noted in an annual statement. In view of Lee's later contribution to the reform of worship it is significant that when a deputation of visitors from the vacant parish of Campsie came to Lee's church, one of the factors which strengthened their decision to address a call to him was "the well-chosen language of

1. R.R.Story: Life and Remains of Robert Lee,  
Vol.1, p.7.

his prayers".<sup>1</sup>

The parish of Campsie had recently been vacated by Dr. Norman Macleod, father of the celebrated Norman of the Barony, on his transference to St. Columba's, Glasgow. During Lee's years there the Disruption rent the Church, but his name does not figure in the annals of the time. Despite the later ecclesiastical feuds into which he found himself thrust, Lee disliked controversy and polemics, and seems to have had sympathies with both sides in the Disruption conflict. In 1843 the parishioners of Campsie adhered with "marvellous unanimity" to the Establishment. In that large parish of 6,000 souls", writes a friend of his, "and for several years thereafter, there was not only no Free Church, but scarcely even a Free Churchman. I question if such another case occurred throughout all Scotland".<sup>2</sup> This unanimity of his parishioners is ascribed by his biographer to Lee's vigorous pastoral ministry, and his lucid exposition in pulpit, conversation and lectures of the principles involved.

In August 1843 Lee was translated to the charge of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, made vacant by the secession

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.1, p.15.

2. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.1, p.39.

of the former minister. Old Greyfriars Church<sup>1</sup> was then a plain, unadorned building, built in 1612 in grounds which had once formed the gardens of the old monastery of the Greyfriars. Under this roof and in the churchyard the celebrated Covenant of 1638 was signed. The congregation on Lee's arrival was greatly depleted, there having been a considerable loss of members at the Disruption, and when he began his ministry the church was weak in numbers and influence. This was to be the church around which the "Battle of the Innovations" was soon to be fought.

Less than two years after his induction to the charge, in January 1848, the Church of Old Greyfriars was destroyed by fire - an event which, as Story says, "had great influence on Dr. Lee's future career. But for it his energies might, not improbably, have fastened on some other labour than the reform of the Church's worship".<sup>2</sup> Now, having no church of its own, his congregation had to share for twelve years the church and services of another congregation,<sup>3</sup> the respective ministers officiating in turn to the combined congregations.

1. Old Greyfriars: so called to distinguish it from the Church (built 1721) and parish (erected 1722) of New Greyfriars, formed out of portions taken from the Tolbooth and Old Greyfriars parishes.

2. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.1, pp.86/87.

3. The Tolbooth parish, which used the Assembly Hall as a place of worship.

Hence Lee found himself subjected to the necessity of witnessing worship conducted by others, as well as conducting it himself. "This tended to fix in his mind the deficiencies of the Scottish ritual. The fire which consumed the old building, therefore, though regarded as a deplorable accident at the time, did not burn in vain; and from its ashes sprung a goodly phoenix".<sup>1</sup>

Lee's first impressions of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, which he later saw no reason to modify, were singularly unfavourable. The majority were Moderates of the old school, men of the most conservative outlook, suspicious of any change in the status quo and greatly in opposition to the waxing spirit of critical inquiry. Lee found himself completely out of sympathy with them. The basis of his mind was essentially liberal and rational. He knew that the Church was entering a new era of change and reform and that she must, if she was to survive, acquiesce in them. His liberal outlook brought him into opposition with the Presbytery on several occasions, notably in his approval of the abolition of University Tests (1845), even before he became suspect as a dangerous innovator. An J. F. Leishman points out, this lack of sympathy with Lee

1. R.H.Story: op:cit., Vol.I, pp.86/87.

may have been partly due to the fact that he, "the would-be reformer of the Church of Scotland, was not a native Scot but an Englishman reared in English dissent till the age of eighteen, when he wrought with his father as a boatbuilder at the mouth of the Tweed. To the last he probably never quite assimilated the ethos of the Scottish Church".<sup>1</sup>

In 1846 he was appointed to the newly-instituted Chair of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University. With this appointment was conjoined the Deanery of the Chapel Royal, the new Chair being endowed out of the emoluments of the Deanery. Lee did not, however, relinquish the charge of Old Greyfriars, and on various occasions his tenure of the two offices, ecclesiastical and academic, was the subject of criticism in Presbytery.

For this and other reasons Lee gradually became "almost entirely isolated from the most of his fellow-clergymen in Edinburgh. They had no sympathy with him; he had none with them. He could not stand what appeared to him their narrow-mindedness, their dull and stupid conservatism; they could not stand his liberal views, his love of progress, his indifference to the shibboleths of party".<sup>2</sup> When he became

1. J.F. Leishman: Matthew Leishman of Govan, p.203.

2. R.H. Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.199.

embroiled in ceaseless controversy over his innovations in worship, and was frequently the object of attack in Presbytery and General Assembly, this lack of understanding between himself and many of his brethren aggravated his sense of isolation and frustration. "It is painful, in reading over the reports of these (presbytery) meetings, to mark the bitter spirit of personal hostility to Dr. Lee which shrills like an east wind through the speeches of some of his opponents. If Dr. Lee was occasionally, as some people thought, too sharp in tongue, he had almost intolerable provocation, and yet he never once spoke of an opponent in the tone of studied insult and intense dislike which was constantly used towards himself".<sup>1</sup>

A. K. H. Boyd admits however, that on occasion Lee could be "extremely provoking: though a most amiable man he was (in public) not conciliatory",<sup>2</sup> and Leishman of Govan tells how, in the General Assembly of 1862, during a debate on "innovations", Lee was "very insolent and offensive. Good man as he was, he had a genius for rubbing people the wrong way."<sup>3</sup>

Old Greyfriars Church was opened, after restoration,

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.249.

2. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Liturgies of the Scottish Kirk" in St. Andrews and Elsewhere, p.208.

3. J.F.Leishman: op.cit., p.204.

in June 1857, the congregation having added a large sum to the municipal grant in order that the new building might be a seemly one. "The outside could not be altered in any way, but the interior was repaired and fitted up gracefully though simply, and all the windows were filled with painted glass - then a novelty in Scotch churches".<sup>1</sup>

From this time, and throughout the remainder of his life, Lee's name was chiefly associated with the "innovations question". For many years he had been dissatisfied with the existing state of Scottish worship, and considered that the average Presbyterian Church provided "an ill-ordered, slovenly, uncertain service which, wherever it obtruded itself, blunted all reverential feelings".<sup>2</sup> In his Reform of Worship, a collection of essays on contemporary Church problems published in 1864, he states some of his objections to the prevalent mode of worship, and declares that the Church of his day presented "a scene of systematic irregularity, disorder and confusion".<sup>3</sup> He objected to the want of a recognised usage, the unsatisfactory nature

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.285. The filling of the windows with stained glass was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr.G.W.Sprott. See J.Cooper: The Plan and Furnishing of Churches, p.16.

2. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.327.

3. R.Lee: The Reform of the Church of Scotland, p.18.

of the public prayers, often, he says, "little more than a string of Scriptural quotations connected by hardly the slenderest thread of thought, often dry, didactic discourses, discussing points of theology, sadly wanting in solemnity, pathos, simplicity and beauty, and expressed in commonplace, often vulgar and inaccurate language".<sup>1</sup> He laments that in the average Scottish service there was so little of the "beauty of holiness".

Lee noted also with great concern that the bleak and unattractive Presbyterian service was driving many into the Episcopal Church where they could at least calculate on finding an orderly and reverent service.

Hence it was imperative, he considered, that there should be urgent reform of the chaotic state of worship in Presbyterianism, and that a better system of worship was needed than that governed by local and regional custom. For he maintained that "mere custom has acquired the force of law",<sup>2</sup> and agreed with Principal Hill "that the ministers of the Church of Scotland are in general disposed to conform, in the manner of performing the public services of religion,

1. R. Lee: op.cit., p.14. For a discussion of Lee's innovations see J.A. Lamb: "Examination of Innovations" in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol.XI, pp.18 ff.

2. R. Lee: op.cit., p.27.

to the practice of that part of the country in which Providence orders their lot".<sup>1</sup> "It is", he wrote, "the business of the Church to provide everywhere, even in the remotest parishes and among the humblest and most illiterate of the population, that public worship shall be distinguished by good taste, decency, propriety, and solemnity, as well as purity in doctrine and fervour of devotion; that it shall be comprehensive, and as far as possible complete in its several parts, omitting nothing that is essential to the idea of public Christian worship on the one hand, while on the other it avoids redundancy and tediousness, doctrinal exaggeration, fanatical vehemence, and enthusiastic raptures, and everything else that is inconsistent with sober piety and godly wisdom".<sup>2</sup>

Lee felt that it was useless to expect the General Assembly to initiate reform. So he took the first step himself and introduced into his congregation a number of innovations which, while accepted without opposition by the worshippers in Old Greyfriars Church, aroused controversy and violent protest from his fellow-clergy. As Story points out, the anti-innovation group

1. G.Hill: Counsels Respecting the Duties of the Pastoral Office, p.2.

2. R.Lee: op.cit., pp.47-48.

was largely a clerical one.<sup>1</sup>

The transference of his congregation to the rebuilt Old Greyfriars in 1857 afforded Lee an opportunity of making certain changes in the accustomed order of worship. In 1863 a harmonium was used in assisting congregational praise. This was replaced two years later by an organ, at the introduction of which Lee wrote "This has been a great day in the Greyfriars Church, and in the Church of Scotland. The new organ, built by Messrs. Hamilton at a cost of £450, subscribed by the congregation, was this day opened, and universally approved and applauded, and a great enthusiasm has been excited".<sup>2</sup> Inoffensive as these innovations appear to later generations of Scottish Presbyterians, they caused a tremendous furor at the time; standing to sing, kneeling at prayer, the chanting of prose psalms, and, gravest offence of all in the eyes of his critics, the reading of prayers in public worship. These were later compiled into a printed volume Prayers for Public Worship, the first edition of which appeared in 1857, with new editions in 1858 and 1863.

The volume consists of six full orders for Sunday services - three for forenoon and three for afternoon

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., p.369.

2. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.II, p.82.

use. The other half of the book is made up of 82 prayers extracted from the Psalter. In the preface Lee remarks that while he has endeavoured to make a close study of both the Roman and Greek liturgies, and those of the Reformed Church, he is convinced that "while these venerable documents may suggest useful hints, and may help to guard us against some errors, our wisdom now consists not in seeking to revive, or even closely to copy any of them ---- but in taking our devotional compositions more directly from the Scriptures themselves, especially the Book of Psalms.<sup>1</sup> The Scriptural content of the prayers is the chief merit of the book. A second enlarged edition appeared in 1858, containing forms for the Sacraments, for marriage and burial. The baptismal service in *Euchologion* (1867) was a reprint, with slight alterations, of Lee's service in the final edition of his Prayers for Public Worship.

It was this practice of not only reading prayers, but reading them from a printed book, which brought most opprobrium upon the minister of Old Greyfriars. The first rumble of the coming storm made itself heard in 1858, when the Synod of Dumfries and the Presbytery of Aberdeen sought the General Assembly to prohibit the "innovations in worship". Although Lee was not named,

1. R. Lee: Prayers for Public Worship, p.viii.

the House was in no doubt as against whom these attacks were directed. The result of this preliminary skirmish was that the Supreme Court "earnestly and solemnly warned all members of the Church against the rash adoption of changes in the order and form of public worship as recommended in The Directory of Public Worship".<sup>1</sup>

In all the later stages of the controversy with those who accused him of being an "innovator" Lee's answer was that he had done nothing, nor introduced anything into his services, which was contrary to the Church's official standard of worship, the Westminster Directory, approved by the General Assembly of 1645. On the contrary, declared Lee, it was his opponents who were at fault in not observing the order of worship laid down in the Directory's rubrics - e.g. the Directory rules that worship should begin with prayer, that the Scriptures should be read during the service, the Lord's Prayer should be repeated by the congregation, weddings and Baptisms should be celebrated in church - but all these were honoured by the majority of the ministers in the breach rather than in the observance.

Lee insisted that in his revised order of worship in Old Greyfriars he was explicitly observing the Church's

1. .R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I., p.338.

official standards, and that justification for all the changes he had made could be found in the Directory. "The order now practised in the Greyfriars Church", he wrote, "is minutely the order of the Directory for the Public Worship of God which the General Assembly ordains and commands that every minister should observe. But have not the great majority gone on transgressing that Directory from Sunday to Sunday?"<sup>1</sup>

On the charge, often made against him, that he was departing from the accepted use and wont, he asked: "Now, as to this custom, I should very much like to know what it is. It is the general custom to begin with singing. But there are some churches in which they begin with reading a chapter. Some ministers sing two psalms in worship - some sing three, others sing four. In some churches two chapters of the Bible are read at each meeting: in others one, in others none. Which of these is the custom?"<sup>2</sup>

Replying to the accusation that by reading from a book of printed prayers composed by himself he was guilty of introducing a liturgy into his congregation, he pointed out in a speech to the General Assembly that there was no law of the Church regarding the reading of

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.340.  
2. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.347.

prayers any more than the reading of sermons. "I have as much right to read my prayers, as you have to read your sermons," he told his brethren. "How can I be charged with introducing a liturgy because the prayers happen to have been printed? I have lying on my table about half-a-dozen volumes of prayers for public worship, printed and published in like manner by ministers of the Church of Scotland. Why am I to be a criminal for doing what so many other people have done?" "Moreover", he declared, "it is very remarkable to hear gentlemen raising an outcry against a liturgy when they themselves have appointed a committee to compose a liturgy, which liturgy is now in process of publication, called Aids to Devotion. If a printed form makes a liturgy, then the Church of Scotland is guilty of a liturgy".<sup>1</sup>

Despite protest, the General Assembly of 1859, while condemning his practice of reading prayers as "contrary to the law and usage of the Church", gave tacit consent to his other innovations and dismissed a vote of censure on Lee. It was felt that a new era of toleration had begun and the decision was "hailed throughout the country and by the press with hearty and loudly

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, pp.350/351.

expressed gratification".<sup>1</sup>

This favourable decision, however, gave Lee but short respite, for soon persistent attacks and renewed criticism were again heard in the Church courts. His opponents could not allow the controversy to be abandoned.

Opposition again flared up fiercely in 1864 with the publication of his book The Reform of Worship. In this volume he discusses fully some of the questions which were then in the minds of thoughtful Scottish Churchmen - questions such as the prayers of the public services of worship; the postures used in church; the use of instrumental music; the observance of the main seasons of the Christian Year, and the various service-books which, during her history, have been in use in the Reformed Church of Scotland. Lee's motive in compiling it was to show in how many respects the Scottish Church and her services was a caricature of the Church as it was designed and ordered by the first Reformers. "None," he declared, "should raise an outcry against ritualism, formalism, or any other ism, when nothing more is suggested than a return to some practice which the universal Church has sanctioned, which our earliest and

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.368.

wisest reformers approved, and which the more enlightened portion of the Scottish people at least are prepared to welcome".<sup>1</sup>

During the 1865 General Assembly, when the debate on innovations was resumed, one speaker described the Old Greyfriars service as "a masquerade of Popery".<sup>2</sup> After a two-day debate the Assembly decided against Lee's innovations. But this did not induce him to make any alteration in his order of service. His congregation had confidence in him and thorough sympathy with his reforms. He continued to use his book of printed prayers.

The Presbytery of Edinburgh now felt that the time had come to make a specific charge against Lee for "using a printed book". "Whereas the using of a book of prayers in the celebration of public worship is contrary to the laws and usage of this Church; and whereas it is generally reported that this practice is followed by the Rev. Robert Lee, D.D., Minister of Old Greyfriars, and that, notwithstanding a judgment of the General Assembly of date 24th May 1859 ordering Dr. Lee to discontinue the practice and to conform in offering up prayer to the present ordinary practice of the Church, it is moved that

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.2, p.56.

2. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.2, p.152.

a committee be appointed to make all necessary enquiry as to the use of a book of prayers in the Church of Old Greyfriars".<sup>1</sup>

One prominent Edinburgh clergyman declared that he saw Satan at work in the innovations at Greyfriars and that, were they allowed to continue, it would mean the destruction of the Church.

The endless vituperation and ceaseless attacks began to tell on Lee. "I feel painfully to be constantly upbraided, as if I were a man without any conscience. It is as disagreeable to me and my family to live in this constant turmoil, and to be perpetually assailed, as it is to other people".<sup>2</sup>

The 1866 General Assembly proved itself especially hostile. But in the end Lee's innovations were neither condemned nor approved by any court of the Church, for a sudden paralysis laid him aside a day before the 1867 Assembly, and his case being postponed Lee never again appeared in the Assembly Hall. The protracted discussion upon "innovations" thus came to a vague and undefined close. The "Greyfriars Case" remained unfinished - ending only in a postponement. Dr. Lee's friends were not sorry that it should end thus, for they knew that if

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.2, p.227.

2. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.2, p.235.

the appeal had been heard, the decision of the Assembly would have been adverse. Within twelve months Lee was dead, in his 64th year.

Nearly a century has passed since Lee ventured to question the validity of the long-entrenched "use and wont" which governed the public worship of the Scottish Church. All his reforms which, at the time, seemed such far-reaching innovations, are now part of the familiar pattern of Presbyterian worship - organs, hymns, standing for praise, kneeling for prayer, the use of printed books of prayer, weddings and Baptisms in church - these are no longer controversial issues. The battle has long since been won.

But the question arises - what prompted Lee to desire these reforms in worship? It is not true to say, as his opponents so often did, that he was seeking to "ape Episcopacy". Lee admitted the excellence and beauty of the Book of Common Prayer, but thought its defect to be that of "sameness" - and that it would not suit the Scottish temperament. There seems no doubt that what initiated his desire for reform was his alarm at the defections to Episcopacy, and that he saw something must be done to arrest these departures from the Established Church. Also, his fastidious literary taste, his love of propriety and seemliness, were

offended by what he saw and heard in Scottish churches.

Lee may rightly be called the pioneer of the nineteenth century renaissance of Churchmanship in Scotland. By his indomitable courage and perseverance the way was prepared for those who, following after him, were able to make further strides towards reform, and to carry forward his work of liturgical experimentation. Lee was the first to focus attention on the need for change, and to suggest a better way. "C'est le premier pas qui coûte".

His ability as a public speaker - A. K. H. Boyd said of him that in Parliament or out of it he had never heard a finer debater than Lee - and his keen, sharp intellect, his literary ability as writer and pamphleteer, were all dedicated to this great crusade which he began.

Although Lee possessed considerable knowledge of the ancient liturgies he seems to have lacked a sense of liturgical propriety. "Some of his tastes and views", says Story, "as shown by the boldness with which he ventured to alter the Te Deum, and even by some of his prayers in his Order of Worship prove that he was defective in this higher liturgical feeling, and lacked something of that tender reverence for Catholic usage, that subtle sense of rhythmic harmony and fitness which

guide the hand and breathe from the lips of all true liturgists. But he saw and felt the urgent necessity for an altered worship and resolved the alteration should be made".<sup>1</sup> A. K. H. Boyd declared that he "never liked Lee's prayerbook. He had no ear whatever for the true liturgical flow. His taste, in matters ecclesiological, was exactly the reverse of Catholic".<sup>2</sup> This is made evident in his advice to the members of the Church Service Society: "Don't take up your time by talking of Greek liturgies and such far-away projects. None who have any tolerable acquaintance with these formularies will imagine they can furnish almost anything suitable for us".<sup>3</sup>

Lee himself tells us that when compiling his book, Prayers for Public Worship, he studied the ancient liturgies, but did not borrow extensively from them, except that in the second edition the baptismal service was taken from the Westminster Directory for Public Worship. Hence Lee composed his own prayers, scriptural in phraseology and thought, with an extensive use of the devotional element in the Psalms. "The ideas should", he said, "be Scriptural, and so also should be the manner

1. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.I, p.331.

2. A.K.H.Boyd: Twenty Five Years of St. Andrews, Vol.I, p.32.

3. R.H.Story: op.cit., Vol.2, p.140.

of thought and expression".<sup>1</sup> His service-book was not meant to be used as a liturgy, but had it commended itself to the Church and been adopted as such, Lee would have raised no objection. "It appears to me", he maintained, "that the want of all liturgical forms is one of the chief reasons for that singular want of coherence, and of that disastrous tendency to separation which have so remarkably distinguished the Presbyterians of Scotland during the last 200 years -- ever since the Book of Common Order was laid aside".<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the greatest contribution Lee made to the revival of worship in Scotland was an indirect one -- the formation in 1865 of the Church Service Society, which had as its aim the infusion of new life and ideas into Scottish worship by a study of the ancient liturgies and the preparation of forms of prayer for public worship, the administration of the Sacraments, etc. "The Society", says Principal Story, one of its early Presidents, "could not have come into existence without the stimulus of Dr. Lee's example".<sup>3</sup> "In one sense Dr. Lee may be said to have been the founder of the Society", runs a sentence in the Lee Lecture on the origins of the Church

1. R.Lee: *op.cit.*, p.183.

2. R.Lee: Reform of the Church of Scotland, p.185.

3. R.H.Story: Life of Robert Lee, Vol.2, p.137.

Service Society, delivered in 1905, "for without his sagacious, bold and self-sacrificing labour in the cause of freedom of thought and worship, such a Society as this could not have been formed".<sup>1</sup>

## II.

### Robert Herbert Story (1835-1907).

"If Dr. Robert Lee was the Wishart of the Second Reformation who gave his life for the cause, then Dr. Story was the Knox who bore the two-handed sword for his master, whom he resembled in so many ways".<sup>2</sup> Story early became a disciple of Robert Lee, and determined to continue his advocacy of a higher conception of Churchmanship and a nobler Presbyterian worship.

Born at Roseneath Manse in 1835, son of the Reverend Robert Story (1790-1859), Robert Herbert Story not only adopted his father's calling, but imbibed much of his father's teaching and ecclesiastical outlook. The elder Story had been one of the few who gave support and sympathy to John Macleod Campbell of Row whose deposition by the Church "for

1. J. Kerr: Renascence of Worship, p.5.  
2. J. Kerr: op.cit., p.39.

proclaiming the glorious truth which now none would dare to dispute, that Christ died for all men"<sup>1</sup> was one of the most deplorable incidents in modern Scottish Church history. In the minister of Rose-neath, too, Edward Irving had found a staunch ally during his years of persecution. "Thus the heroes of Robert Herbert Story's boyhood were men whom the Church in blindness and infatuation had cast out".<sup>2</sup> Like his father, he became a supporter of suspect and unpopular causes, notably in connection with the "innovations in worship" controversy initiated by Lee.

Story was educated at the parish school, entered Edinburgh University at the age of 14, interrupting his theological curriculum there to spend a year at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, attracted by the brilliance of the young theologian, John Tulloch, recently appointed principal of the College. After licence in 1858 and a term as an assistant-minister in Montreal, Story returned to Roseneath in 1860 as his father's successor.

The year 1886 was a notable one in Story's life, for it marked his elevation to three important positions. Within the space of twelve months he was

1. F.M.Muir: "Principal Story" in Life and Work, March 1907, p.65.
2. F.M.Muir: op.cit., p.65.

gazetted as one of Her Majesty's Chaplains, appointed Depute Clerk of the General Assembly, and elected Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow University. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1894 and succeeded John Caird as Principal of the University in 1898. For many years he was Senior Clerk of the General Assembly.

During his Roseneath years (1860-1886) Story was occupied, not only with a memoir of his father, but in writing a two-volume biography of Robert Lee, in which he makes it clear that he was in complete accord with the older man's views. In this fine sketch of Lee's life and work Story gives "fully and vividly the history of the struggle for an improved worship, a struggle which it is curious and interesting to look back upon now that things are so different, and the battle fought and won".<sup>1</sup> When the charge of Old Greyfriars became vacant a considerable section of the congregation desired Story's appointment as Lee's successor, in the knowledge that the work begun would be continued.

The Church Service Society owes much to Story. "He was a member of the Society from the beginning, and always took the warmest interest in its proceedings.

1. Principal Story: A Memoir by His Daughters, p.72.

No man did more by word and deed to commend the principles of the Society to the Church".<sup>1</sup>

The practical results of Story's attitude towards reform of worship are seen in some of the "innovations" which, inspired by Lee's example and precedent, he quietly introduced into his church at Roseneath. While they appear minor and often trivial changes to modern Presbyterians, they were regarded as being highly revolutionary at the time. "His ideal", wrote his daughters in their memoir of him, "was to have a simple, dignified, well-ordered service, suitable to the church and the congregation, and expressive of their needs and aspirations. This he strove after with no little success in his own parish church, giving there a practical demonstration of how his ideas of seemliness of worship could be carried out simply and naturally, with no elaboration of detail, yet with 'all things done decently and in order'".<sup>2</sup>

Story's first reform was to shorten the services (a much-needed change) by abandoning "the lecture" or exposition of Scripture which preceded the sermon. He also pioneered in the institution in 1862 of a

1. J. Kerr: Renascence of Worship, p.171.

2. Principal Story: A Memoir, p.75.

summer Sunday evening service, to replace the afternoon diet of worship. A choir was formed, and the precentor replaced by a harmonium until a pipe organ was installed.

The posture used in worship next received attention. Story was one of the first to reverse the accepted practice of standing for prayer and sitting for praise. This innovation gave him an anecdote illustrative of Presbyterian stubbornness and ecclesiastical conservatism, for "even until well on in the eighties there was one family, latterly reduced to one person, who primly sat through the singing and stood during the prayers",<sup>1</sup> although the rest of the congregation had acquiesced in the new way as long before as 1866.

For the first time a service was held on Christmas Day, 1877, and thereafter Story regularly caused the major events of the Christian Year to be observed at Roseneath.

His greatest insistence, however, was for orderliness and reverence in worship. "No service", he declared, "can adequately convey a proper idea of Christian worship that is not orderly. A well-regulated uniformity should guide a Christian people's

1. Principal Story: A Memoir, p.60.

sacrifice of prayer and praise in the beauty of holiness and in the simplicity and perfectness of order. Above all a minister should strive to develop among his people the great principle of reverence, too often obviously lacking".<sup>1</sup>

Story objected to private Baptism, encouraging his parishioners to bring their children to church for Baptism, and he supported the contention that the provision of Holy Communion for the aged and sick in their homes should no longer be an offence against the law of the Church. "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was meant to be healing for the sick and comfort for the sorrowful and strengthening for the weak, and those were often the very people who were unable to sit down at the crowded table to receive the Sacrament".<sup>2</sup>

The disestablishment of the Church of Scotland became a major political issue about 1880, with ceaseless, often virulent demands from the "voluntaries" and sectarians for the State confiscation of the ancient tithes and patrimonies of the Church. In 1882, with Herbert Story taking a leading part in it, the Church Defence Association was formed. His

1. Principal Story: A Memoir, p.244.

2. op.cit., p.244.

support of this Association is of great interest in exhibiting his Churchmanship, and especially his exalted view of the Church he loved and served. "In no sense", he maintained, "is the Church of Scotland a sect. It is a national branch of the reformed Catholic Church".<sup>1</sup> "His enthusiasm for the Church", says McAdam Muir, "arose not merely from his persuasion of its usefulness as a great national institution, but from his assurance that it was Christ's anointed witness in the land. The continuity of the Church of Scotland, and the apostolic nature of its ministry, were themes on which he delighted to dwell. He was far removed from what is called 'sacerdotalism', but the Church as the Body of Christ was the deepest of his convictions".<sup>2</sup>

In 1897 he published his Baird Lecture, The Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church, in which he developed the theme that "in Scotland the Church is at once catholic and national - that is to say, it is orthodox in doctrine, according to the catholic standards of orthodoxy; it is apostolic in its constitution; it has never separated itself from the Catholic Church of Christ, although at the Reformation

1. Principal Story, A Memoir, p.201.

2. P.M.Muir: op.cit., p.65.

of the sixteenth century it severed its connection with the corrupt communion that was governed by Rome",<sup>1</sup>

Story's knowledge of the history of the Scottish Church prevented him from finding much room for hope in such visions as those of Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews concerning the reunion of the National Church and the Episcopal Church. He "could not shut his eyes to the futility of talking of union as long as the Episcopal Church refused absolutely to recognise the validity of any orders but her own".<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he regarded the Anglican Church "as rapidly ceasing to belong to the great body of the Reformed. Its most active and influential and numerous party is distinctly Romanising".<sup>3</sup>

Story deserves a prominent place among the leaders of the reform of worship in the nineteenth century, for to this movement he gave the help and influence of a trusted ecclesiastical statesman and a Church historian of high repute. He had none of the impetuosity of Robert Lee, none of that eagerness

1. R.H. Story: Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church, pp. 4/5.

2. Principal Story. A Memoir, p. 176.

3. op.cit., p. 177.

to achieve quick results which so often outran Lee's discretion. Story's principle of festina lente served the cause of worship reform well. That so exalted a Churchman, scholar, and university head should espouse the cause of the innovators gave their efforts a sanction which prompted less courageous men to follow in his footsteps.

He had, of course, "to bear his share of criticism and obloquy".<sup>1</sup> But at no time did he have to suffer the public outcries that had descended in vials of wrath upon the head of Robert Lee. Within the decade which separated them a change of attitude on the question of worship reform had taken place. The former bitterness of opposition, the shocked, scandalised protests had given way to a greater tolerance. Story did not find himself arraigned before presbytery and General Assembly to answer for his innovations as Lee had had to do, but lived to see the desire for reform grow and spread rapidly throughout the Church.

1. Principal Story. A Memoir, p.72.

## III.

A. K. H. Boyd (1825-1899).

Boyd's contribution to the cause of worship reform in Scotland and to the nineteenth century revival of Churchmanship was made in a unique way as a preacher, and more especially as a famous essayist, whose initials A.K.H.B. and pen-name "The Country Parson", were familiar throughout the English-speaking world.

Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd was born at the Manse of Auchinleck in 1825 and his schooldays were spent at Ayr Academy. After a period of preliminary study at King's College, London for the English Bar, he decided to adopt his father's career. At Glasgow University (1844-1850) he found his prizeman-ship in the Moral Philosophy class dearly bought, for it involved attending 7.30 a.m. lectures on dark, raw winter mornings. "How utterably miserable the dark, dirty streets look", he recalled many years later, "as the unhappy student splashes through mud and smoke to the black archway that admits to those groves of Academe. And what a blear-eyed, unwashed, unshaven, blinking, ill-natured wretched set it is that fills the

benches of the lecture-room!"<sup>1</sup> Boyd refers, of course, to the old "Glasgow College", precursor of the present buildings on Gilmorehill, which was demolished to make way for a railway terminus.

Boyd boasted of being Lord Kelvin's "first" student - this distinction, however, being one of enrolment only, and not of scholarship. In October 1850 he became a licentiate of the Church of Scotland.

As assistant-minister of St. George's, Edinburgh for eight months (1850-1851), Boyd's preaching attracted very large congregations. The quality of these early sermons can be judged by their inclusion in one of his earliest books, The Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson. After a little over two years as minister of Newton-on-Ayr (1851-1854), Boyd was translated to the country parish of Kirkpatrick-Irongray, near Carlyle's birth-place. The quiet years there (1854-1859) gave him the opportunity to develop his literary abilities. The day in 1856 when his first article appeared in Frazer's magazine became a happy anniversary in his life. He soon discovered that editors were glad to receive contributions from the "Country Parson". His diary records for March 18, 1856: "Returned from Dunscore School

1. A.K.H.Boyd: Sermons and Stray Papers, pp.11/12.

Examination and found letter from old Parker, accepting my paper College Life at Glasgow - my second in Frazer. Great event".

Without doubt, Boyd had a facile pen. Carlyle is reputed to have referred to him as "the taypot: he just pours and pours".<sup>1</sup> And although there is some truth in a friend's remark that "Boyd's essays were sermons written in polka time",<sup>2</sup> yet there is sparkle and zest in many of his pages. He had the ability to vivify the commonplace, and make near-platitudes glow with significance. His style is vigorous and charmingly personal. He ranged over innumerable topics, from veal to vanity, from deans to dunces. So voluminous are his writings that the reader who cares to immerse himself in them cannot fail to find them valuable period-pieces, and especially a treasure-trove of Scottish Church life in the second half of the nineteenth century. Boyd was a chronicler of the contemporary situation, and he describes vividly the men and movements of his time with which he had to do, and especially the concerns of the two Established Churches on either side of the Tweed.

1. H.R.Chillingworth: "A.K.H.B." in Modern Churchman, March 1953, p.43.
2. H.R.Chillingworth: op.cit., p.41.

Not a little of Boyd's charm as an essayist for the modern reader is that he employs a pontifical, oracular style merely to record information that can best be described as "gossip".

"A hundred years hence", declared Story in 1899, "our great-grandchildren will mark in his pages the very age and body of the time we live in, and, unless their taste has degenerated, will relish the graphic portraiture, the chatty gossip, the playful satire, the benign philosophy of the country parson and the St. Andrews chronicler, and will compare him, or contrast him, not to his disadvantage, with Pepys and Boswell and Charles Lamb".<sup>1</sup>

The call extended to him in 1859 by the congregation of St. Bernard's Parish Church, Edinburgh, the church later served by George Matheson, the blind poet-preacher, opened up for him an ampler sphere of work. St. Bernard's was then a fashionable city congregation, numbering in its membership many of the most influential business and professional families of the capital. The Country-Parson-turned-City-Minister quickly responded to the stimulus of such new opportunities. Soon an eager congregation awaited his weekly appearances in

1. R.H.Story: "A.K.H.B." in Life and Work, May 1899, pp. 92/93.

the pulpit, and visitors to the capital began to be directed to Boyd's church with the assurance that there they would hear Scottish preaching at its highest level. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Edinburgh University in 1865.

It was during the Edinburgh years that the first of Boyd's many volumes came to be published. His earliest book, The Recreations of a Country Person, made so deep an impression on the reading public as to leave Boyd in no doubt that his literary ventures met with popular approval. As the volumes multiplied Boyd came to receive much appreciative correspondence. With some of these correspondents a lasting friendship arose, notably with such dignitaries of the Church of England as A. P. Stanley, Hugh Pearson, H. P. Liddon and R. W. Church, and in particular with Anthony Thorold, at that time a London vicar, and later to be Bishop of Rochester and subsequently of Winchester.

Boyd greatly valued his association with these Anglican divines. "A foible of his", says Story, "was his manifest delight in his friendship with Anglican clergy of all degrees, especially bishops and deans. They were always extremely friendly and kind to him; they enjoyed his society; they admired his writings;

they were pleased with his frank enjoyment of his sojourns among them, and his interest in all their sayings and doings. In the south he found the climate blander than in the north, and it suited his sympathetic temperament. In his own chillier country many of his brethren looked on him askance, suspected his proclivities and were, possibly, rather jealous of his conspicuous reputation and popularity. And when he wrote about his visits to Selsdon, or Farnham or Lichfield, his language was apt to become exuberant. There was one prelate for whom no epithet of affection was too good, and who was, for years, Boyd's chosen and closest friend -- Bishop Thorold of Rochester. His annual visits to Selsdon and Farnham were among the brightest incidents of his later life".<sup>1</sup>

So when in 1865 Boyd accepted the incumbency of the First Charge of St. Andrews he came to his new sphere and entered his great years enriched, not only with the experience gained in a large city congregation, but with the not inconsiderable profits of his literary work, and with a happy domestic life and a host of interesting friendships with prominent people in all walks of life. In 1889 St. Andrews University

conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D.

For nearly 35 years Boyd ministered in the "Town Church" of St. Andrews, a huge, exceptionally ugly and mutilated pre-reformation building, formerly pro-cathedral of the Protestant archbishops of the seventeenth century. Boyd liked to think of himself as legal successor to these bishops, and it was a matter of constant regret to him that the church they knew had been despoiled of its beauty and defaced out of all recognition. In his day it was a gloomy, uninspiring place, shadowed by deep galleries. Familiarity with the beauty of so many Anglican places of worship made Boyd dissatisfied with his own parish church, but although he caused plans to be drawn up for the renovation of the fabric, nothing was achieved during his ministry. It was left to his successor, the Rev. Patrick MacDonal'd Playfair, D.D., to carry through a restoration that has made the church, rededicated on St. Andrew's Day, 1909, one of the finest of its kind in Scotland.

Boyd's contribution to the revival of Churchmanship in Scotland was made chiefly with his pen, for he was "probably the most popular British essayist of his time".<sup>1</sup> While it cannot be claimed that he was, like

1. H.R.Chillingworth: op.cit., p.42.

Sprott, an exact liturgical scholar, or a theologian and Church historian of the stature of Professor James Cooper, or an ecclesiastical statesman like his friend Principal Herbert Story, yet he was, in the public mind, the bestknown of all the early High Church party. In page after page of his essays and published sermons he emphasises the need for Church reform, laments the slovenliness and carelessness which characterised public worship in the majority of Scottish churches, often supporting his attacks with a pithy story culled from his own experience, or quoting, for example, such words as those of Kingsley after a service in St. Bernard's, Edinburgh: "You can't expect me to like the service".<sup>1</sup>

Such literary popularity accorded to Boyd made him a useful member of the liturgical movement, for his works found their way into manse and vicarages throughout the land, and into the homes of thoughtful Church-people. "More than any other ecclesiastic of his time Boyd was instrumental in making our National Church known beyond our own borders, in England, and still more, perhaps, in America".<sup>2</sup> In his easily-read and often entertaining essays could be found the views and

1. A.K.H. Boyd: Twenty Five Years of St. Andrews, Vol. I, p. 82.

2. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1898-99, p. 16.

aims of the "innovators". "People", says Boyd, "endured the ways of the Kirk because they never knew anything better". He conceived it as his duty to point out a better way - "the older and better way in which we are trying to walk".<sup>1</sup>

Boyd was from the first a prominent member of both the Church Service Society and the Scottish Church Society, and was one of the committee appointed by the former Society to prepare the sixth edition of Euchologion. In 1867 he was appointed convener of the committee of the General Assembly which produced The Scottish Hymnal. It was largely through his influence that the enlarged edition of the Scottish Hymnal was arranged to meet the various outstanding days of the Christian Year by the insertion of hymns suitable for Advent, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Whitsunday and Ascension Day.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the innovations Boyd and the early pioneers of Church reform desired are described in a paragraph in the first of his "St. Andrews" volumes, where he writes of the services he was accustomed to conduct in St. Mary's Church, St. Andrews. This

1. A.K.H.Boyd: St. Andrews and Elsewhere, p.78.

2. vide D.R.Henderson: Anecdotes and Recollections of A.K.H.B., p.13.

description is of great value as an indication of the type of service laid down in Euchologion, to which Boyd adhered. "Our second church, St. Mary's, was re-opened for worship on Sunday, October 9th. It had been a dismally ugly and shabby place, but it was made remarkably pretty and church-like. Sir George Reid, the new President of the Scottish Royal Academy, said a word about it which is pleasantly remembered. Step by step the worship has been improved, till now it is precisely that of the latest edition of Euchologion. The prayers are read: the Amens are responded; and the Lord's Prayer and the Creed joined in. The pulpit is used only for the sermon. The Psalms for the day are chanted, the Te Deum and Benedictus are sung in the morning, and the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in the evening. The congregation stand up in assent to the Ascription which closes the sermon. The lessons are read from a lectern. The Communion Table is as beautifully vested as any you will readily see south of the Tweed. Add to these externals, that I know no church in the land where the congregation is more devout, nor where the worship is more uplifting. I cannot say what a help and comfort St. Mary's has been to me".<sup>1</sup>

1. A.K.H.Boyd: Twenty Five Years of St. Andrews,  
Vol.I, pp.172/3.

Even now, more than half a century later, such a service in a Scottish parish church would be considered extremely "advanced".

The defect of Boyd's Churchmanship was his slavish imitation of Anglicanism, and his tendency to measure Scottish Church life and ways by Anglican standards. Repeatedly in his pages we come upon laudatory references to Anglican modes of worship, and it is noticeable that Boyd speaks oftener of his friends in Anglican orders than of his Scottish associates - more of Thorold of Winchester or Dean Stanley than of Tulloch or Story, his closest friends in the Church of Scotland. He states that he prefers the English surplice to the Scottish preaching gown. It is significant that one of his sons was ordained into the Church of England, that his daughter was confirmed and married in an Anglican church by Bishop Thorold, and that at a private ceremony at his wife's funeral the English burial service was read and Holy Communion dispensed by his son in the English rite. Moreover, he repeatedly maintained that were the Scottish Church disestablished (then an imminent possibility), he would seek a sphere for himself in the Church of England. "When in England I

belong to the Church of England and that right heartily".<sup>1</sup>

Boyd was in temperament and outlook, an Anglican in Presbyterian orders.

#### IV.

#### George Washington Sprott (1829-1909).

"As a liturgist of the Church, Dr. Sprott held a foremost and indeed an unequalled position. He spent his early manhood in a generation when even the elements of liturgical knowledge were unknown, and when the services of the Church were too frequently conducted in a way that showed small appreciation of seemliness and order".<sup>2</sup>

These words from an obituary notice at Sprott's death indicate his place in the Church life of his day. To him, more than to any other man, the revival of Church principles is due. His knowledge of the history of the Reformation period in Scotland, combined with his liturgical scholarship, made him a doughty champion of the validity of Presbyterian orders and apostolic succession in the Scottish Church. In a famous English ecclesiastical trial, that of the Bishop of Lincoln in

1. A.K.H.Boyd: op.cit., p.362.

2. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1908-09, p.35.

1889, Sprott's writings were freely quoted as authoritative on such subjects.<sup>1</sup>

He was the son of a pioneer, and himself a pioneer in a widely different sphere. His father, the Rev. John Sprott, was descended from Galloway stock, and after education at Glasgow University, emigrated to Nova Scotia where, for the remainder of his life, he ministered amongst the early settlers.

George W. Sprott was born in Nova Scotia in 1829, the eldest of five children to his father's third wife. After schooldays in the colony he matriculated, like his father, at Glasgow University, and became prominent in student activities. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1849. "During the happy years I spent at that college I had many fellow-students who afterwards reached distinction in their various paths of life".<sup>2</sup> Among the names he mentions it is interesting to note those of John Macleod, A. K. H. Boyd, Thomas Leishman and J. Cameron Lees, all of whom were closely associated with him in his work as Churchman, historian and liturgist.

1. The Scotsman, October 28th, 1909. For a general account of this trial see Lord Elton: Edward King and Our Times, p.91 ff.
2. G.W.Sprott: The Doctrine of Schism in the Church of Scotland, p.62.

After completing his theological course, Sprcott sought ordination from the Presbytery of Dunoon and returned to Nova Scotia in 1852 as assistant to the minister of St. Andrews Church, Halifax (1853-5). But a short time later found him back in Scotland as assistant minister at Greenock and Dumfries before he left for Ceylon in 1857 to become chaplain to the Scottish congregation at Kandy.

His seven years of overseas service (1857-64) proved a formative period in Sprcott's life. He found himself amongst a non-Christian native population, and with characteristic assiduity, began to study the complicated philosophy of Buddhism. The presence of the Dutch Reformed Church on the island prompted him to a closer study of the Churches of the Reformation, and resulted in a pamphlet on the history and work of the Dutch Church in Ceylon.

While abroad Sprcott began to watch with keen interest the beginnings of reform in Presbyterian worship initiated by Dr. Robert Lee, and thoroughly supported this attempt at improvement. "As soon as I went abroad", he writes, "I realised the very defective state of the Church in regard to worship. I began to do what I could to help it, and I have been employed in that

work ever since".<sup>1</sup>

He felt it necessary, however, to issue a warning, for he felt that the innovators were, in some cases, adopting a wrong course by overmuch imitation of the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. "A man should know what he is about before he interferes with what has been consecrated by time and ancestral associations. Even Archbishop Laud committed mistakes through ignorance of ecclesiastical antiquity, following a corrupt medievalism when he imagined he was restoring early Catholic usages; and a number of our Scottish innovators are in danger of making, on a smaller scale, the same mistake. The Church of England looms so large from its being so near, and particularly, alas! since we have no longer a great united National Church of our own, that Scotsmen are in danger of referring too much to it and too little to the primitive Church, and to the almost perfect restoration of early Christianity by our own and kindred reformers in the sixteenth century. When we at first become sensible of defects in our own services, we are very apt to think the Church of England a model to imitate; but a further acquaintance with Christian antiquity and with our own historical tradition

1. J. Kerr: The Renaissance of Worship, p. 47.

has led me, at least, to think far otherwise. What we should look to as our model is the Reformed Church of which our own forms a part".<sup>1</sup>

This was a constant theme with Dr. Sprott, for he felt that the Scottish Church must retain its own distinctive Reformed heritage, and that a mere imitation of Episcopal usages would be disastrous. "The past history of our country, the memories of our youth, the tombs of our fathers, cry out against it. There is a 'Scottish prejudice in our veins' in favour of what was vindicated by our ancestors at so great a price".<sup>2</sup>

It was a pamphlet written by Sprott while at Kandy, entitled The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland (published Edinburgh, 1863), containing a plea for a return of greater seemliness and order in the services of the Church which, as will be seen in a later chapter, led to the formation of the Church Service Society. Although separated by many thousands of miles from the little group in Glasgow which formed the Society, George Washington Sprott was its true progenitor.

In 1866 Sprott was presented to the rural parish of Garioch in Aberdeenshire, and in that quiet sphere found time and opportunity for those liturgical and ecclesias-

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, pp.1/2.

2. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.49.

tical studies which had become his abiding interest. As one of the editors of Euchologion he was able to put his scholarship at the disposal of the Church Service Society, and was responsible for much of the material in that book, notably the Holy Communion Service, which was entirely his own compilation, "ultimately based", he declares, "upon the Eastern Liturgies, like the American (German) Reformed and the Catholic Apostolic services, from which it is largely borrowed. It embodies some of the richest materials of Christian devotion".<sup>1</sup>

The year 1868 saw the publication of his first volume, a critical edition of The Book of Common Order, commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy, and in 1871 appeared his Scottish Liturgies of the reign of James VI.

In 1873 he found himself elected Moderator of the Synod of Aberdeen, and preached at the opening service a notable sermon on A Valid Ordination essential to the Christian Ministry, and the exclusive right of Presbyters to ordain. This sermon elicited a request from Professor William Milligan and others who heard it that it should be published, in the hope that it might be "productive of much good". A second edition was

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.113.

produced over twenty years later in response to numerous enquiries.

The celebration of Holy Communion in St. Giles' Cathedral during the sittings of the General Assembly was due to Sprott's initiative while a member of Aberdeen Presbytery.

On three occasions Sprott was an unsuccessful candidate for Chairs of Church History at Scottish Universities, one of them being that subsequently occupied by Professor James Cooper, a close friend and associate. A year after his candidature for the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History at Edinburgh, he was, in 1873, presented to the parish of North Berwick, where the remainder of his active ministry was spent and where the present parish church of St. Andrew was erected during his incumbency.

In 1879 he was appointed visiting lecturer in Pastoral Theology at the four Scottish Universities. His best-known book, The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, is a permanent record of these lectures. It became widely used in theological colleges as a text-book, and was regarded by the Church Service Society as a notable exposition of its principles. The sections dealing with the conduct of

divine service, the offering of public prayer and the administration of the Sacraments are especially valuable, as they contain historical notes on the procedure of the Church at and after the Reformation, along with counsel to divinity students and clergy of a highly practical nature. In recognition of the merit of this book, Sprott was awarded a doctorate in divinity by Glasgow University in 1880.

The greatest interest of Sprott's later years was his membership of the Scottish Church Society, of which he was one of the founders in 1892 and, on more than one occasion, president. This Society gave him a platform for the propagation of those views of Scottish Churchmanship which were associated with his name - an obituary reference in the Society's records speaks of "those matchless expositions of Catholic truth with which he was wont to regale us out of a seemingly exhaustive treasury".<sup>1</sup> Within the ranks of this Society and the Church Service Society he found kindred spirits who shared his doctrinal and liturgical opinions. He was also a member from its inauguration in 1886 of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society.

Retiring from his charge in 1902 there came from

1. S.C.S: Annual Report 1909-10, p.15.

his pen during the remaining seven years of his life some notable works, chiefly his seventh edition of Euchologion (1905), in which he included a historical introduction and list of sources used in the compilation of the book. He edited The Liturgy of Compromise used in the English congregation at Frankfurt 1557, produced a new edition of John Knox's Liturgy, and gave the John Macleod Memorial Lecture on The Doctrine of Schism in the Church of Scotland.

It is a matter for regret that material of a biographical nature regarding Dr. Sprott is scanty. Professor James Cooper got Sprott's papers after his death with the intention of compiling a memoir, but this, if begun at all, was never finished. In the Dictionary of National Biography, however, Cooper gives, in a sentence, a sketch of his friend - "stern of aspect, but full of warmth and deep religious conviction, and having much wit and humour".

"Dr. Sprott", said Dr. John Macleod at a meeting of the Scottish Church Society, "is a man of faith and fortitude, who alike through good report and evil report has long witnessed for many of the truths embodied in the programme of our Society; who witnessed for them in days that were darker than these and when friends were

fewer, and who has now the great satisfaction of seeing on every side the rich harvest ripening, the seeds of which he helped in his early years to sow".<sup>1</sup>

At his ministerial jubilee in 1902 Dr. Sprott's friends sought to do him honour, and in his reply he said: "Day by day I am thankful to see the fruit of our labours and the labours of the few who, fifty years ago, were likeminded with us: especially when I remember the opposition to the Church Service Society and how it was coldly looked upon. When I think of those days, and when I see old-fashioned Moderators at the General Assembly Communion year after year using, almost word for word, my first contribution to Euchologion, you may be sure I am very thankful to the Almighty".<sup>2</sup>

1. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1896-97, pp.12/13.

2. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1901-02, p.21.

CHAPTER FIVEThe Leaders of the High-ChurchGroup (continued)

## I.

Thomas Leishman (1825-1904).

It is impossible to assess the contribution of Thomas Leishman to the Churchmanship of the later nineteenth century Church of Scotland without recalling his ecclesiastical inheritance. Son of Matthew Leishman of Govan, the acknowledged leader of the "Middle Party" in the pre-Disruption Church, Thomas Leishman's boyhood was spent in the shadow of the Secession conflict. The strife and bitterness of the 1840's left an indelible mark upon his mind and gave a distinctive approach to his doctrine of the Church. Even as a boy he was a reluctant participant in the controversy for, "acting as amanuensis for his father who wrote a rather crabbed and indecipherable hand, Thomas had daily to transcribe letters and articles for the Press, as well as voluminous correspondence with the Prime Minister and other leading men touching the Church question.

Like his father, Thomas Leishman deplored the effect of the Disruption - "the unedifying spectacle of two parties, professing the same religion, busily occupied, if not excommunicating, at least biting and devouring one another like the rival pontiffs at Rome and Avignon in medieval times".<sup>1</sup> On this point both father and son were completely in accord, both being convinced of the "sin of setting up altar against altar". "On that score", said Leishman, "my father was the first person to make me a Churchman".<sup>2</sup>

In later life Thomas Leishman was regarded as being a model parish minister, a fact all the more surprising since, after education at Glasgow High School and University, his desire was to become a soldier or, failing that, to join an uncle in his coach-building firm in Calcutta. Strong paternal opposition to those projects induced him to enter the Church "but only", as he candidly confesses, "for want of a profession I should very much have preferred".<sup>3</sup> As it happened, the results of this paternal pressure did not turn Thomas Leishman, as might well have transpired, into a clerical misfit. In later life he found no cause to regret his acquiescence in his father's high-handed attitude.

1. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.134.

2. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.117.

3. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.113.

After licence in 1847 and an assistantship for five years with "the Scottish Chrysostom", Dr. James McCulloch of the West Kirk, Greenock, Leishman was ordained and inducted in 1852 to the Perthshire living of Collace. But it is with Linton-in-Teviotdale, to which he was presented three years later, that his name is chiefly associated, for in that rural Border parish he ministered for the remainder of his life. "Of Dr. Leishman", wrote A. K. H. Boyd many years later, "who is minister of a quiet pastoral parish in Roxburghshire, it is enough to say that when one seeks to picture the ideal country parson, learned, devout, peace-loving, close to the first meridian of a clergyman and a gentleman, many of us think of him".<sup>1</sup>

Following in his father's footsteps, Leishman was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1898.

He maintained that "country livings were the prizes of the Church, homes for prayer and study and quiet musing".<sup>2</sup> During the long years at Linton, especially after the early death of his wife, there flower from his pen scholarly contributions to the cause of Catholic Churchmanship in Scotland. He became known as a

1. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Liturgies of the Scottish Kirk" in St. Andrews and Elsewhere, p.218.
2. J.F.Leishman: op.cit., p.159.

liturgist and ecclesiologist, and, with his friend George W. Sprott, was a founder-member of the Scottish Church Society, to which he devoted much time and interest.

Leishman deplored not only the evil effects of secession on the Church life of Scotland, but also the growth of a materialistic attitude to life which had led many to doubt the validity of the Christian Faith. "All over Christendom", he declared, "there were great and increasing numbers who believed that science had made it impossible to believe in a living God, in moral responsibility, in right and wrong, in prayer and in Providence and in a life to come".<sup>1</sup> As Sprott remarked at Leishman's funeral service in Linton Church: "During his ministry he had seen a great wave of unbelief sweep over the land, rising higher and higher till well-known ministers began to explain away the cardinal doctrines of the Faith, such as the supernatural birth and bodily resurrection of Our Lord, doctrines to which the Church has ever owed all its vitality, power, and progress in this world. Dr. Leishman's attitude to those questions was that of one who held fast to the ancient creeds of the universal Church".<sup>2</sup>

1. J.F. Leishman: *op.cit.*, p.137.

2. G.W. Sprott: The Character and Work of the late Very Rev. Thomas Leishman, D.D., p.12.

Hence to Leishman and Sprott the contemporary situation in the Church was seen to resolve itself into a need for instruction of both laity and clergy in sound doctrine, in the fundamental beliefs of Christianity and the Faith of the Holy Catholic Church. It was this conviction that prompted them to form the Scottish Church Society in 1892.

Many of Leishman's publications were written in support of this Society's aims, notably his various papers contributed at its Conferences. In Story's The Church of Scotland Past and Present, Volume 5, the chapter entitled "The Ritual of the Church of Scotland" is the work of Dr. Leishman.

During the sessions 1895-97 he was Pastoral Theology lecturer at the four Scottish universities.

At first Leishman was reluctant to associate himself with the older Church Service Society, believing that the Church's primary duty was the formulation of a proper doctrinal basis before the ritual aspect of the services could be improved. "In Leishman's eyes all through life the Catholic faith was the principal thing, while ritual, however useful as a handmaid was, unless allied with sound doctrine, a comparatively secondary matter, a polishing of the outside of the cup

and platter".<sup>1</sup> He did not, therefore, feel obliged to give full support to Dr. Robert Lee of Greyfriars in his struggle for reform, for he considered "Lee's ritual conceptions rested more on an aesthetic rather than a credal basis".<sup>2</sup> In Leishman's mind the liturgical revival was secondary always to the doctrinal. He was later persuaded, however, to give the Church Service Society his influential membership.

To Leishman the Society gave the task of interpreting in a Catholic sense the Westminster Directory, while to Sprott fell the duty of editing John Knox's Liturgy. This work appeared in 1868 as The Book of Common Order and Westminster Directory - a Joint Compilation, edited with historical introduction and illustrative notes by George W. Sprott, D.D., and Thomas Leishman of Linton.

In Linton Church (where, on his retreat his son, James Fleming Leishman became his colleague and successor), Leishman's services were of the simplest. "He used to warn younger men not to be rash or hasty in making changes in ritual".<sup>3</sup> His son confesses that his father "did not perhaps excel in the pulpit, being, to

1. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.135.
2. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.135.
3. J.F. Leishman: op.cit., p.177.

quote one of Sprott's bon mots 'far too rational a man ever to become a popular preacher'".<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Leishman's Churchmanship was moulded by the contemporary situation in which he lived, and made him construct for himself a doctrinal and liturgical answer to the problems which faced the Church - schism followed by unbelief and heresy. His early training in Govan Manse set his sails in the direction in which he was ever afterwards to move. From his father he derived a noble ideal of the ministerial office and of the history, work, and Divine nature of the Church. From his mother, who had been reared as an Anglican, may have sprung his interest in liturgical matters. "From her prayer-book the child probably imbibed some of his earliest religious impressions and that love of liturgical study which never forsook him".<sup>2</sup> Thus was his maturity shaped by his beginning.

Leishman was a fine type of Scottish Churchman - he was fond of describing himself as a "Reformed Catholic" - whose friend Sprott could rightly claim for him that "though he had spent most of his life in a secluded parish, he was highly esteemed throughout the length and breadth of the land, and the influence of his

1. J.F.Leishman: op.cit., p.177.

2. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.6.

teaching was felt as a power for good by very many of the clergy of our Church".<sup>1</sup> In a tribute Professor James Cooper recalled "his soundness in the faith, his rare pastoral fidelity, his exquisite courtesy and, above all, his holy and humble life".<sup>2</sup>

## II.

### John Macleod (1840-1898).

"John Macleod", said Dr. Andrew Wallace Williamson, a life-long friend and disciple, "inherited the tradition of a great name. He grew up in an element of strong and simple piety, and in the scenery of mountain and sea which enswathed his home at Morvern there were subtle and ineffable influences on which a nature such as his would unconsciously feed".<sup>3</sup>

He had a long ancestry from ministers of the Church of Scotland. "Fifty years ago", wrote Wotherspoon in 1920, "the Church of Scotland was rich in families whose sons had been from generation to generation in her service . . . of one of these families John Macleod came. His father and grandfather, cadets of the ancient Norman-Celtic line of Macleods of Bernera, had in

1. G.W.Sprott: *op.cit.*, p.3.

2. S.C.S: Annual Report 1897-98, p.15.

3. A.W.Williamson: John Macleod, His Work and Teaching, p.8.

succession held for over a century the incumbency of Morvern. His father, Dr. John, Moderator in 1851, was from his gigantic stature and for other reasons known as the 'High Priest of Morvern'. The family type is strong, physically and intellectually. It is perhaps a Norse rather than a Celtic type. John Macleod himself might have stood to any artist as the ideal of a Viking chief: but in the fibre of his mind he was essentially a Highlander, with all the mysticism, gravity, spiritual seriousness, poetry, dignity, and love of sport which characterize at their best that very noble race".<sup>1</sup>

At the age of 13 John Macleod matriculated at Glasgow University, "a lighthaired and lighthearted student". G. W. Sprott speaks of his first acquaintance with him there. "He entered Glasgow College a little before I left it, and I remember looking with interest and with historic eyes upon the boy from Fulnary. For natural gifts and charm of disposition he had few equals. In his generation he was one of God's best and greatest gifts to the Church of Scotland".<sup>2</sup>

After his licence (1861) and a year's ministry at

1. H. J. Wotherspoon: "John Macleod of Govan" in The Constructive Quarterly, 1920, p.666.
2. G. W. Sprott: The Doctrine of Schism in the Church of Scotland, p.62.

Newtown-on-Ayr in the pulpit occupied by John Caird and A. K. H. Boyd in their first pastorates, Macleod was called in 1862 to the parish of Duns. "At Macleod's coming to Duns a new star arose in the ecclesiastical firmament of Teviotdale".<sup>1</sup>

When Macleod began his ministry, the Established Church was beginning to recuperate, in numbers and influence, from the effects of the Disruption. Dr. Robert Lee's reforms in worship at Old Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh were forcing themselves upon public attention, and in the realm of doctrine the hard Calvinism so long characteristic of Presbyterianism was being softened and re-orientated. To these developments Macleod was not insensitive. But the most potent influence during his time at Duns - "an influence which undoubtedly shaped and coloured his whole theology" - was the teaching of Edward Irving. "To him, as to the living and abiding spiritual influence which have sometimes been associated with his name, Macleod was always willing to recognise his debt".<sup>2</sup>

J. F. Leishman, whose father had been associated with Macleod as a member of the same Synod, records that the young minister of Duns was introduced to "Irvingite"

1. J. F. Leishman: Linton Leaves, p.164.

2. A. W. Williamson: op.cit., p.12.

views through the influence of certain friends in the district, notably the sheriff of the county and the sisters of Lord Love, all of whom were "Irvingites". "In the faith which that teaching awakened in his soul he never afterwards wavered. The key to everything distinctive in his religious and ecclesiastical attitude lies in that unrecorded passage of his spiritual development".<sup>1</sup> "There can be no doubt that from this time onward John Macleod's ministry exhibited an ever-growing sense of the reality of the great evangelical verities, a deeper and grander conception of the Church, a fervent belief in the power and efficacy of the Sacraments, and in that doctrine of the Second Coming of our Lord which is the mark of a living faith in the Church and the individual soul".<sup>2</sup>

It was during this period, too, that Macleod formulated those conceptions of public worship which came to full fruition in his Govan ministry. Although unable to put it into practice at Duns he declared that "the Eucharist should be the Lord's appointed ordinance for the Lord's House on the Lord's Day". It was at Duns that he began the observance of the cardinal commemora-

1. J.M.Kirkpatrick: The Ministry of John Macleod in the Parish of Govan, p.10.

2. A.W.Williamson: op.cit., p.12.

tions of the Christian Year, and "it was his pride to recall that he had been the first in Scotland to restore this beautiful and venerable custom".<sup>1</sup>

His ministry in the Borders was marred by a presbyterial enquiry in 1875-76 into a phrase used by the young minister in a pastoral letter in which he commended the use of "absolution".<sup>2</sup> Objection was also raised to his observance of the Christian Year. After a period of acrimonious debate the verdict of both Presbytery and Synod was upheld by the General Assembly of 1876, and Macleod was enjoined to a greater caution of language, forbidden to use the English Church or Roman Catholic "days", unauthorised hymns, and bidden restore the address known as "fencing the tables" at Communion seasons. During the vacancy in Duns Parish Church occasioned by Macleod's translation to Govan, a petition from members of the congregation to the Presbytery noted that certain changes had, during his incumbency, taken place in the mode and conduct of

1. A.W. Williamson: op.cit., p.16.

2. In this Pastoral Letter Macleod wrote: "I desire to have the privilege of approach to every sick-bed; and I cannot be held responsible if the sick perish without receiving any ghostly counsel, blessing, warning, opportunity of confession, and, if there be special need for it, absolution at the hands of an ordained minister, if you will not take the trouble of distinctly and directly informing me of your wishes".

public worship. The petitioners expressed their dissatisfaction with:

(1) The symbol and letters on the cloth covering the table in front of the pulpit, and the symbol on the cover of the baptismal font in the session-house, which they deemed unnecessary and needlessly offensive to Presbyterian feelings.

(2) The observance by having public worship on these days of the English Church - the Feast of Christmas Day, Good Friday, Ascension Day, and Pentecost - for which our Church standards give no sanction.

(3) The monthly Communion and printed Communion service, for which they would recommend a return to quarterly Communion, with the old form of fencing the tables, and also the observance of half-yearly fast-days.

(4) The use of the so-called Appendix to the Hymnal, which they complained of as being introduced without authority, and as containing certain hymns which seemed to them to want due reverence and to be repugnant to true devotional feeling.

(5) The posture of kneeling at the benediction, for which they desired a return to the standing posture as equally reverential and more consonant to Presbyterian

belief that the blessing is pronounced by a Christian minister and not by a priest.<sup>1</sup>

A. K. H. Boyd refers to his early promise as a preacher. "He spoke (at a service in St. Andrews) absolutely without notes, though the sermon was most elaborate and took 55 minutes. The teaching was a singular mixture of very High Churchism, very Broad Churchism, and very Low Churchism. But as the years have passed over, the first of these elements has prevailed".<sup>2</sup>

Macleod was presented to Govan parish in 1875. Formerly a rural charge, the expansion of the ship-building industry had resulted in Govan becoming the most densely populated area in Scotland. The need for Church extension in the district was clamant. "From the time of his induction", says Wotherspoon, "he was continually engaged in Church extension - opening new missions, buying sites, building new churches, seeing these provided with a minister, and nursing them towards endowment and disjunction as fully-equipped parishes. What all this meant of thought, worry and toil let him judge who has attempted it in

1. Minutes of the Presbytery of Dunse, 9th February 1875; reprinted in Assembly Papers, 1876.
2. A.K.H.Boyd: Twenty Five Years of St. Andrews, Vol.I, pp.231/2.

one instance".<sup>1</sup>

But Macleod was not content to divide the parish into new territorial areas. He wished to strengthen the place of the mother-church and "to build up a really powerful citadel of Church life associated with the parish church itself".<sup>2</sup> He desired to establish there a church "with evangelical and frequent preaching, uplifting worship, and many-sided parochial activities, associated with a creed Catholic and therefore simple, with a weekly Eucharist and daily prayer".<sup>3</sup>

Before this ideal could be realised, it was necessary to replace the existing church, the church of a country parish, the dimensions of which were inadequate to the altered circumstances of Govan. The heart-breaking work of raising money to augment the contributions of the heritors was rewarded in 1888 when a great new parish church, the creation of Sir Robert Rowand Anderson, and dedicated to St. Constantine, was opened. It was designed on lines similar to those of Pluscarden Priory. "It may certainly be said that the mind and purpose of Dr. Macleod declare themselves in the fabric of Govan Parish Church. Its spacious nave, the lofty pitch of

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.629.

2. J.M. Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.11.

3. J.M. Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.80.

its roof, its large clerestory windows, its narrow aisles, its noble chancel, its separate baptistery, its daily service chapel, its devotionally calculated proportions make it the finest church in Scotland to be built since the Reformation".<sup>1</sup>

This great church soon became a vital spiritual centre in Govan. He strove to enrich the worship of the congregation by making the services more responsory, with recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and responsive Amens to the prayers and the blessing. The main features of the Christian Year were faithfully observed, with pamphlets of instruction issued to every home, explaining the religious significance of the various commemorations. Wotherspoon speaks of Macleod's "elaborate observance of Holy Week, which is his practice became, what it should be everywhere, an annual mission, evangelistic as well as devotional. He regarded Holy Week as a main instrument of the Gospel, almost sacramental in its value for souls".<sup>2</sup>

To these innovations there was some opposition at the beginning. Two "very feeble petitions" were submitted to Glasgow Presbytery in 1883 and 1885. The changes complained of were frequency of Communion; the

1. J.M.Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.80.

2. J.M.Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.81/82.

use of unauthorised hymns and observance of the Christian Year, prayers for the departed, and Macleod's supposed relations with the Catholic Apostolic Church. Both petitions were dismissed by Presbytery and Synod, and in the General Assembly of 1885 the Principal Clerk "expressed the mind of the whole Court when he remarked that a fama clamosa regarding Dr. Macleod's ministry in Govan undoubtedly existed, but it was a fama which loudly proclaimed his praise".<sup>1.</sup>

In the sphere of worship it was with the restoration of Holy Communion to its rightful place that Macleod was chiefly concerned. He considered the recognition of the Eucharist as the central and distinctive act of Christian devotion to be the reform most urgently required in public worship. "In these days of changes and improvements in worship", he declared, "it is well to remember that all improvements are more or less spurious unless the service of the Holy Table is set in order".<sup>2</sup> In his opinion this restoration brooked no delay, and he led his people forward with rapid steps. In the first year of his ministry half-yearly celebrations gave place to Communion four times a year; four

1. J.M.Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.39.

2. J.Macleod: Holy Communion and Frequency of Celebration, p.21.

times a year to six times a year in 1879; monthly in 1880 as well as on the Sundays of the great festivals. "Finality, in Dr. Macleod's view, could only be reached when circumstances in general and, in particular, congregational preparedness, admitted of the Lord's Supper resuming its prescriptive place as the principal service of each Lord's Day".<sup>1</sup> "One may believe", says Wotherspoon, "that with time he might have realised his ideal of the weekly eucharist, but death interrupted".<sup>2</sup> His whole work seemed to be dominated by a desire to honour the Sacrament, not merely by giving it a more worthy place in the worship of the Church, but by sparing no pains on his own part to bring to it communicants who should honour it by the sincerity of their faith".<sup>3</sup>

Macleod was a devoted member of both the Church Service Society and the Scottish Church Society, and to a Conference of the latter contributed a notable series of papers on the doctrine of Baptism. In his parish he laboured to put into practice the aims of these societies by teaching the Catholic Faith in its fulness and splendour, and by gathering around him a congregation of

1. J.M.Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.31.
2. H.J.Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.681.
3. A.W.Williamson: op.cit., p.18.

devout worshippers who loved and understood the riches of the Church's sacramental worship. The measure of success granted to Macleod's labours are reflected in the words of one of his assistants: "The services were thronged: the roll of communicants increased to dimensions larger than ever before. Govan Parish Church combined a standard of Church life certainly unsurpassed in Scotland with the faculty for laying hold upon the affections of the people and retaining them in its tenacious grasp".<sup>1</sup>

Macleod made his most notable contribution to the Churchmanship of his day and to the cause of the High Church party by using his great parish church as a vital centre of Catholic teaching, a citadel of ordered worship. He exhibited the ideals of the High Churchmen "in action", and demonstrated that Presbyterian worship could be made, without any sacrifice of principle, Catholic worship. As Dr. Wallace Williamson declared: "Whatever may be the future of the Church in Scotland, it is certain that her true strength can only lie in following out the broad principles which were the guides of his thought and activity".<sup>2</sup>

1. J.M.Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.134.

2. A.W.Williamson: op.cit., p.42.

## III.

James Cooper (1846-1922).

Born at Elgin in 1846, educated at Aberdeen University in both Arts and Divinity, minister at Broughty Ferry and Aberdeen, and in 1898 appointed to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, James Cooper was a compelling influence not only in his own Church, but esteemed far beyond the bounds of Scotland. Indicative of his wide reputation is the honour bestowed on him of being the first Presbyterian minister to receive the Oxford degree of Doctor of Divinity, and the fact that Dublin University, in recognition of his long labours for the reunion of the Church, conferred on him the degree of D. Litt. He was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1917, and died at Elgin in 1922. He was not usually regarded as an especially stimulating preacher or teacher, and he was much too diffuse to be a great writer, yet he left an indelible mark on the Churches in Scotland, and contributed richly to the revival of Churchmanship in a unique way.

Several early influences helped to mould Cooper's Churchmanship. There was a Jacobite strain in him,

and, on one side of his family, an attachment to Episcopacy which begat in him a lifelong affection for the Episcopal Church. During holidays with relatives of that persuasion he often attended the services of the Episcopal Church and thus became acquainted with the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer. To this may be traced, in part, his love of liturgical worship.

The venerable ecclesiastical traditions of Morayshire, and especially those of Elgin Cathedral and Pluscarden Priory also influenced the young boy and fostered in him a fondness for ecclesiastical antiquities and a desire to understand more fully the long history of the Christian Church in Scotland. The love of these ancient sanctuaries gave him, too, an ambition, firmly held even while an undergraduate, "to be a reconciler of the severed constituents of the historical Scottish Church".<sup>1</sup>

Two prominent Churchmen left a strong impression on the student. The first was Dr. James Bisset of Bourtie, whose closing address to the General Assembly while Moderator in 1862 was referred to by Cooper as "having marked out for him the lines which he should

1. H. J. Wotherspoon: James Cooper: a Memoir, p.67.

resolve to follow".<sup>1</sup> In that address Bisset pointed out the urgent necessity of reform in Presbyterian worship, and took a courageous stand in defending the innovations in worship introduced by Dr. Robert Lee into Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. But Bisset went further in stressing the need for even more reforms, pointing out the alarming rate of secession from the Established Church of those whose complaint was "that our services are bald and cold, that they are unfitted to wake and sustain the feelings and emotions that become worshippers: that we come together as an audience to hear a lecturer or teacher, rather than to pour forth our confessions, and desires, and prayers".<sup>2</sup> He deplored the reluctance of Scottish congregations to enlist the aid of instrumental music. "While we employ the divine songs of the Sweet Singer of Israel in our service, we rob them of their fair proportions, and mutilate the praises which his ardent and heaven-directed spirit believed most acceptable to God, inasmuch as he is ever invoking the aid of harp or psaltery or stringed instrument,

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.57.

2. J.Bisset: Address of the Reverend Dr. Bisset, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, p.12.

whereas we repudiate the rich addition of instrumental music, however solemn the instrument may be".<sup>1</sup> Bisset also sought a change in the posture of Presbyterian worshippers, declaring that standing to pray and sitting to sing is "a manifest contradiction of what is seemly and proper".<sup>2</sup> He advocated, too, the use of a partial liturgy. "A large proportion of our people, in the most intellectual and refined congregations sigh for at least a partial resumption of what was in use for a hundred years after the Reformed faith was introduced".<sup>3</sup> This courageous moderatorial address found in Cooper a sympathetic hearer and kindled in his mind a conviction of the necessity for a reformed mode of worship if the Church in Scotland was to meet the needs of contemporary worshippers.

The other powerful personality to impress itself on young James Cooper was that of Dr. William Milligan (1821-1893), occupant of the Chair of Biblical Criticism at Aberdeen, and for many years Principal Clerk to the General Assembly. A man of notable New Testament scholarship, and author of two valuable volumes on the Ascension and Resurrection of our Lord, Milligan was one

1. J. Bisset: op.cit., p.12.

2. *ibid.*, p.12.

3. *ibid.*, p.13.

of the inter-Church committee which in 1870 was formed to revise the English New Testament. At first a Broad Churchman, "Milligan did not have at any period of his career the slightest sympathy with the disregard for doctrine which marked the members of that school. Ultimately he ranged himself with the High Churchmen, being, he declared, impelled to join them by increased study of the New Testament".<sup>1</sup> He was one of the prime movers of the Scottish Church Society and its first president. "Cooper", says his biographer, "could never say enough of his debt to Milligan." From Milligan he learnt that no amount of reform in the aesthetics of worship can be productive of good without a sound doctrinal emphasis on the cardinal doctrines of the Church's Faith.

Early in life Cooper became a keen student of the Tractarian Movement in the Church of England and looked to Dr. Pusey as a model and a master. Indeed, towards the close of his theological curriculum he gave prolonged consideration to taking holy orders in the Anglican Church, since Episcopacy seemed to possess the more primitive and more Catholic form of government, used a

1. J. Cooper: "William Milligan" - in Dictionary of National Biography. See also In Memoriam: William Milligan, D.D., by his wife, Annie Mary Milligan, 1894.

fine liturgy, had definite views upon apostolic succession, and was faithful in the observance of the Christian Year. But most of all Cooper felt that "the general practice of the Scottish Church as regards frequency of Communion is to be condemned".

During the early years of his ministry, while at Broughty Ferry (1873-1881), Cooper became a member of the Church Service Society, and made valued acquaintance with two of the Society's leading figures - "the great twin brothers" - Dr. George W. Sprott of North Berwick and Dr. Thomas Leishman of Linton. In Sprott, Cooper found a kindred spirit with whom he was to have close contact and constant correspondence throughout his life on Scottish ecclesiastical and liturgical matters, and from him Cooper received continued encouragement to adhere to his Catholic convictions.

When the Scottish Church Society came into existence in 1892 "for the defence and promulgation of Catholic truth" Cooper welcomed the opportunity of becoming a founder-member. He gave a lifelong loyalty to this Society and its aims and looked on it as one of the most hopeful agencies for the promotion of sound Churchmanship that had ever arisen in the Church of Scotland. "Cooper was in whole-hearted agreement

with every word of the new Society's basis and objects and gave himself consistently to its support and defence".<sup>1</sup>

But, of course, Cooper's "high-churchism" led him into trouble. In setting forth, as he so constantly did, his Catholic ideal of the Scottish Church and the necessity for order, reverence and beauty in worship, and advocating, in speech, sermon and newspaper articles, the desirability of a closer fellowship with other branches of the Church, he was liable to be misunderstood. The parrot-cry so often levelled at the High Church group of his day was inevitably made against Cooper. He was "aping the Anglicans". He was a "secret Roman", a "Jesuit" seeking to subvert the Presbyterian Church by insidious and crafty means. He required to be watched. More than most of the High Churchmen he suffered much abuse at the hands of Jacob Primmer, the John Kensit of Scotland, especially in 1902 during the notorious "Barnhill Case", in which his friend and former assistant<sup>2</sup> was charged by Primmer in the General Assembly of "setting up the blasphemous sacrifice of the Mass

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.165.

2. The Rev. J. Newbiggin Adamson, M.A.

in Barnhill Church".<sup>1</sup> Cooper found himself so constantly referred to by Primmer as an accomplice of the accused minister that he seriously considered prosecuting Primmer in the Church courts in order to halt his campaign of defamation.<sup>2</sup>

During his Aberdeen ministry, too, (in the East Church, 1881-1898), Cooper found a small group of critics in his kirk session. Their opposition ultimately led in 1882 to a petition to the Presbytery of Aberdeen complaining of the minister's High Church methods - his desire to change the position of the pulpit; his reference to the Holy Table as a "Christian altar", his use of a litany at Sunday School, the introduction of daily service at which prayer-desk and reading-desk were used. Moreover the petition pointed out that Cooper had departed from use and went by giving private Communion to the sick and aged, had taught the children in Sunday School to respond "like an Episcopal congregation". A more serious charge was that "of magnifying the Sacraments and Ministry, of dilating upon the virginity of the Mother of our Lord, upon the Saints, the Fathers, and Festivals; of

1. J. Primmer: The Secret Romanising Scottish Church Society Exposed, p.1. See also "Barnhill Case" in Church of Scotland Assembly Papers 1902, pp.87-151.

2. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.216/7.

teaching Baptismal Regeneration, Transubstantiation, Apostolic Succession and ministerial absolution".<sup>1</sup>

The root of the trouble seems to have been that Cooper, in his youthful zeal, had not sufficiently consulted his kirk session in matters about which they had a right to be consulted. In the ordering of public worship, as he rightly pointed out, the kirk session has, in Scottish ecclesiastical polity, no jurisdiction. The minister alone, and subject only to the presbytery, is responsible for the conduct of divine service. But on reading the petition of complaint presented by a section of the eldership one feels that they were not altogether unjustified in their protest. Cooper undoubtedly had been too precipitate. His peremptory changes in long-established usages, his use of a legitimate but unfamiliar terminology in his pulpit teaching were bound to arouse suspicion amongst those who had never before encountered High Churchmanship at work. The matter eventually ended in a presbytery injunction that Cooper "should be more careful in the discharging of his ministry not to give occasion for the suspicion that his opinions and practices were not in thorough accordance with the

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.148.

doctrine of the Church of Scotland".<sup>1</sup>

Despite this ripple of opposition Cooper's ministry at Aberdeen prospered greatly. "People were attracted to him by his original character and his unwearied pastoral care. His personal knowledge of the many members of his congregation was due to constant visitation. The church was full every Sunday".<sup>2</sup>

It was while he held the Glasgow Chair of Church History that Cooper was best able to serve the cause of the revival of Scottish Churchmanship. One of his former students, the Rev. Dr. Foster Franklin, tells how his teaching gave to some of them a new realisation of the glory and beauty of the Catholic conception of the Church. "The rough edges of our sectarianism were smoothed, our Presbyterian isolation broken down, and our consciousness of having spiritual roots, going down deep through the Roman even to an ancient Celtic soil, was restored. We came to re-learn the wisdom of the early Church in instituting, for the systematic remembrance of the facts of the faith, the Christian Year, and to appreciate the treasures of the ancient

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.133.

2. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.183.

liturgies".<sup>1</sup> A Catholic emphasis such as this, maintained throughout a long teaching career, was bound to be a potent leaven in the minds and hearts of successive generations of future ministers of the Church, and, through them, it permeated into the thoughts and beliefs of Church people throughout Scotland and far beyond. "By him people all over Scotland were enabled to say with deepened spiritual understanding 'I believe in one HOLY, CATHOLIC and APOSTOLIC CHURCH'".<sup>2</sup>

Cooper was fond of pointing out that the Standards of the Church of Scotland were inherently Catholic in outlook. "Every word of the ancient Catholic creeds is enshrined in the Confessions and the Catechisms -- and also in the modern authorised hymnbooks -- of the Church of Scotland". "The Apostles' Creed has always been accepted by us. It was our Baptismal Creed till the Long Parliament (which was not a Scottish body) procured its suppression. It still forms part of our Catechism".<sup>3</sup>

His assertion of the historic continuity of the

1. Scottish Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, Vol.14, Part IV, p.10.

2. ibid., Vol.14, Part IV, p.16.

3. J.Cooper: The Revival of Church Principles in the Church of Scotland, p.13.

Church of Scotland from apostolic times was combined with a deep longing for the reunion of the severed branches of the Church. "In his writings, in his public utterances and in his conversation it was patent that his vision of the Church was of the Church of Christendom - a Christendom meanwhile, alas! dismembered and disintegrated, but one day, by God's Grace and Will, to be restored. And whenever he was speaking particularly of the Church of Scotland there was never absent the implication that it was a branch of the True Vine, derived, with other branches, from the same parent stock, sharing with them in worship of the One Lord, in confession of the One Faith, in participation in the same Sacraments. It was this common sharing of the 'Faith once for all delivered to the saints' that was to him the essence of Catholicity".<sup>1</sup>

Without the inclusion of the Episcopal Church any scheme of Church reunion in Scotland would, he considered, be inadequate. For he believed this Church to be "genuinely Scottish: it has a real root in the country: it is a joint inheritor with the Presbyterian majority in the whole course of our national Church history from

1. Scottish Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, Vol.14, Part IV, p.12.

the earliest apostles down to the Reformation of 1560 and for a hundred and fifty years thereafter".<sup>1</sup> As will be noted in a later chapter, Cooper envisaged a plan of Presbyterian-Episcopal union which would include in its system of Church government a place both for the Presbyterian hierarchy of Church Courts - Kirk Session, Presbytery, Provincial Synod and General Assembly - conjoined with that of the historic episcopate. He did not see his dream come at all near to realisation, nor did he live to participate in the 1929 reunion of the Established Church of Scotland and the United Free Church. He met with constant discouragement in his advocacy of reunion, both in his own Church and in other communions.

Cooper also strove strenuously to inculcate into the minds of his students and fellow-Churchmen a realisation of the need for order, beauty and reverence in the worship of the Church. "Whatever else", he declared, "may be the duty of a Scottish minister, he must aim at reviving the spirit of worship. This, I may say without boasting, I have laboured throughout my whole ministry to do".<sup>2</sup> He was an early pioneer in the

1. J.Cooper: Reunion: a Voice from Scotland, p.86.

2. H.J.Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.19.

revived observance of the Christian Year, and valued especially the evangelical witness of Holy Week, and in 1919 he was pleased to be able to record that he had observed "the 41st Holy Week in which, by God's mercy, I have been able to officiate every day".<sup>1</sup>

He was also the first to re-introduce into the Church of Scotland (in 1881) regular daily services of prayer, using the ancient pre-Reformation Crypt of St. Nicholas' Church for the purpose, and the manuscript volume of services which he used (morning and evening services for each day of the week) shows elaborate care in compilation.

But it is particularly in his attitude to the Sacraments that Cooper's high ideals of Scottish Churchmanship are seen. "Nowhere in Christendom", he asserted, "is the Lord's Supper approached with deeper reverence than in our Scottish parishes, or with a more certain hope of receiving heavenly nourishment through the consecrated gifts".<sup>2</sup> "Our Church's language on the two sacraments ordained of Christ is certainly as strong against 'the vanity of those that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs' as anything in the Book of Common Prayer".<sup>3</sup> "We must

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.304.

2. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.28.

3. J.Cooper: Our Sacred Heritage, p.11.

assuredly believe that the bread which we break is the Communion of Christ's Body, and the cup of blessing which we bless is the Communion of His Blood. So that we confess, and undoubtedly believe, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's Table, do so eat the Body and drink the Blood of the Lord Jesus, that He remaineth in them, and they in Him".<sup>1</sup>

A greater frequency in the celebration of Holy Communion was urgently required. In the early years of his ministry the custom was that there should be one annual celebration. At Broughty Ferry Cooper instituted quarterly Communion, and introduced the celebration of the Sacrament to the sick and aged in their homes. "I am aware that what I have done is contrary to the usage of our Church and to some old statute: but the sooner that statute falls into disuse the better".<sup>2</sup>

Calvin's view "that each week at least the Table of the Lord ought to be spread for the company of Christians" had Cooper's fervent assent. In his address as Moderator of the General Assembly of 1917 he did not conceal this opinion. "One of my distinguished predecessors (Professor William Milligan)

1. J.Cooper: op.cit., p.12.

2. H.J.Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.98.

said to me on his death bed: 'The reform in the Church of Scotland which we need above all others is the revival of the weekly Eucharist.' What", Cooper asked, "is there to hinder us? No law of the Church forbids it. There is Scripture for it. One would think sometimes that we were ordained not to give our fellow-servants their meat in due season, but to withhold it from them".<sup>1</sup>

Cooper magnified the place of Art in the service of God. "I do not believe in 'Art for Art's sake'. I believe that the 'chief end' of Art, as of all that God has made is to glorify God".<sup>2</sup> He regretted the long period in the Church's history when she "suspected art, banished all her productions, save those of the silversmith, from the precincts of the Temple, treated every sculpture as an idol, obliterated every painting, smashed the stained-glass in the windows, broke down the carved screens and stall-work, appropriated the vestments and altar-cloths for domestic purposes, banished from the choir St. Cecilia's organ and David's harp, reduced singing to the lowest ebb, and as the ancient churches decayed, or fell through ill-usage and

1. J.M.Kirkpatrick: "James Cooper, 1846-1922" in Church Service Society Annual, 1947, pp.7/8.

2. Scottish Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, 1913, p.3.

neglect, replaced them by edifices as mean as they were ugly."<sup>1</sup>

Hence Cooper desired to see the lost provinces regained for the Church, strove to encourage once again the use of such aids to devotion as fine architecture, music, stained-glass, wood-carving, metalwork, and mural paintings in the church buildings. Like the Psalmist he believed that "in God's temple every whit should speak of His Glory". Especially did he revere the ancient churches of Scotland and yearned for the seemly restoration of those that lay in ruin - Paisley, Elgin, Fortrose, Dunkeld, Whithorn, Dornoch, St. Andrews and many others. For Iona he had special dreams - a vision of the ruined Abbey repaired and its buildings used as a boarding-school for Highland youths, sons of the Manse in particular, who were preparing for the universities, and also as a centre of missionary zeal as in the days of St. Columba, and a home of Gaelic scholarship.

Cooper was a great Presbyter in every inch of him. In him and in his zeal for a revived Catholic Churchmanship, his love for the beauty of God's House, his emphasis on the need for a reunited Christendom, his

1. Scottish Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, 1913, p.4.

desire for a reverent and ordered worship, and his constant advocacy of more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion, the Church of Scotland had no more loyal son or devoted minister. "If in the Church of Scotland today there is an appreciation of the fact that its history did not begin only at the Reformation, and a real consciousness that it is part of the Holy Catholic Church; if its Communion are less infrequent, more Eucharistic and more closely associated with the great Festivals of the Faith; if, in the architecture and furnishing of its churches and, above all, in the orderings of its worship there is the impulse to appreciate the super-language of symbolism, and to link beauty with holiness, and to make use of the liturgical treasures of the past, then these things are due in no small measure to the benign potency of the leaven which James Cooper brought into the Presbyterian lump."<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

#### Henry Johnstone Wotherspoon (1850-1930).

Like so many of the early leaders of the Scottish High Church party, Henry J. Wotherspoon was a son of

1. Scottish Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, Vol. XIV., Part IV, p.13.

the manse, that of Kilspindie in the Presbytery of Perth. His brother Arthur also entered the ministry of the Established Church and served for nearly forty years in the charge of Oatlands Parish, Glasgow.

But if his ecclesiastical background was similar to that of many of the like-minded brethren with whom he was associated in later years, in one respect at least he chose to differ from most of them. He elected to enter St. Andrews University rather than the more frequented quadrangle of Glasgow College. As a student he repeated the scholastic distinction begun at Dundee High School, and in St. Mary's College was prizeman in both Hebrew and Church History. He removed to Edinburgh University for his final year of theological study and was dux in the class of Systematic Theology.

Wotherspoon's life was comparatively uneventful, for he was a man more at home in the study of his manse and at the firesides of his congregation than in the hurly-burly of Church courts and committees. He was never Moderator of the General Assembly, as were so many of his High Church contemporaries - Spratt being a notable exception. Perhaps it was felt by the committee entrusted with the nomination of Moderator

that, despite his fine scholarship and deep spiritual insight, Wotherspoon had not that forceful and commanding personality required of one who fills the Church's highest position. But his contribution to the life and worship of the Church was incalculably great.

After his licence in 1876 as a preacher of the Gospel and a term of probation as an assistant at Galeshiels, Wotherspoon was ordained to the charge of a mission station at Burnbank in the parish of Hamilton, amongst a community composed almost entirely of coal-miners and their families. In this corner of the Scottish Black Country the young minister quickly won the esteem and affection of his congregation. "There in Burnbank, among his beloved colliers, the young minister laboured happily for twelve years, shepherding a people who loved him with that unostentatious love which a Scottish working-class community seems to be singularly capable of feeling for a pastor who not only 'points to heaven, but leads the way'".<sup>1</sup> During his ministry a seemly church was built and the district erected into a parish quoad sacra.

His work in this difficult sphere and his success in Church extension may have influenced those who, in

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: What Happened at Pentecost, p.ix.

1894, invited him to take charge of the Chapel of St. Mary, in the Boroughmuir district of Morningside, Edinburgh - an area which had recently been covered with large blocks of flats and villas. Here, as in his former sphere, Wotherspoon began his ministry handicapped by the lack of a church, the congregation worshipping in a small hall. But within six years, with some financial help from friends, a fine church was erected which embodies in its design of long nave, lofty roof, raised chancel and prominent Holy Table those ideals of worship and Churchmanship for which Wotherspoon strove throughout all his ministry. This noble building is a permanent memorial of his work and aims. "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice".

The Church of St. Oswald's was the sphere in which the remainder of Wotherspoon's parochial ministry was spent. As he declared in his farewell sermon, this church was, for nearly thirty years, "wife and child and home" to him.<sup>1</sup> There he gathered around him a small but appreciative congregation, instructing them in the verities of the Christian Faith, leading them into an ever fuller knowledge of the sacramental life, keeping with them the regular round of fast and festival

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.132.

enshrined in the Christian Year, and leading them in a reverent and orderly worship. Moreover he developed in his people a social consciousness for the welfare of the poor of the Old Town of Edinburgh.

On retiring from St. Oswalds, Wotherspoon declared with gratitude to God that "he looked back to a quarter of a century amongst them without ruffle or strife or difference of heart. As we began so we have gone on. We have not been a large company: yet we have had amongst us not a few surely select and notable in their character, intellect, and piety. Those who have come to us have generally remained with us till death or distance has removed them. We have been a constant people".<sup>1</sup>

Of Wotherspoon's preaching a contributor to The Scotsman wrote: "He was a thoughtful preacher, with few gifts of oratory or eloquence, but with a power of clear thought which impressed itself much upon his congregation and was frequently sought after by others in the city who appreciated thoughtful preaching".<sup>2</sup> At the close of his ministry the Kirk Session of St. Oswalds took opportunity to record the fact that "by his eminent gifts as a preacher of the Gospel he has helped

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.179.

2. The Scotsman, January 29th, 1930.

and strengthened in no small measure the spiritual life not only of members of the congregation, but of many visitors to the church".<sup>1</sup>

Wotherspoon's chief contribution, however, to the Churchmanship of his generation was that he was a teacher of teachers, a minister to those who were themselves in holy orders. "To him", a contemporary writes, "many of us looked up as to an unfailing guide and finished master in the work of our sacred calling. We turned to him for enlightenment and advice. The loftiness of his ideals, the standards which he thought requisite for ministerial fidelity - standards not easily satisfied - shamed, if they did not educate, our consciences. The penetrating spirituality of his preaching thrilled us. His outlook upon the ecclesiastical horizon tended to be our outlook. The group of Churchmen most intimately affected by his teaching may not have been a large group: but it was one that has undoubtedly exerted a steady and formative influence upon contemporary Church life".<sup>2</sup>

In his books, articles to theological journals, in lectures to groups of clergy, in his chairmanship of the Pastoral Institutes for the guidance of students of

1. St. Oswald's Parish Church Kirk Session Minute  
24th June, 1923.

2. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.xxi.

divinity (in the formation of which he took a large part), Wotherspoon held aloft the Catholicity of the Scottish Church in her history, doctrine and status. A sentence from his own pen indicates his position - "By the custom of Christian antiquity, and by the public law of Europe, the Church of Scotland is entitled to be called Catholic".<sup>1</sup>

The chief medium, however, for the promulgation of his Catholic convictions, and the one which gave him most pleasure was, without doubt, the Scottish Church Society, of which he was one of the founders. From 1905 until his death in 1930 he held continuous office as vice-president, and was four times president. He took a prominent part in the annual meetings, often as principal speaker, and was the author of many of the most valuable papers read at the various Conferences organised by the Society. "In all the activities of the Society", says a tribute at the time of his death, "he was a prime mover from its earliest days, and after the death of Dr. Cooper in 1922 he became unquestionably its most outstanding personage, the representative of its aims in the eyes of those without, and acknowledged

1. H.J. Wotherspoon and J.M. Kirkpatrick: A Manual of Church Doctrine, p.19.

by all within to be the mainspring of its life and work. Much of his literary work was published otherwise than through this Society, but everything he published was germane to the objects which this Society exists to promote. It was because he regarded the Society as an instrument for the defence of Catholic truth and for the maintaining and advancement of Catholic practice in the Church of Scotland that he gave it such unfailing support".<sup>1</sup>

Wotherspoon was the acknowledged theologian of the High Church group of his day. "Equipped with extraordinary clarity and keenness of intellect, intuitively perceptive of underlying principles, and learned in many different fields of scholarship, he was at once a theologian, a church historian, a constitutional church lawyer, an ecclesiologist, a liturgiologist, a master of pastoral methods and a director of devotional retreats".<sup>2</sup> Professor W. P. Paterson once remarked in the Presbytery of Edinburgh that he had read everything from the pen of Dr. Wotherspoon.<sup>3</sup> In 1913 the University of St. Andrews conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

1. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1929-30, p.22.

2. H.J.Wotherspoon: What Happened at Pentecost, p.xxii.

3. The Scotsman, January 29, 1930.

Wotherspoon's activities ran, in many ways, parallel to those of Dr. John Macleod of Govan. Both built fine new churches; both were founder-members of the Scottish Church Society; both were convinced High Churchmen; both fell under suspicion in ultra-Protestant circles for their sacramental beliefs and practices. But Wotherspoon did not possess that dynamic power of leadership which brought Macleod into a foremost position in his parish, his city, and in the Church at large. Macleod's activities were known and discussed throughout all Scotland, while Wotherspoon was content to labour in "an unfashionable and hidden quarter", as he called it. But his influence in the Church of Scotland has been indisputably greater and much more permanent than Macleod's. His books, especially his Religious Values in the Sacraments, are classic expositions of Presbyterian doctrine and have contributed much to the resuscitation of the Catholic conception of the Church, Ministry and Sacraments within the Church he loved.

So greatly is the High Church group indebted to Wotherspoon, and so clearly are the ideals of the movement reflected in his writings that it is not proposed to insert, at this point, a summary of his teaching.

In the later chapters dealing with the doctrines of the movement, Wotherspoon's name will be found to occur so often, and his works quoted so frequently, as to show the paramount place which he held in the religious scholarship of modern Scottish Churchmanship. Suffice to say that Cooper, Macleod, Spratt and the other likeminded brethren who constituted the nineteenth-century group of High Churchmen found in this younger man not only a kindred spirit, but one who, in clear thought and noble words, was able to set down their ideals, their convictions and their aspirations in a way which made them profoundly indebted to him.

CHAPTER SIXTwo Notable Ministries

No survey of the revival of Churchmanship in Scotland in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would be complete without mention of two outstanding ministries, both in the High Kirk of Edinburgh - that of James Cameron Lees, K.C.V.O., D.D., LL.D., who served there from 1877 until 1909, and his successor, Andrew Wallace Williamson, K.C.V.O., D.D., minister of the Cathedral from 1910 until 1925. In the work of these two Scottish Churchmen and in the span of their ministries is comprehended the whole period under review. Lees was ordained in 1856, beginning his work when the Church of Scotland had only begun to recover from the wounds of Disruption, and was still dispirited and weak. His successor in St. Giles' was one of the most trusted leaders in the negotiations which led to the union in 1929 of the two major branches of divided Presbyterianism, and on his death-bed he was heard to say: "If I have been permitted to do something to help to close one of the

rents in the seamless robe I have not lived in vain".<sup>1</sup> Thus in the course of the two ministries may be marked not only the Church's recovery of prestige and influence, but also the awakening of the desire for a reformed and more seemly mode of worship within the National Church, and the genesis of the High Church movement in Scotland.

## I.

James Cameron Lees (1834-1913).

James Cameron Lees, born in 1834, was of Highland stock, son of the Rev. John Lees, a Lewisman, and an ordained minister of the Church. His father had served as a missionary in lonely Garinish in South Uist before becoming schoolmaster at the Caledonian Asylum, London. (It is interesting to note that the father of A. K. H. B. had previously held this appointment). The elder Lees became minister of his native parish of Stornoway a few months after the Disruption, but died after a very brief ministry. Through the helpful intervention of Dr. Norman Macleod of the Barony, who met the lad and his mother during a visit to Lewis, James Cameron Lees was able to proceed to Glasgow

1. Lord Sands: Life of Andrew Wallace Williamson, K.C.V.O., D.D., p.271.

University with the assistance of a Royal Bounty Bursary. He matriculated there in 1847 at the age of thirteen, and later prosecuted some of his studies at Aberdeen University before being licenced as a preacher of the Gospel in 1855. For some months thereafter he acted as a missionary in Mull and Lewis, and during this unsettled period utilised his leisure to acquire a working knowledge of the Gaelic language in order to equip himself for a Highland parish. The days of patronage were not yet over, and as his biographer, Dr. Norman Maclean, declares: "In the sunnier regions to the south where one language only was required, he had no friends to press him claim on the attention of patrons who had livings at their disposal".<sup>1</sup>

In 1856 Lees was ordained to the charge of the bleak and remote parish of Strathconan, where the Established Church congregation had dwindled to a mere handful, since most of the population had thrown in their lot with the Free Church. There, on many a winter Sunday, in a cold, decaying church, with its earthen floor and unvarnished pews, the future minister of St. Giles' had the experience of conducting worship with a congregation of only one or two or three. To

1. N. Maclean: Life of J. Cameron Lees, K.C.V.O., D.D., LL.D., p.46.

all but a few of his parishioners his ministrations were unwelcome, and the young minister found little to occupy his time save acting as a "cow-doctor" and, in the long winter nights, reading systematically through the Encyclopedia Britannica. When he ventured to start a Sunday School for the children of the parish, he found that the Free Church parents were not unwilling to send their children to it. Lees rejoiced in this opportunity of work with the children, until a Free Church missionary in the course of his travels, descended upon Strathconan. The next Sunday when he went to open his Sunday School, no children were present - the missionary had made sure that the "Moderate Minister" would no longer inculcate false doctrine into the minds of the babes of the flock. "It was on that day that James Lees tasted the full bitterness of that cup which ministers of his Church had to drink in those days".<sup>1</sup>

But happier times were in store for the young minister. In 1859, through the good offices of the Marquis of Abercorn, patron of the living, he exchanged the empty church at Strathconan for a wider field of work in the Second Charge of Paisley Abbey. "The change from the secluded Rosshire parish" says a

1. N. Maclean: op.cit., p.88.

contributor to the Scotsman at the time of Lees' death, "to a church where there were 2,000 worshippers was great enough to give the young minister pause. Perhaps had he been formally consulted he might not have accepted, but the Marquis gave him no opportunity of refusal, and appointed him right away".<sup>1</sup>

In 1864 Lees was presented to the First Charge of the Abbey. The congregation prospered under his leadership, and a conspicuous feature of his Paisley ministry was his freedom from sectarian prejudice, despite his bitter experience of the havoc wrought by ecclesiastical strife in his former parish. "It is on record that he preached in every pulpit in Paisley, and it might almost be said of him that, like an ecclesiastical Alexander, he sighed because there were no more pulpits open to the display of his liberality and broadmindedness".<sup>2</sup>

When Lees went to Paisley he found the fabric of the Abbey in a pitiable condition. "The Church was in a most deplorable state", he writes in The Abbey of Paisley. "The interior was like a vault in a graveyard. Water ran down the walls and an unwholesome smell pervaded every part of the Church. A few more

1. The Scotsman, June 28, 1913, p.9.

2. The Scotsman, op.cit., p.9.

years would have seen it in ruin. A more dreary place of worship could scarcely be conceived. People who entered the Church had to creep in through a narrow doorway. A street of disreputable pawnshops and public houses abutted on the Church, which was entirely hidden by the squalid buildings round it".<sup>1</sup>

During his ministry, Lees could only make a beginning in the work of restoration. But it is to his honour that the process of renovation was initiated by him and that the noble building, through his untiring efforts, began to be rescued from the neglect and misuse of many years.

In 1877 Lees was called - patronage having meanwhile been abolished - by the congregation of the High Kirk in Edinburgh, to be their minister. "He accepted the call. In doing so he rather surprised some of his friends who could not understand why he should give up the care of a large and flourishing congregation, worshipping in one of the finest historical buildings in the country, for a pastorate in what was contemptuously described as 'a Hole in the High

1. J.C.Lees: The Abbey of Paisley, p.339.

Street".<sup>1</sup> In part, at least "a Hole in the High Street" was a not altogether inappropriate description of the High Kirk. The congregation was confined to the east end of the historic building. What is now known as the Moray Aisle was occupied by a second congregation, while the west portion was occupied by the congregation of West St. Giles'. Dr. Lees first made acquaintance with St. Giles' some fifteen years prior to accepting the charge. He had been authorised by the General Assembly to preach before the Lord High Commissioner. He described the great pulpit, shadowed with sombre plumes like a hearse, set against the east window, the huge galleries round and round, and the general air of mustiness which pervaded the whole interior. It happened that he took as his text 'How dreadful is this place'. In the evening, at Holyrood, the Lord High Commissioner, the Earl of Haddington, said: "Well, sir, you gave us an excellent sermon, and your text was most appropriate".<sup>2</sup>

1. In a room above the north porch of St. Giles', Sir John Gordon of Haddo, a distinguished Royalist, was imprisoned in 1644 prior to his execution. "His place of confinement, which had up to this time borne the name of the Priest's Chamber, was afterwards called "Haddo's Hole", a name which was given also to the adjoining Church in the north-west part of St. Giles', and which it bore until late times". Vide J.C. Lees: St. Giles', Edinburgh, Church, College, and Cathedral, p.224.
2. The Scotsman, op.cit., p.9.

But in the matter of restoration of the church Lees did not require to set the work afoot. Several years previously William Chambers, Lord Provost of the city and head of the publishing firm of that name, had begun a modest scheme of restoration of the Choir. "The name of William Chambers", says Norman Maclean, "is one to be held in everlasting honour as the pioneer of cheap and wholesome literature in Scotland; but, most of all, because it was he who rescued St Giles' out of its degradation".<sup>1</sup> The restored Choir was opened for worship in 1873.

With Cameron Lees in charge, the High Kirk, worshipping in the Choir, found new life. Before long, plans were ready for the restoration, mainly through the continued generosity of William Chambers, of the whole building. One of the congregations in possession of part of the church was suppressed, the other was transferred to a new building, and now known as West St. Giles'. When the great work was finally complete, and the Cathedral ready for a noble service of rededication, a note of sadness marred the joy of the day. William Chambers, without whose vision and liberality

1. N.Maclean: op.cit., p.195.

the glorious achievement could not have been reached, died on May 20th, 1883, three days before St. Giles' echoed with triumphant psalms and hymns set to mark the beginning of a new era in its long history. "A chapel was dedicated to his memory in St. Giles', but the whole church of St. Giles' is his memorial".<sup>1</sup>

This great church speedily became a home of seemly and reverent worship, a metropolitan shrine associated not only with notable civic, academic and ecclesiastical occasions in the life of the Capital, but regarded as a fitting place for royal and national solemnities. After centuries of degradation, St. Giles' became once more a national temple - the place of worship for the Sovereign while in residence at Holyrood; for the General Assembly during its deliberations; for University and Town Council and, most of all, for the ordinary citizens of Edinburgh who thronged its steps once more.

Lees began in Edinburgh, as Norman Macleod had done in Glasgow, the novel experiment of evening services. These were immediately successful, especially with the young people of the city. Also, "as some reply to

1. N.Maclean: op.cit., p.202.

the taunts that the Church was a one-day-a-week institution, he revived the daily services which had been in abeyance in St. Giles' for 234 years".<sup>1</sup>

Throughout all his ministry Cameron Lees strove to improve and enrich the worship of the Church. It was his profound dissatisfaction with the existing mode of worship that prompted him, while minister of Paisley Abbey, along with the Reverend George Campbell, minister of Eastwood, to bring together for a discussion of the matter, some other ministers of the Church who were known to be desirous of enhancing the worship of the Church. This preliminary meeting was held in Glasgow "in a room above Hood the tailor's shop. There were present Dr. Story, Dr. Sprcott, George Campbell, minister of Eastwood, and Dr. Lees".<sup>2</sup> From that small beginning the Church Service Society was formed in 1865. Thus to Cameron Lees the honour must be accorded of being the first to organise the movement for the reform of Presbyterian worship in the nineteenth century.

Although he was prominent in the formation of the Church Service Society and took a large part in the work of its early years, Lees did not favour the

1. The Scotsman: op.cit., p.9.

2. N.Maclean: op.cit., p.114. Dr.G.W.Sprcott was not present at this meeting.

Society's service-book, Euchologion, when it first appeared in 1867. It had been decided to retain the intercessory prayer in its traditional place, i.e. after the sermon. "Dr. Lees wanted this prayer to be before the sermon. He pleaded hard for that; but he failed. He said that the decision of the Society meant that he must have a prayer-book of his own. Thus it came that Dr. Lees compiled his own book for use in St. Giles".<sup>1</sup>

This book first appeared in 1884 with the title A Book of Common Order for Sunday and Week-Day Services, and in a Preface Lees stated: "The Book of Common Order, sanctioned by the General Assembly of 1562, and long used in the Daily Service of the Church in Edinburgh, having fallen into desuetude, and become, in the lapse of years, antiquated in language, and unsuitable for present use; the following Services have been compiled to supply, in some measure, the want thereof, until another similar formulary be set forth by the proper authority".<sup>2</sup>

The book passed through six editions, and was used in the Cathedral for forty years. It commended

1. N. Maclean: op.cit., p.115.

2. A Book of Common Order for Sunday and Week-Day Services, p.IV.

itself to a wide circle and is still a useful service-book. Lees did not strive after originality of composition and drew largely from Euchologion and from the Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church. The services are inclined to be too long and the phraseology rather diffuse. But, on the whole, it is a reverent and seemly compilation, less formal and stilted than Euchologion. With small emendations, chiefly in the way of omission, the book is greatly improved. The occasional offices, inserted into later editions, for Holy Communion, Baptism, marriage and the burial of the dead, have little liturgical merit and do not reach the standard of the Euchologion forms for such occasions. But the service for Good Friday is a fine composition and is worthy of a permanent place in the devotional literature of the Church. Under Wallace Williamson's skilful pen the orders of service were abbreviated, and the book continued to be used during his incumbency in St. Giles'.<sup>1</sup>

It was, of course, inevitable that there should be criticism of Dr. Lees' methods. On more than one occasion, the Reverend Jacob Primmer, a fanatical anti-Popery agitator, sought to organise opposition to the

1. See C.T.Thornton: "The St. Giles' Book of Common Order 1884-1926" in Church Service Society Annual, 1954.

way the High Kirk of Edinburgh was run. In particular, Primmer objected strenuously to what he termed the "images" on the niches beside the west door of the Cathedral - statuettes of Scottish monarchs, saints and reformers. But when he took the matter to the General Assembly of 1887 his complaint was summarily dismissed. The daily service was seen by some to be an imitation of Anglicanism, and Lees' Sunday services, although quite simple, were, in some quarters, thought to savour overmuch of dangerous "ritualism". But Lees did not allow himself to be unduly perturbed by such criticism. "He mapped out a line for himself, and, serene and dignified, he followed it to the end".<sup>1</sup>

Lees valued greatly, not only for his own sake, but for the prestige of the Church he loved, his association with the Royal Family as Dean of the Order of the Thistle and of the Chapel Royal, to which he was appointed in 1886. For many years Queen Victoria honoured him with her close friendship, and in 1909 conferred on him the dignity of K.C.V.O. He died in June, 1913.

1. The Scotsman: op.cit., p.9.

## II.

Andrew Wallace Williamson (1856-1926).

Andrew Wallace Williamson was a Southern Scot, a native of Thornhill, Dumfriesshire, where he was born in 1856. After his early education in local schools, he matriculated at Edinburgh University in 1873. His academic career was more distinguished in theology than in the Faculty of Arts; in Professor Robert Flint's class of Systematic Theology he took first prize in his second and third sessions, and his "Hall sermon", preached before Professor Flint and his fellow students, obtained from the former the highest praise he was ever known to bestow upon a student's oration.<sup>1</sup> "Among his contemporaries", wrote Roger S. Kirkpatrick, "there was but one opinion regarding his intellectual status, and regarding the promise that his talents gave of future eminence. In our estimation he was a rising star, and a star of the first magnitude. We were convinced that, whatever of success or failure the future contained for the rest of us, before Wallace Williamson there lay a career of brilliancy".<sup>2</sup>

1. See A.W.Williamson: "His First Sermon" in The Glorious Gospel, p.19.

2. R.S.Kirkpatrick: "A Contemporary's Tribute" in Lord Sands: Life of Andrew Wallace Williamson, p.64.

Soon after his licence as a probationer for the Holy Ministry in 1881, Williamson was chosen by the Kirk Session of North Leith from a list of many applicants for the position of assistant minister. A few months later considerable surprise was felt throughout the Church that, on the translation of the minister of North Leith to Jedburgh, the congregation was determined to call the young assistant, aged 25 years, to the charge, so great was the impression that Williamson's personality and forceful preaching had made on them. To this populous parish the young minister was ordained and inducted in April, 1882. In his outspoken fashion Norman Maclean regretted Williamson's youthful leap into ecclesiastical and pulpit prominence. "It was Williamson's misfortune", he wrote, "that he achieved fame in the days of his youth. That deprived him of the period of preparation and meditation which is commonly the prelude to a great ministry".<sup>1</sup>

Although he was minister of North Leith for a year only, it was a time of revival and enthusiasm in the parish. In a chapter of reminiscence, one who was

1. N. Maclean: "Dr. Wallace Williamson" in The Scotsman, July 12, 1926, p.6.

assistant to Williamson there recalled his vigorous ministry. "Youth is an infectious thing, and the whole congregation caught the infection. Romance was in the very air. Like the earth in a genial spring the old conventional parish burst into leaf, and blossomed like the rose. The church was crowded at every service. The numbers at Communion were the largest ever known. The Sunday School flourished; the teachers were enthusiastic, the superintendents rejoiced".<sup>1</sup>

When in 1883 a colleague was sought for Dr. James MacGregor in St. Guthbert's, Edinburgh, the vacancy committee made choice of the young minister in North Leith. "A new star", says Lord Sands, "seemed to have arisen in the ecclesiastical firmament, and St. Guthberts' was anxious, nay, eager, to annex that star and make it her own".<sup>2</sup>

Thus began a colleagueship which lasted for more than a quarter of a century. "For 27 years James MacGregor and Wallace Williamson carried on a ministry in St. Guthberts' which was unique", says Norman Maclean, himself destined at a later date to occupy

1. H. Farquhar: "The Reign of the Boys" in Lord Sands: Life of Andrew Wallace Williamson, pp.72/3.
2. Lord Sands: op.cit., pp.106/7.

the same pulpit. "The untamed Highlander with the soul of a swordsman and the body of a dwarf went his wild way, breathing threatening and slaughter, shaking the sinners over the pit and anon wooing the burdened and sad with the unimagined glories of the Heavenly Jerusalem: and the Dalesman from Dumfries, with a voice rich as the deepest organ note, proclaimed in words that marched as marshalled regiments in the very perfection of style, the majesty of the things that are not seen, the supremacy of the road that led to Calvary, and still leads to a Cross, and the glory of the Church as the shrine of the indwelling Spirit. These 27 years in St. Guthbert's were his great years".<sup>1</sup>

The Church of St. Guthbert's was rebuilt during the years of the colleagueship of MacGregor and Williamson. It had been a vast and hideously ugly building, with two tiers of great galleries and uncomfortable box pews. At the opening and dedication of the new church in 1894, at which A. K. H. Boyd was the preacher, there was considerable discussion as to the merits of the internal decoration of the church - the marble Holy Table, the mural paintings, the ornate baptismal font and, on the wall of the apse, the

1. N. Maclean: op.cit., p.6.

representation in marble of De Vinci's Last Supper, seemed to many, apart from the liturgical aspect of the question, to be un-Scottish and exotic.

It was at this period that Williamson was seen to lean towards the High Church position. As a student and young minister he had taken Dr. John Macleod of Govan as his spiritual father, and, as his lecture on John Macleod reveals, had come to accept Macleod's doctrinal outlook. "Under the influence of John Macleod of Govan", says Lord Sands, "and with the sympathy of a small group of his contemporaries, he identified himself with certain High Church and sacramentarian views which were then somewhat unfamiliar in the Church of Scotland, so far at all events as any accentuation or practical application of them was concerned."<sup>1</sup> This led Williamson to become an active member of the Scottish Church Society.<sup>2</sup>

At the opening of the new church, Williamson was mainly responsible for the order of service used on the occasion, and introduced as the pattern for future worship a more ornate and full ritual than had previously

1. Lord Sands: op.cit., p.116.

2. Later, however, Williamson felt that the Society was in danger of engendering a party spirit in the Church, and he resigned his membership in 1905.

been known in the congregation. "Mainly owing to the initiative of Dr. Williamson the bald worship of the old church was replaced by the dignified and orderly worship which has been offered in St. Cuthbert's ever since. There were over twenty innovations made at the dedication service on 11th July 1894. There was considerable excitement. At the first meeting of the Kirk Session thereafter an effort was made to raise the question of innovations. The excitement about the Romanising influence in St. Cuthbert's went on for 10 years or so".<sup>1</sup>

In 1910 Wallace Williamson was translated to St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh as successor to Dr. J. Cameron Lees. There he found a congregation already accustomed to a carefully designed and reverently conducted order of worship. He thus found it unnecessary to make many alterations in the service formulated by his predecessor, save that he made it a condition of his acceptance of the charge that the Apostles' Creed should be repeated at every service. He continued the use of Cameron Lees' service-book, but shortened and amended it. In the field of sacramental worship he desired to introduce more fre-

1. N.Maclean: op.cit., p.6.

quent celebrations of Holy Communion, and throughout his ministry the Sacrament was celebrated in a side chapel once a month, in addition to the customary statutory Communion seasons. In this he was, of course, following the example of Dr. John Macleod of Govan. In a comparison of the two St. Giles' ministries a member of the St. Giles' congregation wrote "Lees was in favour of a service of simplicity, Wallace Williamson of one rather more ornate, perhaps, and in his judgment more suited to a church like St. Giles'. But in all essential particulars the service which Lees introduced remained, and still remains, the recognised service of the church".<sup>1</sup>

Williamson had the distinction, as convener of the General Assembly Committee on Aids to Devotion, of producing an order of service for a Day of Prayer and Intercession in 1915, which proved itself to be "an historical document, in that it was the first form of prayer for use in churches that had been issued by authority in the Church of Scotland for 277 years".<sup>2</sup> He was also convener of the committee responsible for the publication of Prayers for Divine Service (1923). It was he who suggested that the book should contain

1. Lord Sands: op.cit., p.198.

2. Lord Sands: op.cit., p.305.

prayers not only for use in the home, but in the services of the Church, and thus "provided the Church of Scotland with a complete Prayer Book, issued by authority for the first time since 1637".<sup>1</sup>

Throughout his long ministry Wallace Williamson was ever a powerful advocate of Church union in Scotland, and was appointed Joint Convener of the Union Committee of 1912. During his moderatorial year (1913) his report on the state of negotiations between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church was declared by one hearer "to be the finest speech he had ever heard in the General Assembly".<sup>2</sup>

In the same year in which he was Moderator (the youngest for 100 years), Williamson became Dean of the Order of the Thistle and of the Chapel Royal, and in 1926 was granted the rank of K.C.V.O. In 1920 he was invited, through the Secretary of State, to accept office as Principal of the University of St. Andrews, but considered it his duty to continue his work in St. Giles'. He died in Edinburgh on 10th July 1926.

Thus in the compass of the ministries of Lees and Williamson may be traced the eventful history of the revival of worship and Churchmanship in the modern

1. Lord Sands: *op.cit.*, p.306.

2. Lord Sands: *op.cit.*, p.260.

Church of Scotland. In Cameron Lees is seen one who figured prominently in the genesis of the movement, and helped to give it impetus in the formation of the Church Service Society. The restoration of two great churches, with which he had much to do, was indicative of the growing desire amongst ministers and people alike that the historic churches of Scotland should be redeemed from neglect and decay. Such noble churches as Dunblane, Linlithgow, Dornoch, St. Machar's, Aberdeen, and many other old parish churches, owe their present restored beauty and dignity to the ecclesiological revival in which the early pioneers of Churchmanship so greatly contributed. It may be claimed that Lees was the prime mover in this work, and made the restored Abbey of Paisley and the Cathedral of St. Giles' distinguished examples of what could be accomplished in other historic shrines which required repair and restoration.

Wallace Williamson may be regarded as a representative of the second generation of Scottish High Churchmen. Others had laboured, and he and his brethren entered into their labours. When Williamson began his ministry in St. Giles' much of the antipathy and suspicion which had surrounded the work of the

earlier group of High Church pioneers had disappeared. It was less difficult now to "innovate", to introduce into congregational worship a type of service which, not long before, would have aroused resentment and constant criticism. In St. Giles' Williamson was able to conduct a mode of worship which possessed all the elements of true Catholic devotion, and to show that a service of worship in a Scottish Presbyterian Church may be plain and simple, yet truly Catholic, unadorned yet rich in devotion, and containing all those elements of adoration and reverence that are requisite if we are to worship God "in spirit and in truth".

CHAPTER SEVENThe Societies Founded by the  
High Churchmen

## I.

The Church Service Society (1865).

Although Robert Lee of Greyfriars found his strenuous labours for the reform of Presbyterian worship hindered by much opposition from the majority of his clerical brethren, a small group of clergy within the Church of Scotland was thoroughly sympathetic to his desire for improvement in the worship of the Church, and it was they who were responsible for the formation of an association which had as its aim the carrying forward of the work begun by Lee. The Church Service Society was not founded by Lee, nor, towards the end of his life did he participate prominently in its affairs, owing to the Society's unwillingness to adopt his own Prayers for Public Worship (1857) for general use throughout the Church. As A. K. H. Boyd points out "he was disappointed that the Society did not adopt or approve his book, which in point of fact never commended itself to some of

the most active members of the new organisation. The genuine liturgical flow was quite lacking in most of Dr. Lee's prayers, which were to a considerable degree original. They were likewise, very naturally, flavoured with Dr. Lee's theology which was more advanced than was in these days common".<sup>1</sup> But it cannot be doubted that the initial impetus towards the formation of the Society originated as a result of Lee's pioneering work. Principal Story, in the Lee Lecture (1886), maintained that "Dr. Lee had, with a true instinct, discerned the needs of the time and had taken the lead in what, despite all ecclesiastical opposition, was really a great popular movement".<sup>2</sup> The Society could not have come into existence without the stimulus of Dr. Lee's example.

The genesis of the Church Service Society was due to the Rev. George W. Sprott, later minister of North Berwick, who, while ministering abroad, found himself following with keen interest the reports which reached him of the controversy over Lee's innovations. Sprott began to explore for himself the field of contemporary Scottish worship, investigating its defects and possible methods of improvement. In 1863 he published

1. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Liturgics of the Scottish Kirk" in St. Andrews and Elsewhere, p.219.

2. R.H.Story: The Reformed Ritual in Scotland, p.40.

a pamphlet The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, in which he recommended that "there should be a self-constituted society of the liturgical scholars of the Church who would, after due time and full consideration of the whole subject, draw up a book of prayers for public worship and of forms for the administration of the sacraments and other special subjects, as a guide to the clergy. Antiquity, the Reformation, and our present practice should all be kept in view by their compilers".<sup>1</sup>

But on account of Sprott's absence in Ceylon at the time of the Society's formation his name does not appear in the first list of members. The three men who were the originators of the Society - Herbert Story, then of Roseneath and later Principal of Glasgow University, J. Cameron Lees, then minister of Paisley Abbey, and George Campbell, minister of Eastwood, decided at a meeting in Glasgow in 1865 to launch a Society on the lines set down by Sprott, whose aims, according to the constitution then drawn up, was "the study of the Liturgies, ancient and modern, of the Christian Church, with a view to the preparation

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship, Rites & Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, p.5.

and publication of forms of Prayer for Public Worship, and services for the Administration of the Sacraments, the Celebration of Marriage, the Burial of the Dead, etc."<sup>1</sup> It was felt by members of the Society that the Church of Scotland suffered from the lack of a prescribed and recognised order for such services and ordinances; and the compilation of suitable forms was regarded as one of its primary tasks. Especially desirable, they believed, was a greater measure of uniformity in the method of sacramental administration. At Baptism, for example, a definite order of service and authorised formulae for the parental vows would assist parents in a proper understanding of the service, and allow them to participate in the baptismal rite knowing what was therein required of them. At Holy Communion, too, the dignity and solemnity of the Church's ministrations would be enhanced by an authoritative form which, if used throughout the Church, would provide that, in every parish church, the worshipper "might know that the Church, and not the mere individual minister, was addressing to him the same warnings, exhortations, and invitations which she was addressing everywhere to all her members, and was

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship, Rites & Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, p.5.

sealing to him the same promises and imparting the same grace".<sup>1</sup>

Yet another endeavour of the Society was the encouragement of liturgical studies amongst the members. "In the first days", wrote the Rev. D. Bruce Nicol, "all members of the Society were working members, taking an active part in the work of the Society".<sup>2</sup> It was hoped that individual members would place at the disposal of the Society the fruits of their liturgical studies, and that a great compendium of prayers might be built up. "Our field of study", said the secretary of the Society in 1905, "is the prayers of the Christian Church, including that model Liturgy - the Lord's Prayer - and not forgetting the Hebrew Psalms, a great liturgical storehouse - so that, by getting the best out of ancient and modern, it may make the worship of the Church of Scotland today the best in Christendom".<sup>3</sup> In the Report of the Society after the first meeting in 1865, this aim was stated as being "to search for, and to disentangle from all superstitious accretions or sectional peculiarities, the prayers of the Faithful

1. J.Kerr: op.cit., pp.56/7.

2. D.Bruce Nicol: "The Church Service Society - A Brief Retrospect" in the Annual 1928-9, p.18.

3. J.Kerr: op.cit., pp.13/14.

in all divisions of the Catholic Church, and to gather these, not into a formal manual of devotions, but into a great magazine of prayers, to which every minister might have access, and from which each might draw, even as from a living fountain".<sup>1</sup>

For many years the Society found itself suspect, and without the official imprimatur of the General Assembly. "It was a serious business", says A. K. H. Boyd, "to belong to it at first".<sup>2</sup> It was suspected of being a nursery for Romanists, ritualists, and ecclesiastical conspirators whose aim was to subvert the Church of Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

Within a quarter of a century from its inception the Society, which in the meanwhile had abandoned the idea of being solely a clerical association, could claim 506 ministerial members and 130 laymen in its ranks, among them sons of the most prominent and influential Churchmen of the day. "Good Presbyterians", said Boyd, "may like the Church Service Society or not. But the Society cannot be ignored; it reckons among its members a decided majority of the

1. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.58.

2. A.K.H.Boyd: Twenty-Five Years of St. Andrews, Vol.I, p.32.

3. For a discussion of the opposition directed against the "innovators", see Boyd's sermon, The Place of Ritual, preached in 1869.

most outstanding ministers of the Kirk".<sup>1</sup>

By 1906 the Society had to its credit several noteworthy volumes, viz:

1. The Book of Common Order, commonly called Knox's Liturgy. Edited by the Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D.
2. The Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI. Edited by the Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D.
3. The Westminster Directory. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Leishman, D.D.
4. The Second Liturgy of Edward VI. Edited by the Rev. H. J. Wotherspoon, M.A.
5. The Liturgy of 1637, commonly called Laud's Liturgy. Edited by the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D.
6. Euchologion or the Book of Common Order. Edited by the Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D.

Various occasional papers of considerable value were also issued, notably a childrens' service-book; a manual of daily prayers for morning and evening use, and orders of service for great national occasions, such as the Jubilee and Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, the Coronation of King Edward, the Quater-Centenary of the birth of John Knox, etc.

The chief contribution of the Society remains,

1. A.K.H. Boyd: "The New Liturgies of the Scottish Kirk" in St. Andrews and Elsewhere, pp.195/6.

however, the publication of the volume of prayers for public worship called EUCHOLOGION, which in later editions was styled the Book of Common Order, after the Reformers' book which bears that name.

The first edition was published by William Blackwood & Sons in 1867. The three members of the Society chiefly responsible for its compilation appear to have been the Rev. G. W. Sprott, Principal Tulloch, and the Rev. R. H. Story.

A noteworthy feature of this first edition is that no service was included for ordinary Sunday worship, but only material which might be used as a guide in the compilation of such a service. This may have been due, as Dr. William Milligan suggests, to the opposition of Dr. Robert Lee of Old Greyfriars who seems to have desired his own book Prayers for Public Worship to be adopted by the Society.<sup>1</sup> But complete forms were provided for Holy Communion, for Baptism (two forms), for the celebration of marriage (two forms), for the burial of the dead, and two tables of lessons. "The two baptismal services, the Communion service, the first marriage service, the burial service and the first table of lessons were the contribution of individ-

1. W. McMillan: "Euchologion: The Book of Common Order" in the Church Service Society Annual 1937-8, p.24.

ual members of the Society, more or less altered or modified in accordance with the judgment of the Committee. The second marriage service and the second table of lessons were borrowed directly from liturgical books recently published in America. The materials for the construction of a service for public worship on the Lord's Day are, as they stand in the volume, the result of the contributions of more than one member of the Society".<sup>1</sup>

The value of the first edition is enhanced by the provision of foot-notes indicating the source of the various prayers, many of them from the ancient Eastern and Western liturgies, others modern. While Dr. Lee's book did not commend itself to the Society for general use, it is interesting to note that several prayers from his book are included in the first and subsequent editions of Euchologion. Only in this first edition is there a valuable section containing an analysis of the various Communion services of the Church since the days of Justin Martyr (A.D.150).

In the preface it is stated that "a glance at the Table of Contents will suffice to show that this book is not offered to the public as a complete work. The

1. W.McMillan: op.cit., p.25.

Society is not yet in a position to issue this: but in time such a work may be issued, if the business of the Society prospers".<sup>1</sup>

In the second edition (1869) four complete Sunday services are given, two for morning and two for evening. Only one form each for Baptism and marriage are included, and new insertions were a service for the admission of catechumens, and for the ordination of ministers.

In the third edition (1874) five orders for morning and evening are provided, the service for the evening of the fifth Sunday being taken entirely from the Book of Common Prayer.

The fourth edition (1877) shows little change other than the insertion of the Nicene Creed in the Communion Service, with the Apostles' Creed as an alternative. The fifth edition appeared in 1884 with the Lectionary carefully revised and an appendix with material for daily services. In this edition the repetition of the Apostles' Creed is recommended for use in the principal services of worship.

In the sixth edition (1890), several alterations of considerable significance were made- mostly with an

1. Church Service Society: Euchologion, First Edition, page xviii.

Anglican bias, e.g. the traditional order of post-sermon intercessions and thanksgivings for the Faithful Departed was changed to a position before sermon, the singing of the Te Deum between the morning lessons, and the Benedictus after them, with the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in corresponding places at evening service were recommended: a rubric was inserted requesting the congregation to kneel at prayer, and the use of the Litany was suggested. These changes were made despite protest from such men as Dr. Sprott and Dr. Leishman who saw in them too great a dependence on Anglican forms, and too wide a departure from Primitive and Reformed usage. Also, as Sprott pointed out, "the order of Communion, which is the normal service of the Church, should be followed as closely as possible at other times".<sup>1</sup> The above change in the order of prayers has been retained in subsequent editions. In this sixth edition the following order of service is suggested:-

Psalm or Hymn.

Introductory Sentences from Holy Scripture.

Prayers of Invocation, Confession, Pardon and Peace, followed by Declaratory Absolution,

1. Church Service Society: Euchologion, Seventh Edition, p.xxi. (footnote).

Supplications, and Prayers for the various seasons of the Christian Year.

Lord's Prayer said by both Minister and Congregation.

Response: Minister: O Lord, open Thou our lips.

People: And our mouth shall show

forth Thy praise.

Psalms in Prose version, each ending with Gloria.

Lesson from Old Testament.

Te Deum or other Psalm or Hymn.

Lesson from New Testament.

Benedictus or other Psalm or Hymn.

Apostles' Creed, sung or said.

Response: Minister: The Lord be with you.

People: And with thy spirit.

Intercessory Prayers and Thanksgiving.

Anthem or Psalm or Hymn.

Prayers for Illumination.

Sermon.

Ascription (desirable that Congregation stand).

Collect for the day.

Offertory collected and laid on Holy Table.

Hymn.

Blessing.

A special edition, published in 1905, with the text of the seventh edition (1896), and edited by Dr. Sprott, is of particular value. In it, in addition to an informative preface giving a brief account of the movement for the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland, there is also a detailed appendix of the sources of the material used in the volume. "Here we see how widely the compilers cast their nets, for almost every liturgy in Christendom has been laid under contribution. A considerable amount of material was drawn from early Reformed sources. For this we have to thank Dr. Sprott himself, who laid more stress on the form of that period than did some of his colleagues. Writers such as Luther, Hermann, Jeremy Taylor are quoted, while in the fifth Sunday Services there are several prayers written by Martineau. There is a fair amount taken from such Scottish sources as the Book of Common Order (Knox's Liturgy), and Dr. Lee's Prayers for Public Worship. The Directory for Publick Worship of the Westminster Divines has also yielded something".<sup>1</sup>

Succeeding editions were also identical to this last, and were the basis of the three later volumes

1. W. McMillan: op.cit., p.31.

which were the lineal descendants of Euchologion - Prayers for Divine Service (Church of Scotland 1923): the Book of Common Order of the United Free Church 1928: and the Book of Common Order 1940.

But, as A. K. H. Boyd remarks, writing in 1894, "to mention the editions which have appeared gives but little notion of the influence which the book has exerted. You can enter few Scottish parish churches now in which you will not recognise the beautiful and familiar sentences pervading all the prayers: in which you will not find that the old traditional 'floating liturgy' has been superseded by decorous and devout supplication which has the true liturgical music and flow".<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be doubted that the Church Service Society can claim a large share of the credit in the renaissance of worship in the second half of the nineteenth century. It proved itself to be influential in an educative capacity. In books of prayers, pamphlets, orders of service for special occasions, forms of worship suitable for the Sacraments, burials and weddings, the Society gradually propagated its views throughout the whole Church. "It has done much",

1. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Liturgies of the Scottish Kirk" in St. Andrews and Elsewhere, p.196.

remarks Sprott, "to improve the worship of the Church, to check ignorant inventions of innovators on their own account, and to preserve sound doctrine in a time of unbelief. The Society has kept many in the church who, but for it, would have gone over to Episcopacy, and at the same time, by building bridges, bevelling distinctions, and levelling up, it has made a large contribution to Christian reunion".<sup>1</sup> As Kerr says: "From chaos and confusion it has brought the Church into the region of order and decorum".<sup>2</sup> In the matter of public prayer he maintains that "the rambling prayers of the former days are now avoided. The division of prayer into confession, thanksgiving, supplication, intercession, is now general, vulgarity is absent, good taste prevails".<sup>3</sup> Through the work of the Society the observance of the Christian Year has been encouraged, and a more frequent celebration of Holy Communion. It has helped to make Divine Service in Presbyterian Scotland more worshipful, and less heavy and didactic.

The Society, moreover, achieved much in reminding the Scottish Church that it was not a national church only, but a part of the great Catholic or Universal

1. G.W.Sprott: Euchologion (1905 edition) p.xxii.
2. J.Kerr: The Renascence of Worship, p.36.
3. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.38.

Church. Kerr spoke for the Society when he remarked that "we do not wish to be regarded as the creation of John Knox or Andrew Melville: we do not even want to serve ourselves heirs to St. Columba and St. Ninian, but to be heirs of all the ages in which holy men of God spake to the Father through the Holy Spirit".<sup>1</sup>

While it seems that the majority of the members of the Society realised that Anglican models for Scottish worship and Churchmanship were not suited to the Scottish temperament and that any attempt to induce the Scottish Church to adopt the Book of Common Prayer would end in failure, yet the Society had within its ranks, as McMillan points out "an Anglicanising party"<sup>2</sup>, whose aim seemed to be the making of Scottish services like the Anglican orders for morning and evening prayer, and this group was allowed to leave a definite impress upon the Society's work. This can be seen in many features of Euchologion - the incorporation of collects from the Book of Common Prayer, the insertion of the Magnificat, Benedictus, Te Deum and Nunc Dimittis as in the Anglican Prayer Book, the chanting of the Psalms in the prose version. In 1890 Dr. Dykes of Ayr warned the Society of this tendency towards undue imitation of

1. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.15.  
2. W.McMillan: op.cit., p.29.

Anglicanism. "I think", he said, "that the ministers of our Church are apt to introduce too much of the English Prayer Book into their service. I hold this is a mistake. We ought to keep up the nationality of our Church service".<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sprott and Dr. Leishman also protested vigorously against this Anglicanising tendency.

In the erection of new churches, and in the furnishings and adornments of church buildings, Anglican fashions were often made the standard, notably in the preference for the chancel-type of building: for pulpits removed from their central position to a less prominent place: for the Holy Table given centrality and made more ornate: for the use of choir-stalls, prayer-desks, etc.

This "aping of Episcopacy" was due, no doubt, in large measure to the fact that for most members of the Church Service Society the Book of Common Prayer was the liturgy most familiar to them, and most easily accessible, and the one most readily seen in operation not only in the Church across the Border, but in the chapels of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

In 1882 the United Presbyterian Church inaugurated

1. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.144.

a Devotional Service Association, and the Free Church of Scotland followed in 1891 with its Public Worship Association. These Societies were combined in 1900 to form the Church Worship Association of the United Free Church, and at the Union of the Churches in 1929 the latter amalgamated with the Church Service Society.

## II.

### The Scottish Church Society (1892).

According to Dr. H. J. Wotherspoon, it was a debate in the General Assembly of 1891, in which the evil of schism was deplored, which led to the formation of the Scottish Church Society. "These speeches called the attention of what I shall term the High Church group among the senior clergy to the fact that there were some young and hitherto unrecognised sons of the prophets. A rallying-point was sought, and this was found in the formation of the Scottish Church Society".<sup>1</sup>

The Society was inaugurated at a meeting held in Edinburgh in 1892 of a number of ministers of the Established Church. Among the fourteen present were

1. Lord Sands: Andrew Wallace Williamson, K.C.V.O., D.D., p.169.

Rev. Doctors Sprott, John Macleod of Govan, and James Cooper. "After conversation on the state and prospects of the Church it was found to be the desire of all present that an association of those holding Church principles should be formed for mutual counsel and support, and for the propagation of sound principles in the Church. It was agreed to appoint a committee to prepare a draft constitution for a Society such as was desiderated".<sup>1</sup>

The chosen motto of the Society was "Ask for the Old Paths . . . . and walk therein"<sup>2</sup>, and it was stated that "the general purpose of the Society shall be to defend and advance Catholic doctrine as set forth in the ancient Creeds, and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland; and generally to assert Scriptural principles in all matters relating to Church Order and Policy, Christian Work and Spiritual Life, throughout Scotland".<sup>3</sup>

There followed a statement of twenty-two special objects, of which the chief were:

- (a) the consistent affirmation of the divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling of the Church.

1. MSS. Minutes of Scottish Church Society in possession of Hon. Secretary of the Society.  
 2. Jeremiah Chapter 6, verse 16.  
 3. S.C.S. "Constitution" in Conferences, First Series, p.198.

- (b) the fostering of a due sense of the historic continuity of the Church from the first.
- (c) the maintaining of the necessity of a valid ordination to the Holy Ministry, and the celebration in a fitting manner of the rite of ordination.
- (d) the assertion of the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the restoration of the Holy Communion to its rightful place in relation to the worship of the Church, and to the spiritual life of the baptised.
- (e) the promotion of the religious education, and pastoral care of the young, on the basis of Holy Baptism.
- (f) the observance in its main features of the Christian Year.
- (g) the furtherance of Catholic unity in every way consistent with true loyalty to the Church of Scotland.

Other aims included the revival of daily service, a deepening of the spiritual life of the clergy, the promotion of pastoral training of candidates for the holy ministry, consideration of various social problems occasioned by pauperism, work in hospitals, amongst soldiers and sailors: the maintenance of the law of the Church in regard to marriage, the promotion of

evangelistic work on Church lines: the seemingly ordering and care of churches and churchyards, and the preservation of ancient ecclesiastical monuments.

Professor William Milligan, of the Chair of New Testament Criticism at Aberdeen University, first President of the Society, declared that, in general, the Society's aims were two-fold. The first was to deepen and promote their own individual spiritual life as ministers of the Church of Christ. The second was to maintain the witness of the Christian Faith in a time of growing secularism and unbelief. "Was there not", he asked, "a need for an emphasis on the fundamental doctrines of the faith? Is it not a well-known fact that the 'doctrine' embodied in the Standards of the Church is in these days losing its importance in the eyes of many? Are the doctrines of the Divinity, the Incarnation, the Atoning Death, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Second Advent of Him whom we call the Redeemer of the World, of the presence and work of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and of the place and value of the Divine ordinances sufficiently prominent in our minds? These fundamental truths", he asserted, "are fading from the minds of many, even of the members of the Church".<sup>1</sup>

1. W. Milligan: The Scottish Church Society, p.6.

Milligan maintained that the tendency of the day was to adhere to a religion merely of "works", of practical benevolence and kindness; charity and sympathy are considered a sufficient religious code. "We may soon", he declared, "see a Christianity without Christ".<sup>1</sup>

Hence there was an urgent compulsion laid upon Scottish Churchmen to reassert Catholic doctrine. Referring to the contemporary movement for the improvement of Scottish worship, Milligan doubted whether this was being tackled in the correct way. "Will tasteful arrangements, music, flowers, pictures, embroidery and carved wood, everything included in what is surely ironically characterised as an 'attractive service' long continue to be of avail? To imagine for an instant that they can occupy the place of the most solemn revelations of what the Church believes to be the Gospel of God . . . is to offer men a stone when they are hungering for the Bread of Life. If Christianity be true, those who believe it to be so may well be expected to cherish the most anxious concern that its doctrines may be revived, maintained and defended".<sup>2</sup>

1. W. Milligan: op.cit., p.7.

2. W. Milligan: op.cit., p.7.

The annual Conference, held at various centres, was a feature of the early Society. At the first Conference Rev. Dr. Thomas Leishman of Linton further expounded the Society's aims. "One great end contemplated by the Society", he said, "is the strengthening of belief. She inscribes on the very front of her constitution that her general purpose is 'to defend and advance Catholic doctrine'. Of late a conviction has been deepening in many minds that as to doctrine the Scottish Church has missed her way".<sup>1</sup> He pointed out that in some intellectual circles, and among students preparing for the ministry, there was a nebulous and uncertain hold on the great fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. "Of late years", he said on another occasion, "an opinion seems to have been very prevalent among us that a Scottish living is of the nature of an endowment for research; the young presbyter is to settle down in his parish to think out a credo for himself, and have the neighbouring peasantry together for 80 minutes on Sunday forenoon to hear how the process goes on. During the week his activities are to be parochial visitation without religious services, literary and social gatherings, concerts and

sports - admirable things all, but they do not require a heavenly commission and the consecration of a life".<sup>1</sup> At the annual meeting in 1905 he declared: "The most important work, and that which seems to be most neglected in the Church, is the assertion in their fullness of the ancient Christian beliefs".

Leishman, in the name of the Society, often reiterated the fact that doctrine, rather than ritual, constituted the Society's main emphasis. They were concerned with invisible, not visible, things. "Let me guard younger brethren", he said in 1894, "against the mistake of supposing that there is a necessary connection between a gorgeous worship and well-defined doctrine. The ritual may be most elaborate, musical, floricultural, sartorial in the extreme, and the teaching barely Christian. The service may be very simple, and the truth of God clearly and fully preached".<sup>2</sup>

"What is it", Cooper asked, "that is too commonly preached in our churches? Is it the fundamental truths of the Gospel, awful, soul-subduing in their power, holiness and love, which bend men to their knees in the worship of a present God. Or do we rejoice in a 'pretty service' followed by a smart essay on some

1. S.C.S.: Annual Report, 1893-94, pp.13/14.

2. S.C.S.: Annual Report, 1893-94, p.13.

'topic of the day' while the solemn facts which the Creed commemorates are either ignored or dismissed as 'dogmas', dry, unspiritual, antiquated?"<sup>1</sup>

"Our first interest as members of this Society", said Dr. A. Wallace Williamson in 1903, "is not ritual, or law, or fabric, but doctrine. We have been called 'High Churchmen'. It is an honourable title with which there is no need to quarrel. But if our real aim is to be described by an adjective, one would prefer the title of 'Deep Churchmen', not in the ominous sense in which it is used of scheming ecclesiastics, but as implying that our search is and always has been for the fundamental truths of the faith".<sup>2</sup>

A great deal of distrust surrounded the Society in its early years. Dr. John Macleod, as Vice-President, found it necessary to defend the existence of the Society against hostile discussion in the Presbytery of Glasgow. He pointed out that this was no secret society formed for the purpose of introducing new and alien doctrines into the Church of Scotland. On the contrary, its aims had been fully advertised, and within the ranks of its membership were to be found some of the most trusted and honoured names in

1. S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.53.

2. S.C.S. Annual Report, 1903-04, p.14.

the land. The Society had not originated in any spirit of disloyalty to the Church, not did it aim at "anglicising" the Church of Scotland. "The movement", he said, "had not sprung out of a desire to imitate Episcopacy, but had been the growth of Catholic belief that never had been extirpated in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland".<sup>1</sup> On another occasion Macleod referred to the vigorous opposition of those who had expressed themselves through the media of the newspapers. "We have survived a great deal of scribbling in the newspapers", he said in 1893, "especially in the newspapers of the west . . . a correspondence in which the discretion and humility of the persons contributing to it were shown in the fact that, for the most part, it was anonymous".<sup>2</sup>

Jacob Primmer, minister of Townhead, Dunfermline, and arch-enemy of Romanist claims, attacked the Society not only in the columns of the Press, but in vigorous protest meetings held throughout Scotland, and in a spate of abusive pamphlets, in which he condemned the Society's personnel and objects as being subversive and harmful influences within the Church, whose aim was the victory of Popery in Scotland. His activities were

1. W. Milligan: *op.cit.*, p.24.

2. S.C.S. Annual Report, 1893-94, p.25.

noted even in the Anglican Church Times which reported in its edition of November 4th, 1892: "Mr. Jacob Primmer has headed the movement in opposition to this Society, an especial feature in his animadversions being the secrecy of its operations. Every summer for some years past he has organised a series of Sunday open-air demonstrations against the attempt 'to re-introduce Popery and Prelacy into the National Kirk' which have been held at all the large centres of population, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Dumfries, as well as at certain other historic spots connected with the struggles of the Reformation, the Revolution, or the Covenanters of the West. The demonstrations have been attended by many thousands, and strongly worded resolutions have been passed at them all, protesting against the revival of liturgies, "images", Church seasons, and all other departures from the severe and naked simplicity of Presbyterian worship which characterised it until the present generation. It is very difficult to gauge the strength of the popular feeling against the innovators. The Scottish Press, for the most part, treats Jacob Primmer and his coadjutors with ridicule, and on every occasion when an attempt has been made to procure a decisive condemnation of the practices objected to by

the Synod or General Assembly, a decisive majority has refused to interfere or censure. But there are indications that at last the patience of the old-fashioned Scotch laity is becoming exhausted, and the publication this month of the Constitution of the new Society has aroused quite a storm of indignant comment, and the Glasgow Herald, hitherto mildly friendly to the reforms, condemns the movement as an indication of 'sacerdotal snobbishness'.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that two younger members of the Society, the Rev. John Charleson, B.D., of Thornliebank, and the Rev. T. Newbiggin Adamson, M.A., of St. Margaret's, Barnhill, were both summoned before their presbyteries on charges of introducing what Primmer called "the blasphemy of the Mass" and prayers to the Virgin Mary and the saints, seemed to furnish added justification for Primmer's antagonism, despite the fact that the Society publicly deplored the actions of the two men involved. When Charleson joined the Church of Rome, Dr. G. W. Sprott felt it necessary to say at the 1902 Annual Meeting of the Society that "six or seven years ago I had some conversation about him with Dr. John Macleod, who told me that it would be necessary,

1. Church Times, November 4th, 1892.

because of his Romish proclivities, that he leave the Scottish Church Society. He was requested to do so, and left the Society accordingly".<sup>1</sup>

"We are not Romanisers", said Sprott on another occasion, "neither have we entered into a conspiracy to destroy the nation's Protestantism, and to make a thoroughly Popish Episcopacy triumphant throughout the land. We deplore the Roman proclivities of a section of the Church of England".<sup>2</sup>

Though the Society has always been small numerically, no other organisation has had a more potent influence in the revival of Churchmanship in Scotland, and the remaining chapters of this work will be devoted to an examination of its contribution to this ideal and the impact of its thought upon the Church as it is today. That there should be opposition at the beginning was inevitable, for the Society sought to arouse from their lethargy those who were inured in the somnolence of the status quo. Many resented being thus aroused. But the opposition so vehemently exhibited did good rather than harm. It focussed public attention on the Society and its work. "I believe", said Wotherspoon, "that our influence within the Church has been wider and deeper

1. S.C.S. Annual Report, 1901-02, p.18.  
2. S.C.S. Annual Report, 1895-96, p.12.

then the Church itself is aware. Men have been made to think; and what is perhaps of more importance, have seen that certain lines of thought are possible; that a Presbyterian may be in the true sense a Catholic; that the Reformation is not merely an arrested process of denial; that Presbyterianism is not necessarily synonymous with confusion of mind or with contempt of Christian institutions; that, in fact, it is a rational form of Church system and can at least speak for its order and sacraments. We have spoken for Presbyterianism as a theory of valid Churchmanship; we have reminded the Church of its origins".<sup>1</sup>

The early Society had to its credit several noteworthy publications, including three volumes of Reports of the Conferences held at various centres. One of these, Divine Life in the Church, deals exhaustively with the Society's conception of the Doctrine of Baptism, and includes valuable papers by Dr. John Macleod of Goven.

### III.

#### The Ecclesiological Societies (1886: 1893: 1903).

The Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society was founded by the Rev. James Cooper while minister of the West

1. S.C.S. Annual Report, 1904-05, pp.14/15.

Parish, Aberdeen. The first meeting, held in 1886, consisted of a group of clergy, artists and architects who were drawn together by a common interest in the principles of Christian worship and Church architecture. The aim of the new Society was stated to be "the diffusion throughout Scotland of sound views, and the creation of a truer taste in these matters".<sup>1</sup>

Cooper declared that he received the impulse to form the Society on reading an article on the genesis of the Camden Society by three young Cambridge men - "a Society", says Cooper, "which played so important a part in the ecclesiological revival in England. And calling to mind our good Scots proverb, 'They're far ahin' that daurna follow', I ventured to form, with three young architects, the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society. Distinguished clergymen like the late Rev. Professor Milligan, the late Rev. Professor Christie, the late Right Rev. Bishop Grant, the Rev. Dr. Spratt, Professor George Adam Smith, and eminent northern architects gave us their countenance; and before twelve months were out, we were able to issue our first thin quarto of Transactions. It was received with some

1. Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, 1887, p.7.

scotts - for which we were prepared - but with an amount of approbation which astonished us, and showed us how ready the soil was to receive the seed we had set ourselves, by God's help, to sow".<sup>1</sup>

The Glasgow Ecclesiological Society (founded 1893) united with its northern sister to form the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, the first meeting of which was held in Edinburgh in May, 1903.

Included in the annual programme of the Society are meetings at various centres, excursions to places of historic and ecclesiological interest, and the publication of the Transactions - a yearly volume of considerable value in the field of ecclesiological scholarship, with excellent articles by British and foreign experts in this vast and complicated subject.

"We do not think", said Cooper at the first meeting of the joint Society, "that the public worship of Almighty God is a matter of trifling importance. We believe that the worship should be rendered with the fullest understanding of its principles, and with the utmost care to make it expressive of our Christian faith and reverence and gratitude and love."<sup>2</sup>

1. Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, 1904, p.3.

2. *ibid.*, 1904, p.2.

He maintained that the time was ripe for the educative work of the Society, especially among architects responsible for the erection of new churches. "Some of our new churches, of course, are really fine; but how many of them are only showy! And these are all the same - as if made to order! You know the type - Perpendicular, without the rich simplicity of the old English examples, or Flamboyant, with none of the weighty splendours of fifteenth century work in Scotland. The exteriors of these new churches are vulgar and pretentious; their interiors, void and staring; their decoration and arrangements, those of the concert room or the music hall. The people take what they get. They are glad of the added comfort. They boast, sometimes, of their new grandeurs. But they feel that the old solemnity is gone. The churches I am speaking of have none of that. They are wholly wanting in spiritual suggestiveness. They do not dispose to adoration. They hardly lend themselves to the feelings of devotion."<sup>1</sup>

A special feature of the Society's work has been to stimulate interest in and concern for the preservation of Scotland's ancient shrines. "We do not deem

1. Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, 1904, p.4.

it to be for the glory of God, or for the honour of Scotland, that her ancient sanctuaries should lie waste".<sup>1</sup> Speaking in 1904 Cooper declared:

"Perhaps we scarcely realise how much in this direction has already been achieved among us. The last half century has seen the clearing out of the partitions and galleries which blotted and defaced the Cathedral of St. Mungo and the Cathedral of St. Giles: the fitting up for Divine Service once again of Roslin Chapel; the building for the Scottish Episcopal Church of Cathedrals at Perth, Dumfries, Inverness and Edinburgh, and of a beautiful pro-Cathedral at Dundee: the admirable work of Sir R. Rowand Anderson at St. Vigean's (the first of our parish churches to be properly restored, and perhaps the most perfect still): the erection of fanes so stately and correct as the Parish Church of Govan, and the Barony at Glasgow, the Parish Church of Orathie, the Catholic (and) Apostolic Church in Edinburgh, the United Free Churches at Crieff, Mayfield, and St. Luke's, Broughty Ferry: the Episcopal Churches at Ellon, New Pitsligo, Ayr and Torry: and the superb Baptist Church at Paisley. So also we have had the restoration of Dunblane Cathedral, the delightful restoration of Brechin

1. Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, 1904, p.3.

Cathedral, the restoration of Haddington, the partial restoration of the Stuarts' Abbey of Paisley, and the Stuarts' Church at Linlithgow".<sup>1</sup>

But much, Cooper insisted, remained to be done - at Kirkwall, Dunfermline, Dunkeld: at Stirling Castle and Holyrood, and especially Iona Abbey, "the sanctuary of sanctuaries for Scottish people".

But the Society had yet another function - to prevent ill-advised tampering with ancient ecclesiastical fabrics, and to ensure that hasty and ill-advised changes were not allowed to destroy the beauty and sanctity of historic shrines. "Agitation is not wholly to be deprecated if it seeks to prevent changes being made without due deliberation and the advice of those who have some right to an opinion".<sup>2</sup>

Thus the Ecclesiological Society has become a handmaid of the Church Service Society, which concerns itself chiefly with the worship, ritual and adornment of the Church, and a valuable ally also of the Scottish Church Society. For Cooper's aim was to see the Catholic conception of the Church expressed not only in the Church's creeds and worship, but also in

1. Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society: Transactions, 1904, p.5.

2. op.cit., p.8.

the Church fabric, in the buildings erected to the glory of God -- churches which were "not only places of meeting, but homes of worship".<sup>1</sup>

1. Bishop Harrison in Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society Transactions, 1904, p.8.

CHAPTER EIGHTThe Teaching of the  
High Church GroupThe Doctrine of the Church

## I.

The Church Catholic and Reformed.

The first of the special aims of the Scottish Church Society was stated in its Constitution to be "the consistent affirmation of the Divine basis, supernatural life and heavenly calling of the Church". It was necessary to emphasise this, said Professor William Milligan in his presidential address to the first meeting of the Society, because a low and unworthy view of the Church had come to prevail in Scotland. It was too often regarded as being an organisation of merely human origin - an association of likeminded Christian people who had elected to assemble together as a congregation for Divine worship and mutual edification. "They come together of their own accord and imagine that they may separate as taste

or fancy dictates. They have no conception of the Church as the Body of Christ".<sup>1</sup>

The incidence of frequent separation and schism within Presbyterianism, often, as it seems to us, for the most paltry reasons, would seem to bear out the above view. Scotsmen have, in the past, been quick to seize on separation as a remedy for ecclesiastical grievances. It is easy to separate. It is a simple matter, when carried forward by the enthusiasm of the moment, to form yet another schismatic group -- another so-called "Church" born, not of the Divine Will, but of human fractiousness and impetuosity. Only a new and more exalted conception of the Church, the High Church group believed, could save the Churchmanship of Scotland from degenerating into narrow congregationalism and sectarianism. The Church, they claimed, is a Divine, not a human, creation. It is the gift of God to the world, constituted by the operation and indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit to be the mystical Body of Christ. "We must learn to feel", said Milligan, "more deeply than we do that we are an integral part of Christ's Body, and in vital connection

1. W. Milligan: The Scottish Church Society: Some Account of its Aims, p. 8.

with the whole Body. We are not a mere fortuitous concourse of religious atoms: we are not simply a religious party among many sects. We are a portion of what is called the Holy Catholic Church planted in Scotland by the Divine Head of the Church Himself to represent to the whole world a glorified Redeemer".<sup>1</sup>

The Church of Scotland claims to be Catholic, and not merely national. As a national church it is her duty to minister to all classes and ranks of the people, and to accomodate herself to the idiosyncrasies of the nation to which she has been sent. "But", the Scottish Church Society pointed out, "while this is true there is another and a greater truth. Nationality is no mark of the Church of Christ. Catholicity is. Any view of a national Church which fails to realise her relation to the One Living Body of the Living Saviour, abiding in close fellowship with Him, and sustained by His own appointed means, leaves her a more or less human institution, subject to an undue extent to the interference of men, and incapable of fulfilling the higher purposes of God.

1. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1906-07, p.17.

There is no escape from Erastianism, unless the Church is a living Body, strong in the strength of that Catholicity which is wider and more lasting than the greatest empires that the world has ever seen".<sup>1</sup>

To the theme of their Church's Catholicity the High Churchmen constantly reverted. It was not to the Reformation period only that the Church must look, but to that greater unity with the faithful throughout all the Christian ages and in every land. "In Scotland", said Principal Herbert Story, "the Church is at once Catholic and national. That is to say, it is orthodox in doctrine, according to the Catholic standards of orthodoxy: it is apostolic in its constitution: it has never separated itself from the Catholic Church of Christ, although at the Reformation of the sixteenth century it severed its connection with the corrupt communion that was governed by Rome".<sup>2</sup> Sprott pointed out the Catholic content of the Creeds and Confessions of the Scottish Church. "All through the history of this Church the Apostles' Creed has been received, and during the

1. W. Milligan: *op.cit.*, pp.12/13.

2. R.H. Story: Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church, pp.3/4.

early Reformed period it was in constant evidence. The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds have not been so well known among us, but they also were received and approved by the Church of Scotland after the Reformation. In common with other Reformed Churches our Church subscribed the Second Helvetic Confession which says: 'we believe whatsoever things are comprehended in the Creeds, and thus do we retain the Christian Catholic faith whole and inviolable, knowing that nothing is contained in the foresaid Creeds which is not agreeable to the Word of God'.<sup>1</sup>

It is in the teaching of Professor James Cooper that the most explicit emphasis is laid on the Catholic heritage of the Scottish Church. At this point, however, it is worthy of note that neither Cooper nor any of his associates among the Scottish High Churchmen had any fond admiration for the Church of Rome. "Cooper", said Wotherspoon, "was always an anti-papalist, reasonably aware of all that is venerable and excellent in the unreformed section of the Western Church, but convincingly opposed to its unscriptural developments and uncatholic assertions

1. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1893-94, p.21.

in doctrine and practice".<sup>1</sup> There was never a Romanizing group among the High Churchmen. Their Catholicity included Rome but was not Romanwards.

The Reformation, Cooper was fond of pointing out, did not create a new Church in Scotland. The Reformers desired not to destroy, but merely to purify the existing Church. Hence he saw in the Church of Scotland a "continuity with the whole past of Christianity through and beyond the Reformation and medieval periods right up to primitive and apostolic times, and so to the foundations laid by Christ Himself. This sense of continuity", he maintained, "the Church of Scotland has never quite lost".<sup>2</sup>

"Through all the changes in the long centuries, before we had diocesan bishops: in the centuries during which we yielded a precarious allegiance to the Roman pontiff: at the Reformation: when, 50 years after, our titular bishops received canonical consecration from England: after the prelates of that time had been deposed in 1638: when a new line of bishops came in at the Revolution: and through the two centuries of Presbyterian polity since then, we have maintained our

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: James Cooper: A Memoir, p.80.

2. J.Cooper: Our Sacred Heritage, p.10.

historic continuity, and have known ourselves by no name save that which describes us as part of the one Kingdom and Body of the Lord Jesus Christ, and as that part of it which he commissioned to our rugged land and the strong-willed people who inhabit it".<sup>1</sup> We believe her "the true and Holy Kirk of Christ in Scotland, reformed from errors contracted in her medieval period, but herself continuous from her first planting by such servants of Christ as St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, St. Columba, capable, no doubt, of improvement, but as truly Catholic as she is undoubtedly national".<sup>2</sup> Sprott spoke in similar terms when he remarked that "Reformation was not the erection of a new Church, with new offices and ordinances, but the casting out of corruptions and restoring divine institutions to their original use. The temple when purified was the same temple; the tree with its superfluous growths and rotten branches removed the same tree; the body with the cancer excised the same body as before".<sup>3</sup>

1. J.Cooper: The Revival of Church Principles in the Church of Scotland, p.5.

2. J.Cooper: "Effectual Recognition by the State, not of Religion only, but of the Church" in S.C.S. Conferences, 4th Series, p.60.

3. G.W.Sprott: Doctrine of Schism in the Church of Scotland, pp.2/3.

Professor Cooper greatly regretted that, in popular speech, "Catholic" was used to mean "Roman Catholic". "There is a fashion coming in among us - a light fashion - of conceding to the Church of Rome an exclusive right to the name. Members of that Church are spoken of as Catholics; all other Christians are classed together as non-Catholics. This is treatment which we in the Church of Scotland can by no means accept. If we are not Catholics, we are condemned out of our own Confession of Faith which tells us that 'the Catholic Visible Church is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation' - - - We for our part have learned, no doubt, to see better than our fathers did three, or even two, centuries ago, the good points of the Roman system. We cannot any longer call the Church of Rome a synagogue of Satan . . . . We own her a part, a most important part of the Church Catholic: but we cannot allow that she is the whole of it".<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish High Churchmen thus sought to deliver the members and adherents of the Church of

1. J.Cooper: The Church Catholic and National, pp.12/13.

Scotland from mere "geographical Churchmanship", from regarding the Church as only a venerable national institution. If, they maintained, the Church was more anxious to be Scottish than to be Christian, and more ready to exalt her national peculiarities than to discover her affinities with the rest of the Church of Christ in other lands, then she endangered her claim to the title of Catholic.

## II.

### Church Defence and Reform.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the Church of Scotland found herself embroiled in a vigorous campaign for her disestablishment and disendowment. Since the Disruption the Free Church of Scotland had maintained a consistent attitude of opposition to the establishment of the National Church by the State, and in this vendetta the United Presbyterian Church had joined forces. Year after year in their General Assemblies these Churches drew up resolutions urging the Government to proceed to the settlement of this issue by withdrawing the State connection and the official teinds enjoyed by the Church of Scotland. The Established Church took up

the challenge by forming, in 1832, an influential Church Interests Committee, and a nation-wide movement of Church Defence was set in motion, with Principal John Tulloch of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews as joint-convener with Lord Balfour of Burleigh. The chief argument used by the Church defenders was that the Church of Scotland was an institution so venerable, so deeply-rooted in the national life, and that she had done, and was capable of doing, so much for the people of Scotland, that her disestablishment and disendowment would entail a loss to the country of unspeakable magnitude. The Established Church, as was pointed out in a pamphlet entitled To the People of Scotland, commanded the allegiance of a clear majority of the population, and since 1843 had made continuous progress in every field of activity. When Mr. J. Dick Peddie, the member for Kilmarnock, introduced into Parliament a Private Member's Bill for the complete secularisation of the Church's revenue and its entire separation from the State, the Church Interests Committee organised a petition which obtained over 688,190 signatures expressing loyalty to the National Church. "No more spontaneous movement has ever taken place in Scotland,

or evoked, in a short period, more enthusiasm".<sup>1</sup>

Active support to the cause of disestablishment in Scotland was given by the Liberation Society, a body of English nonconformist origin, which sought the disestablishment of the Scottish Church as a prelude to a similar attack on the Church of England. As Dr. James MacGregor of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh pointed out, the agitation was "more of English than of Scottish origin". In a lecture in St. Giles' Cathedral he reminded his audience that it was the Liberation Society which supplied "the sinews of war and who seek to strike through the Scottish, a blow at the English Establishment. Measured by that delicate and accurate gauge of a Scotchman's feelings and convictions - the amount of his contributions - the agitation has a very slender hold on him indeed. So far as Scotland is concerned, it is mainly clerical . . . . To the mass of the intelligent laity, in all our Churches, the agitation is simply distasteful and distressing. They see that the points which divide are trifles in comparison with the points which unite, and they are weary and sick of ecclesiastical strife".<sup>2</sup>

1. To the People of Scotland, p.3.

2. J. MacGregor: "The Church of the Present Day" in St. Giles Lectures, First Series, p.378.

At its first Conference in 1893 the Scottish Church Society publicly dealt with this urgent issue. An Established Church, it was argued, symbolised the nation's homage to Almighty God, and its support by the State was a national recognition of the supremacy of Christian standards of truth and morality. A national Church is equipped to provide religious ordinances for every class in the community, and the poorest parishioner may claim, as his right, the services of the parish minister. Doubtless a nation might exhibit its Christian character without the existence of an established Church. But in a land which has so long possessed such a Church, disestablishment would inevitably suggest the relegation of the Christian religion to an inferior place in the national life; it would dishonour not only the Church, but the Faith for which the Church stands, and would weaken her witness in an age of waxing unbelief and irreligion. A victory for the liberationists, it was emphasised, would mean "the national establishment of secularism with mere toleration for religion".<sup>1</sup>

"The ultimate issue", declared Dr. John Macleod,

1. R.S. Kirkpatrick: "National Religion" in S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.44.

"principally concerns the State. That issue is simply whether the State is or is not any longer to remain professedly Christian, and therefore to acknowledge, as it has done for centuries, by its representative and official actions, the existence and Divine mission of the Church of God".<sup>1</sup>

A critical phase in the controversy was reached in 1889 when Mr. W. Ewart Gladstone committed himself in a speech in Cornwall to the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. In 1892, during an election campaign in Midlothian, he expressed similar views, and as a result, nearly lost his seat. In 1893 one of the first acts of the Liberal Party was to introduce a Bill into the Commons the object of which was to facilitate eventual disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland by abolishing the tenure by future incumbents of vested rights in the manse, glebe, or stipend of their parishes. But the result of the parliamentary elections of 1895 removed the issue of Scottish disestablishment from the political arena and gave the Church a period of respite in which she might discover how best to set her house in order.

1. J. Macleod: A National Recognition of Religion, pp.8/9.

It was felt by many within the national Zion that the disestablishment campaign and the Church Defence Movement had served to reveal to the Church her weaknesses and the causes of the dissatisfaction that was expressed even by her most loyal supporters.

In 1896 Dr. John Macleod of Govan recommended to the General Assembly the formation of a special committee on Church Reform. This suggestion was adopted, and the subsequent Reports of this Committee are among the most impressive documents presented to the General Assembly in recent times. The Reports are lengthy; that presented in 1897 occupies 240 pages; the 1898 one 86 pages.<sup>1</sup> "The master mind and hand pervades them all . . . Dr. Macleod was the heart and soul of the whole scheme for Church Reform".<sup>2</sup>

Among the special recommendations of "John Macleod's Reports" were the following:

- (1) A more regular and efficient superintendence of parishes by Presbyteries, and the revival of the powers of the Synod. Presbyteries should exercise their disciplinary prerogatives to

1. Vide Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1897, pp.1176-1418.

2. R.S.Kirkpatrick: The Ministry of Dr. John Macleod in the Parish of Govan, p.177.

stimulate somnolent parishes and indolent incumbents.

- (2) More pastoral training should be given in the Divinity Halls, so that the clergy may be better equipped for their parochial, as distinct from their pulpit, ministrations. Institutes of pastoral training should be set up in the four university centres, under responsible wardens.
- (3) Ordination should be conferred more freely on probationers acting as assistants. Team ministries should be encouraged in populous parishes under the direction of the parish minister. Probationers on the staff of such central churches should be ordained in order to widen their usefulness and influence.
- (4) More opportunities should be made available to the laity in evangelistic work, and courses of training provided for suitable lay workers. In order to promote a greater degree of Christian liberality and self-denial amongst the members of the Church, the lay diaconate should be revived in every congregation to administer Church finances.
- Connected with this suggestion was Macleod's proposal that a large Central Fund should be set up

into which the Christian offerings of every parish would be placed, and from which each of the various General Assembly Committees, e.g. Foreign and Home Missions, Colonial work etc., would be allocated its share. This would obviate the perpetual succession of urgent financial appeals from individual committees.

- (5) The Church should realise her responsibility for social work, especially amongst the poor, orphans, and the destitute.

Although little immediate action was taken to promote Macleod's reforms, partly due to the loss of his leadership at his death in 1898, it is noteworthy that almost all his suggestions were amongst the aims of the Scottish Church Society as set forth in its Constitution - e.g. superintendence, the training of divinity students, the revival of the diaconate, social work, the duty of Christian liberality. When Macleod presented his reforms, he was speaking not only for the Committee on Church Reform, but also for his brethren in the High Church group. But much more educative and persuasive work remained to be done before the Church was ready to adopt the reforms he propounded in 1897 and 1898.

## III.

Evangelistic Work.

The High Churchmen thought of themselves as, of necessity, evangelicals; it was part of their vocation from the Risen and Ascended Christ not only to feed His sheep, but to "seek and to save that which was lost". But they viewed with deep concern the Church's failure in this field of activity. She had allowed multitudes to lapse from Christian worship and ordinances and had become content to minister to the faithful only, to the "gathered Church". She had become over-decorous and conventional in her methods of presenting the faith, "too dependent on professional advocacy", as Wotherspoon put it. As a result the ministrations to the lapsed and careless which ought to be offered by the Church were being provided by self-appointed evangelists at street corners and public halls, by men and women who commended themselves by the fervour of their Christian convictions and their fluent, realistic presentation of the Christian challenge. "There is a wholesome and sharp rebuke to us", said Wotherspoon, "in much of that undisciplined evangelism: if by its means converts are made (as they

are made), while we have to comfort ourselves by talking of seed growing secretly, and results never to be seen in this world. We have something, too, to learn from them - it is not for nothing that our own converts tend (as they do) to drift from us to that evangelism and its circles, looking for what they call (and they mean something real) 'life' - an atmosphere of fervent and active fellowship".<sup>1</sup>

But such irregular ministry was defective in both method and theology: in method inasmuch as it sought to work in separation from the Church. The fact that popular evangelism did not seek the co-operation of the Church was an indication of the Church's weakness in this sphere. "The remedy is not that the Church's work be done by others, but that she herself awake and fulfil her charge".<sup>2</sup> The theological defect of street-corner evangelism was its emphasis on only a few selected Christian doctrines. The work of Christ was proclaimed imperfectly, as if it ended at Calvary, with little recognition of the cardinal truths of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Divine gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

1. S.C.S: Conferences, First Series, p.180.

2. S.C.S: Conferences, First Series, p.184.

But most of all, this self-appointed evangelism was defective in its neglect of sacramental worship. "It speaks the word that quickens, but forgets that 'Christ commanded to give her meat'".<sup>1</sup>

It was here, maintained the High Churchmen, that the Church must seek to pursue her true evangelical responsibilities by striving to bring men and women to God, into the fellowship of the Church and into "a life continually nourished by the ordinances of God, and especially the oft-repeated Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood".<sup>2</sup> Moreover the Church has a duty to train and educate her children in the truths and duties of the Christian religion. Were this properly and faithfully done in the parishes of Scotland, there would be less need for the activities of crude and ill-instructed efforts at evangelism. As a speaker (Rev. Dr. Comarty Smith) declared at a Scottish Church Society Conference during discussion of the problem of evangelism: "The Church alone can do evangelistic work, for she alone possesses the power of conveying from Christ to his people those means by which the spiritual life can be nourished and sustained. Christ communicates to us the benefits of redemption, as our own branch of the

1. S.C.S: Conferences, p.184, First Series.

2. ibid., p.187.

Church truly teaches, by His 'Word, Sacraments, and prayer, all of which are made effectual to the elect for salvation'".<sup>1</sup>

A significant trend in modern evangelistic efforts in Scotland within recent years, notably the recent Dr. Billy Graham All-Scotland Crusade and the inter-denominational Tell Scotland Movement, both organised on a nation-wide basis, has been the fact that they have been Church-centred. A feature of the first mentioned campaign was the insistence of the organisers that those who made decisions for Christ at any of their rallies should have their names sent to a local minister in order that he might receive them into the fellowship of the Church for subsequent instruction in the Christian Faith. The Tell Scotland Movement arose from within the Church - an endeavour on the part of the Church in Scotland to reclaim the lapsed multitudes. Thus the standpoint of the nineteenth century High Churchmen has been adopted, with some signs of success, by the contemporary Church in Scotland. Evangelism today has again become the urgent responsibility of "those to whom it doth belong". "The Church's calling", says Wotherspoon, "is evangelistic. It originates in mission - the mission of Christ to the

1. S.C.S: Conferences, First Series, p.180.

world. The Church is sent to the nations, to preach the Gospel to every creature. No lapse of time can alter the character thus impressed upon it in its origin - the Church exists to evangelise".<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

##### Social Questions.

At one of its early Conferences the Scottish Church Society was reminded that the Church cannot remain detached from the urgent social problems of each passing generation. To adopt an ivory-tower attitude would be a dereliction of the Church's duty to her Master who came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister". The Church must care not only for the spiritual, but also the physical and moral welfare of her people.

Professor Flint spoke of "a vast amount of social unrest and discontent", especially in industry; of the growth of a secular socialism which refuted the validity of the Church's message and dismissed the Christian Faith as an irrelevance - "opium, by which the peoples have been cast into sleep and prevented from asserting and taking possession of their rights". Socialist oratory, at its crudest and most violent, spoke of

1. H.J. Wotherspoon and R.S. Kirkpatrick: A Manual of Church Doctrine, pp.7/8.

heaven as a "big lie", and bade the workers rise and establish a heaven here on earth. "The preachers of past days", continued Professor Flint, "perhaps erred by laying almost exclusive stress on the Kingdom of God in heaven. The preachers of the present day may err by laying too exclusive stress on the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth, and so leading some to believe that the secularist socialists may be right, and that there may be no other heaven than one which men can make for themselves here".<sup>1</sup>

Nor could the Church ignore the bitter struggle between labour and capital, or be indifferent to the waste and misery attendant on industrial strikes. Yet she must not overreach her commission. It is not incumbent on the Church to arbitrate in industrial disputes, or to be the champion of any particular political creed. Professor Flint warned individual clergy from interfering in such disputes. "There has been at least one great strike in Scotland where the intervention of clergymen was little to edification and wholly without effect. It should serve as a warning".<sup>2</sup> Before a minister ventures to mediate

1. R. Flint: "The Church's Call to Study Social Questions" in S.C.S. Conferences, First Series,

p. 70.

2. R. Flint: *op.cit.*, p. 72.

in an industrial dispute he should be certain that he is conversant with every aspect of the problem, technically and economically, otherwise he may do more harm than good.

The real task of the Church is to inculcate into the hearts and minds of all classes of society the Christian teaching on brotherhood, justice, concern for the oppressed and the underprivileged. In this respect the Presbytery of Glasgow was commended by Flint for its fine example in its seeking to improve the housing conditions of the city's poor.

A constant witness was made by the High Churchmen to the sanctity of the marriage bond, and to their determination to oppose any attempts to make divorce more easily obtainable. They deplored the facility with which divorce might be obtained in the United States of America. "There is", said Professor Milligan, "a Christian law of marriage which the laws of this world cannot improve, and with which they have no right to temper".<sup>1</sup>

At the second annual Conference of the Scottish Church Society a considerable part of the programme was

1. W. Milligan: The Scottish Church Society: Some Account of its aims, p.15.

devoted to the consideration of the Church's responsibility to certain social questions, notably that of seamen, paupers, inmates of hospitals and prisons. It is interesting to note that several of the suggestions then made have become a part of contemporary Church life, e.g. one speaker wished to see the appointment of regular full-time chaplains in large hospitals. This is now a feature in the great city infirmaries, and under the National Health Service recognition is given to the work of ministers who combine systematic hospital visitation in the smaller hospitals with the ordinary duties of their parishes. The recent growth of industrial chaplaincies and chaplaincies at large seaports is a development of suggestions made by the High Church group.

#### V.

#### Lay Work in the Church.

The present-day emphasis on the utilisation by the Church of the loyalty and service of lay men and women was foreshadowed by Dr. Andrew Wallace Williamson when addressing the Scottish Church Society in 1895. The Church, he declared, had come to depend overmuch on the work and witness of the ministry, and the priesthood of the laity, one of the greatest of the

Reformation principles, had become obscured. "It was", he said, "a curious commentary on the history of the Reformed Church, and not least of our branch of it, that whereas the Reformed Movement took its rise from the assertion of the priesthood of the laity, there has always been a tendency among us practically to throw exclusively upon the Ministry the burden of responsibility, both in the service of the Sanctuary and in the work of the Church".<sup>1</sup>

This was especially evident in the public worship of the Church, in which the minister was obliged to exercise functions which ought to be the duty and privilege of the worshippers. The laity should be encouraged to accept a greater share in divine service - in, for example, such elementary responsibilities as the congregational repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the recital of the Creed, in responsive prayer, in audible Amens. Public worship should not be a one-man, ministerial act: it is the peoples' service, their sacrifice of praise.

Dr. Williamson also pointed out that, without impinging on the minister's sphere of responsibility,

1. A.W.Williamson: "The Development on Right Lines of Lay Work in the Church -- That of Men" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol.II, pp.113/4.

the layman should be given greater opportunities of manifesting his Christian consecration in practical service. Even as early as the third century the Church had organised such lay orders as the Catechists, Readers, Defensores Pauperum, Defensores Ecclesiae, etc; and in the medieval church, especially among the Franciscans and Dominicans, provision was made for using the services of those men and women, married or unmarried, who were unable to submit to full monastic vows. Pointing out that the Church of Scotland allowed much potential lay service to lie waste, Dr. Williamson suggested one field of endeavour which might be made available to men who possessed the requisite degree of piety and Christian conviction - that of accredited lay preachers, for work especially amongst the lapsed and the indifferent. This was a feature of the Methodist Church which had proved itself productive of much good, and, provided such laymen were given an adequate course of training, was one which the Church of Scotland might readily adopt. "A great deal of the indifference to religion prevailing among the people is certainly not due to intellectual scepticism. It is due almost entirely to moral drift. What is wanted, then, in dealing with such souls is not a discussion of intellec-

ual difficulties which have never occurred to them, but a personal testimony to the power of Christ, and such a testimony, it cannot be doubted, would often come with greater force from a layman than from the clergy".<sup>1</sup>

This suggestion has, to some extent, been recognised by the Church in the permission given to presbyteries to compile a list of "Readers" - laymen of recognised educational status and spiritual fitness authorised to conduct ordinary services of public worship in the absence of a minister.

Williamson spoke for his High Church brethren when he expressed regret that the diaconate was not used in the Church. The possibility of its revival ought to be explored. The formation of the Young Mens' Guild was to be welcomed as a method of attracting young men into the work of the Church, provided the movement did not become merely a Sunday-morning debating club which, in some cases, deflected its members from public worship. Were the men of the Church, young and old, made properly aware of the spheres of service open to them there would not be, Williamson believed, any lack of response, but a great willingness to be of

1. *ibid.*, p.121.

use and to put their abilities at the disposal of the Church.

At the same Conference it was suggested that more scope should be given to women's work in the Church by setting up orders of sisterhoods or deaconesses such as were to be found in the Churches of European Protestantism. This would enable consecrated Christian women to engage in full-time work amongst the poor, the sick and the destitute, and especially amongst children. While the origin of the modern parish-sister or deaconess cannot be credited to the instigation of the High Churchmen, they were responsible for a two-fold suggestion which has been adopted by the modern Church. They believed (a) that such women as were prepared to devote themselves to the work of a deaconess should be required to pursue a course of training to equip them adequately for their task; and (b) that they should be organised as a separate order within the Church "on some system which shall be free from such objections as are applicable to Roman sisterhoods, and without exacting permanent vows."<sup>1</sup> The present Order of Deaconesses, founded by the General Assembly in 1887, has been developed on these lines.

1. H.M. Hamilton: "The Development on Right Lines of Lay Work in the Church" - that of Women" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, pp. 130/1.

## VI.

Reunion.

"Neither words about the beauty of Unity", said Dr. William Milligan, "nor the fact of an invisible unity avail to help. What the Church ought to possess is a unity that the eye can see. If she is to be a witness to her Risen Lord, she must do more than talk of Unity, more than console herself with the hope that the world will not forget the invisible bond by which it is pled that all her members are bound together into one. Visible unity in one form or another is an essential mark of her faithfulness . . . . The world will never be converted by a disunited Church".<sup>1</sup>

The problem of the reunion of the severed branches of the Church was of paramount importance to the High Churchmen, and one of the chief aims of the Scottish Church Society was "the furtherance of Catholic Unity in every way consistent with true loyalty to the Church of Scotland". During the Ten Years' Conflict many Scottish Churchmen had shown themselves apprehensive of the threatened schism as a further rending of the Body of Christ. On his departure from the parish of

1. W. Milligan: The Resurrection of Our Lord, Croall Lecture, p. 201.

Campsie shortly after the Disruption, Robert Lee reminded his people that he had laboured strenuously "to impress upon your minds that schism is a sin most solemnly condemned in the New Testament."<sup>1</sup> In 1891 the Rev. A. Wallace Williamson is found speaking in the General Assembly on the "sin of schism". "To a great many worthy people in Scotland", says his biographer, "this phrase, and the idea underlying it, came as a shock. Were not separations a holy tradition, a thing to be proud of and thankful for? It seemed enough to justify any separation that those who separated were either in the right as regards the point of difference, or, at all events, believed that they were in the right".<sup>2</sup> Preaching at St. Andrews in 1891 Professor James Cooper likewise declared that "Schism is not only a calamity. It is a sin. It is a frustrating on our part, so far as we can, of Christ's prayer that His people may be one. It is a violation of His commandment that we love one another. It is a practical contradiction of His institution of the Church, which is His Body. How can it be a light thing to rend the Body of the Lord?"

- 1; R.H.Story: Life and Remains of Robert Lee, D.D., Vol.I, p.75.  
 2. Lord Sands: Andrew Wallace Williamson, K.O.V.O., D.D., p.250.

How can it be a safe thing for some members of that Body to separate from the rest?"<sup>1</sup>

At the opening of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in 1900 Wallace Williamson referred to the recent union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches, and expressed the Synod's "profound thankfulness that some part of the reproach (of disunity) had been at last removed, and that, please God, there will be one sect less in Scotland, and that the century of division and disruption has passed into the century of reunion".<sup>2</sup>

To the great cause of Presbyterian reunion within Scotland the High Churchmen gave themselves unreservedly, and were proud that Dr. Wallace Williamson, one of their number, should become the recognised leader on the Church of Scotland side in the prolonged negotiations which finally culminated in the great Church Union of 1929.

In 1910 Professor Cooper spoke of the growing desire for reunion in Scotland. "One can hardly open a Scottish newspaper without finding evidence how strong and general the longing has become . . . and those in whom the desire is strong are becoming

1. J.Cooper: Scottish Presbyterian Reunion; a sermon, p.15.
2. Lord Sands: op.cit., p.251.

increasingly conscious that, if their act is to be religious, - an act of faith and obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ - it must contemplate more than a merely Presbyterian reunion. It must be a reunion in which the truly national episcopacy, 'the suffering and episcopal Church of Scotland', as Sir Walter Scott affectionately calls it, 'is reunited with the Presbyterian Churches which form the great majority of the Scottish nation'.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that, at a considerably earlier period, a union of Presbyterian-Episcopal elements in Scotland had been envisaged by Dr. Robert Lee of Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh. In his Reform of the Church of Scotland (1864) he proposed a plan which would bring together the broken branches of the Ecclesia Scoticana. The United Church would retain the best features of the component parts, and would be governed by three Synods, viz:

- I. The Primary Synod, corresponding to the kirk session of Presbyterian usage and the "vestry" in Anglican policy. This would comprise a body of members elected by the male communicants of the parish, presided over by the minister as

1. J. Cooper: Church Reunion: The prospect in Scotland, p.5.

moderator, and would have general spiritual and disciplinary oversight within the parish. To this local Synod would be given the right of electing a minister in a vacancy in the charge.

II. The Superior or Diocesan Synod. Each of these higher courts would have an area corresponding roughly to a Scottish county. The Synod would comprise all the parochial clergy and a representative lay member from each Primary Synod. The Superior Synod would be presided over by a perpetual moderator, elected by itself. "Such Moderator", writes Lee, "to be duly consecrated a bishop" (although he does not say by whom the consecration is to be effected), "and to have his seat, with one or more assistant ministers, at some principal church of the diocese".

III. The Supreme Synod, which would retain its historic title of "The General Assembly", and would consist of (a) the bishops or life-moderators, forming a first chamber; and (b) a lower chamber, to which six members from each diocese, three lay and three clerical, would be sent, along with university representatives. These two chambers would deliberate together, but with the right to vote separately, and with mutual power of veto; the

moderator to be elected annually from amongst the personnel of the first chamber.

Lee further suggests that individual congregations within this great united church would be at liberty to use the form of worship found most congenial to them: e.g. there would be no impediment to the use of the Book of Common Prayer in one congregation, or to a simple, non-liturgical service in another. But he felt that a revised Book of Common Prayer should be prepared which would commend itself to Episcopal and Presbyterian worshippers alike.

An interesting point in Lee's proposals is that he takes for granted the full recognition by Anglicans of the validity of Presbyterian orders.

In Professor James Cooper the cause of Catholic reunion found its most vigorous Scottish champion and exponent. He regretted that "with the Church of Rome as she is, healthful reunion is impossible. Submission to her claims is out of the question. Yet surely it is part of Christian charity to hope and pray that the Roman Catholic Church will not be left for ever in the bondage of these errors; and if we are bound to pray for her reformation, we are bound to see that no new barriers to reunion with her when that reformation

comes are erected in the meanwhile".<sup>1</sup>

In the General Assembly of 1907, when it was agreed to take the initiative in suggesting reunion conversations with the United Free Church of Scotland, Cooper submitted an overture through the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the object of which was to widen the field by including also the Scottish Episcopal Church. "But if I was over-ruled, and if the General Assembly instructed its Committee on Co-operation and Reunion to confine its intention 'in the meantime' to the other Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, that course was taken . . . not for a moment out of any hostility to the Anglican Church, or of unwillingness to consider reunion with it, but on the principle of 'one step at a time', and of taking what was regarded as the shortest step first".<sup>2</sup>

In this desire to explore avenues of approach to the possibility of reunion the Scottish Episcopal Church showed itself willing to co-operate. Under the leadership of Bishop Charles Wordsworth of St. Andrews and his successor, Bishop George Howard Wilkinson, the subject was made one for constant

1. J.Cooper: Scottish Presbyterian Reunion:

a sermon, p.7.

2. J.Cooper: Church Reunion: The Prospect in Scotland,  
p.7.

prayer and study. "So early", says Cooper, "as 1884 the Episcopalian Synods of St. Andrews and Aberdeen expressed themselves favourable to the consideration of terms of reunion with the Presbyterian Churches of their county. The late Bishop Ewing of Argyll and the Isles, and still more perseveringly and powerfully, the late Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews, looked forward to a National Church combining the best features of both systems. The late Bishop Wilkinson took up Bishop Wordsworth's mantle".<sup>1</sup>

After the Lambeth Conference of 1897 the Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church held a series of private conferences with leaders of the Presbyterian Churches in order to promote the idea of united services of intercession for reunion in Scotland, with Bishop Wilkinson as chairman. A Call to Prayer for Christian Unity was issued in 1900, signed by prominent men in all the Churches, and a date in 1901 was fixed for united intercessory services. This project, however, did not fulfil the expectations of its originators, chiefly owing to the reluctance of the Episcopalians to take

1. J. Cooper: op.cit., p.13.

part in services held in Presbyterian churches.

But one lasting result was the formation in 1904 of the Church Unity Association, a society consisting of both Presbyterians and Episcopalians who sought to work for a better understanding between the Churches.

Cooper did not hesitate to suggest that a Presbyterian-Episcopal union would require an episcopate to be effective. But he envisaged an episcopate working in full conjunction with the Church courts. "The Church of Scotland will be the Church of Scotland still even if she does adopt bishops".<sup>1</sup> "I believe", he said on another occasion, "that it is quite possible for Presbyterians to accept the historic episcopate without surrendering thereby any essential feature of their own system, but rather giving to its courts, what they sorely need, an executive to see that their behests are carried out, to her ministers a father to encourage and advise them, and to her congregations a living link connecting them with one another, and making them realise their unity more clearly".<sup>2</sup> "The question is", he asked, "how are we to get that historic episcopate? We got it once before, in 1610, in a way which,

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: James Cooper: A Memoir, p.255.

2. J.Cooper: Reunion: A Voice from Scotland, pp.67/68.

if it were offered to us now, we would be ready, I believe, to accept it".<sup>1</sup> By the "1610 precedent" to which Cooper here refers the then existing Presbyterian system was supplemented by the restoration of Episcopacy. Three Scottish ministers were consecrated bishops by the Archbishop of Canterbury without reordination. "These three bishops", says Cooper, "on their return to Scotland consecrated, without reordaining them, the occupants of the other sees: the parish clergy were all left in possession, without reordination, and continued to take part in all subsequent ordinations, the bishops in each case presiding".<sup>2</sup>

Were this initial problem solved, other aspects of the life and worship of the united Scottish Church would present few difficulties. Both Presbyterian and Episcopalian congregations would be free to worship in the manner they found most congenial - only in the essential features of worship and the sacraments would an explicitly stated form be required. The fundamental doctrines of the Church would still be found in the ancient Catholic creeds.

1. J.Cooper: The Revival of Church Principles in the Church of Scotland, p.28.
2. J.Cooper: Church Reunion: The Prospect in Scotland, p.12. See also N.Sykes: Old Priest and New Presbyter, p.101 ff.

Perhaps the most valuable and lasting contribution made by the Scottish High Churchmen to the question of Church reunion in Scotland is found in their careful exposition of the Presbyterian arguments for (a) the historic status of the presbyterate as the one essential and basic order of ministry in the Christian church; and (b) the vindication of the validity of Presbyterian orders and of a valid succession through presbyters since apostolic times. The arguments propounded on these matters by such scholars as Drs. Sprott, Leishman, Cooper and Wotherpoon are dealt with in the next chapter. Suffice it to say at this point that their defence of the primary position of the presbyterate received corroboration from such contemporary scholars as the Roman Catholic Duchesne and the Anglican Professors Bigg and Gwatkin; and that, when this, along with the Presbyterian claims anent apostolic succession and the "1610 precedent" were brought to the notice of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, the following resolution from the Conference resulted:

"That, in the welcome event of any project of reunion between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or non-Episcopal Church, which,

while preserving the Faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry, reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of consecration to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610".

Thus the way was opened up, through the labours of the High Churchmen in Scotland, for the movements towards unity in the present century. In a period when Scottish Presbyterianism was shattered by the chaos of the Disruption, and the loyalty of the people torn between the rival claims of narrow denominationalism, and local church rivalries, the assertion of the ideal of Catholic unity may have appeared unpropitious. But from this seed, long germinating in apparently uncongenial soil, has arisen a goodly harvest. The reunion of 1929 of the two great branches of Scottish Presbyterianism, which none of the early High Churchmen lived to see, but which was for them ever a subject of aspiration and prayer; the rapid growth of ecumenicity within the last decade; the formation of the World Council of Churches; the present conversations on Relations between Anglican and Presbyterian Churches;

and the great United Church of South India have demonstrated that the nineteenth century High Church group did not labour in vain.

But in all their visions of a reunited Church the High Churchmen were at pains to demonstrate their abiding loyalty to the Church of their fathers. "We can further no reunion", said Cooper, "which may not be secured consistently with true loyalty to our spiritual Mother, the Church of Scotland. In her, as one of our old divines expresses it, 'we were born and reborn'<sup>1</sup>, in her brought up, at her altars fed with the spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ; receiving - such of us as are ministers - at the hands of her presbyters the gift of Holy Orders, and owing to her courts canonical obedience. We believe her 'the true and Holy Kirk of Christ in Scotland'<sup>2</sup>.

1. Thomas Smeaton, Principal of Glasgow University, 1580-6.
2. J. Cooper; Effective Recognition by the State, not of Religion only, but of the Church, in S.C.S. Conferences, Fourth Series, p.60.

CHAPTER NINETheir Teaching (continued)The Holy Ministry

## I.

The Presbyterian Ministry.

In the books, occasional papers and lectures of the Scottish High Churchmen no part of their teaching, save perhaps their sacramental emphasis, received greater prominence than their doctrine of the holy ministry. They believed it to be their duty to remind the Church that her ministry was part of the ministry of the Holy Catholic Church; that her clergy, being in the true line of apostolical succession, had, at their ordination, been endowed with the same commission and furnished with the same charisma as had been imparted by the Risen Christ to the Apostles. The Church needed such a reminder, because a degraded conception of the ministry had arisen in Scottish Presbyterianism. Dr. Thomas Leishman declared that "a tincture of independency" was to be seen in the attitude of Church people towards the ministry.<sup>1</sup> More and more, it was

1. T. Leishman: "Ordination: Recent Doctrine and Practice" in Pentecostal Gift, p. 212.

looked upon as a man-made occupation, the minister as a paid employee of the congregation which had elected him. This regrettable tendency had been especially evident since the abolition of Patronage in 1874. Formerly the presbytery had exercised control at every step in the election of a minister. But now it had been displaced by an electoral committee - "that unpresbyterian body"<sup>1</sup> as Leishman called it - drawn from the congregation. In this committee the presbytery was unrepresented, and the kirk session of the parish need not be represented. The presbytery was now called in only to ratify the choice of the electoral committee and to function at the ceremony of ordination. "In all this", says Leishman, "there is an unconscious development of the principle that the ministerial office is generated by the congregation, not transmitted through the Church".<sup>2</sup>

The High Churchmen were also apprehensive about the increasing numbers of self-appointed "preachers" who had taken it upon themselves to exercise their "ministry" in opposition to the regular ministry of the Church. "In not a few places", Spratt told the Synod

1. T. Leishman: *op.cit.*, p.213.

2. *ibid.*, p.213.

of Aberdeen in 1873, "ignorant people meet together to 'preach' to one another, to dispense what they call ordinances, and to pour out their wrath against Churches and Ministers, after the fashion of the fanatical sectaries of the seventeenth century".<sup>1</sup>

Within certain sections of Anglicanism, too, and in the Episcopal Church in Scotland, Presbyterian orders were held to be invalid and incompetent. Frequently, in newspapers, church journals, and tracts the Established Church in Scotland was denied by writers of Episcopal persuasions to possess any place in the true Catholic Church of Christ. The remarkable expansion of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the middle years of the nineteenth century, and the spread of Tractarian ideals amongst Episcopal clergy and people, had kindled an attitude of intolerant arrogance in many of them towards the Established Church. The literature of Episcopacy at this period makes sorry reading. Robert Lee of Greyfriars cites instances of such Episcopalian vanity. "They speak", he declared "of the Church of Scotland as a 'communion', or 'community', a 'sect', 'a form of schism' - with them she is 'Samaria stripped naked and cast out to the chill

1. G.W.Sprott: Valid Ordination, p.7.

mountain air'. According to them, she has no right to be the National Church, or to exist, because, as they teach, she has no divine commission; her ministers are not God's clergy; they want the Episcopate, Episcopal ordination, and Apostolic Succession, without which no 'teacher' can legitimately or effectually administer the Sacraments, or 'be certain that he has Christ's body and blood to give to the people'. And their watchword is this - that they are 'the Church in Scotland'; therefore the only Church, the other bodies being 'sects' . . . . Many private members of this communion, and some of the clergy may repudiate such claims on the part of 'the Church in Scotland'; but that they represent the view of those who speak for the body, is notorious and will not be disputed".<sup>1</sup> Lee does not hesitate to speak in indignant terms against such intolerant claims. "I will venture to assert that the most bigoted Presbyterian sects in this country are in their tenets and feelings, tolerant, liberal and catholic, in the true sense of this much-abused word, compared with those 'Catholic' churchmen; who, however, exhibit

1. R. Lee: The Reform of the Church of Scotland, pp. 53/54.

the art of setting forth the most arrogant assumptions in the meekest language; and, being scholars and gentlemen, employ the tenderest phrases to express the most intolerant doctrines".<sup>1</sup>

Lee also relates, as typical of the contemporary Episcopalian attitude towards the Kirk, how, in a sermon delivered at the consecration of the Episcopal Church at Jedburgh, the preacher, Dr. Hook of Leeds, denied that the Established Church was "a church, or part, branch or member of the Church of Christ, for it wants", he claimed, "the essential elements and powers of the Church". Hence he offered to local Presbyterians a welcome to the new Episcopal Church, "an asylum where they may receive the blessings of sacramental grace".<sup>2</sup> And a preacher of like persuasion at a similar function expressed his regret that "very large towns and villages existed which have no churches" and recommended that laymen should be permitted to read prayers in such places "so that Episcopalians may not fall so easy a prey to Presbyterians". "Let us", he adds, "do everything in itself lawful sooner than allow the children of the Church to be perverted".<sup>3</sup>

1. R. Lee: *op.cit.*, pp.58/59.

2. *ibid.*, pp.59/60.

3. *ibid.*, p.66.

Such assumptions on the part of the Episcopal Church, as well as the need to educate the members of the Established Church in the true doctrine of the holy ministry, indicated to the High Churchmen that a great deal of attention required to be drawn to the true origin and status of the ministry as set forth in the Church's official standards and confessions.

Their first endeavour must, they believed, be directed towards convincing Presbyterians that her ministry did not rest upon an Independent or Congregationalist attitude to holy orders. To a person of Independent views, it is the local congregation which supplies a sufficient origin of the ministerial status. Any man (or woman, in some cases) may be called to the pastorate of a congregation. From the body of believers the ministerial commission originates, and by it may be withdrawn. From the congregation the pastor receives the recognition which enables him to labour amongst them. Such recognition or ceremonial institution is often loosely designated "ordination".

But with this notion of ministerial origin Presbyterianism has nothing to do. "We hold", said Leishman, "that congregational suffrage is not the spring from which the ministerial function flows,

while admitting that in various forms and degrees it may be allowed to influence the selection of the individual on whom the sacred office is to be conferred".<sup>1</sup>

The Presbyterian ministry is the outcome of a double call. There is the vox populi, for the people have, subject to the control of the presbytery, the right to select the individual minister or licentiate of the Church whom they consider best suited to minister to their spiritual needs. But this is far removed from the Independent conception of the ministry. For the primary origins of the Presbyterian ministry are sought in the Divine commission. In his notable sermon on Valid Ordination, Dr. G. W. Sprott took as his text the words from Romans Chapter 10, verse 15: "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" He pointed out that such a commission is required not only for the office of preaching. It is required also for the proper administration of the Sacraments, and for the pastoral oversight of a congregation.<sup>2</sup> A man must receive authority to exercise his vocation as a Christian minister. This authority comes from God, through His Son, the King and Head of the Church.

1. T. Leishman: op.cit., p.211.  
2. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.8.

"The ministry", wrote Wotherspoon in a similar strain, "is not an ecclesiastical expedient: it is a Divine ordinance".<sup>1</sup> That the ministry does not originate within the Church, but is bestowed from on high in order that there may be a Church has always been the consistent testimony of the Reformed Church, and is unequivocally set down in the standards of the Church of Scotland, viz:

"The visible Church, Catholick or Universal", says the Confession of Faith, "is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the House and Family of God".<sup>2</sup>

"Unto this Catholick visible Church Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the Saints, and doth by His own presence and spirit make them effectual thereunto".<sup>3</sup>

"Christ hath constituted a government and governors ecclesiastical in the Church; to that purpose the Apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jesus Christ; and Christ hath since continually furnished some with gifts of Government and with commission to exercise the same . . . ." <sup>4</sup>

1. H.J. Wotherspoon and J.M. Kirkpatrick: A Manual of Church Doctrine, p.143.

2. Confession of Faith, xxv. 2.

3. ibid., xxv. 3.

4. Form of Church Government: "Of Church Governors".

It is, moreover, explicitly enjoined in the Form of Church Government that every minister is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting, "by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong", in accordance with Apostolic precedent and immemorial usage. A record is to be kept of those ordained and of those who officiated at the ordination.

## II.

### Ordination.

Ordination has always been a requisite demanded of the Church of Scotland of those seeking to serve in the ministry. As Dr. Spratt puts it: "The Reformers, in the First Book of Discipline, speaking of those who, in the reaction from Romanism, took the ministry upon themselves, ascribe their conduct to the malice of Satan 'of purpose to deface the glory of Christ's evangel and to bring His blessed Sacraments into perpetual contempt'; they liken it to that of those who 'falsify the seal, subscription, or coin of a King', and they pronounce it 'worthy of death'. In the following century, the Westminster Divines and their Scottish contemporaries maintained in the most unequivocal form that all ecclesiastical power under

Christ has been vested in the office-bearers of the Church, and thus makes the creation of a valid ministry by the laity an impossibility".<sup>1</sup>

Such claims put forth on behalf of the ministry, it is sometimes alleged, savour overmuch of clerical pretension and exclusiveness. But, as the Scottish Church Society pointed out, this noble view of the ministry ought not to be regarded as "high church". "To teach that the ministry is Christ's institution does not tend to exalt the Church. It imposes a limitation upon the liberty and competence of the Church. 'Christ hath given the ministry', and in the ministry, because it is a given thing, the Church is confronted with a continual reminder of its subjection to Christ. With what kind of reason or justice can it be said that it is 'high church'?"<sup>2</sup>

Sprott spoke for his High Church brethren when he claimed that historical scrutiny vindicated the lawfulness and continuity of Presbyterian ordination. "Our clergy", he said, "have been set apart to office successively by bishops or presbyters from the Apostolic Age . . . The great majority of the old priests in

1. G.W.Sprott: op.cit. p.18.

2. S.C.S: Presbyterian Orders, p.6.

Scotland became reformed, and nearly all our early Reformed clergy were of this class. For a few years after the Reformation the imposition of hands seems to have been generally dispensed with. But at that time the appointment of pastors consisted very much in the induction of Reformed priests to settled charges, and the laying on of hands was resumed in 1570 when the old ecclesiastics had scarcely begun to disappear".<sup>1</sup>

This was a favourite line of argument of the Scottish High Churchmen when confronted with the statement in the First Book of Discipline (1560) that "other ceremonie then the publick approbatioun of the people, and declaratioun of the chieff minister, that the persons their presented is appoynted to serve that Kirk, we can nott approve; for albeit the Apostillis used the impositioun of handis, yet seing the mirakle is ceassed, the using of the ceremonie we juge is nott necessarie".<sup>2</sup> This oft-quoted sentence has not infrequently been triumphantly hailed by opponents of Presbyterian orders as suggesting that the rite of ordination was here cast aside as "superstition", and need no longer be observed. It is further asserted

1. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.20.

2. Davis Laing: Works of John Knox, Vol.II, p.193.

that the Scottish Church, by allowing this rubric into her system of procedure, has prejudiced her claim to stand in the true line of apostolic succession.

The omission of the rite of imposition of hands in the First Book greatly troubled the High Church group, and their arguments in dealing with the matter may be summarised thus:

(1) The First Book, they rightly claimed, was never an authoritative or sanctioned document, or ever approved by the General Assembly. It was the draft statement of a group of Reformers (Knox, Willock, Row, Spottiswood and Winram), who were asked by the Privy Council to draw up a scheme of Reformation. The book, hastily compiled in four days, was rejected by the civil powers, and there is no evidence of its ever being regarded as a standard directory or manual of Reformation principles. "It represents", says Wotherspoon, "the mind of the five persons named to draft it. 'Wild and whirling words' were common at the time, and Knox for one was not in the habit of avoiding them. 'Wild and whirling words' were used elsewhere than in Scotland, and subsequent generations are not to be held to be bound by them. I cannot think that controversy to be either candid or scrupulous which affects to look for the foundation principles of

Fresbyterianism in the storm and stress of a moment of transition".<sup>1</sup>

(2) The second line of argument used against the First Book by the High Churchmen was that it was conceived in a time of upheaval, in which the major problem facing the Church was what was to be done with the large number of former Roman priests who sought admission to the Reformed Church as ministers. In their cases, ordination would not be required, and the clause affirming that the imposition of hands was unnecessary may be held as applying to such men only.

(3) The High Churchmen pointed out the significant requirements in the First Book for the proper admission of ministers. Those who minister Christ's sacraments, it declares, must be "orderly called to that office". In addition, there must be the public approbation of the people and the declaration of the chief or presiding minister that the person presented is duly appointed to serve that kirk. In other words, the commission is to be imparted by those already commissioned, in the person of the presiding minister. A similar requirement is made in Knox's Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, which may serve in the Election

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: "Adequate Security for the Continuance of the Ministry" in Reunion: S.C.S. Conferences, Fourth Series, p.23.

of all other Ministers. A solemn benediction is to be pronounced over the ordinand by the presiding presbyter. The High Churchmen, keeping these requirements in mind, argued that even in the case of men not already ordained, such a ceremony as that prescribed in the First Book must be regarded as a valid, though irregular, ordination. For the intention to ordain was manifestly required of those who thus officiated. "It has often been discussed," say Doctors Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, "whether the use of imposition of hands is necessary to ministerial ordination. The essence of ordination on the external side being succession - the sending of those who are sent - and the object of the accompanying rite to make evident the bestowal of commission by the commissioned, it may be agreed that, so long as this intention is clear, and is evidenced by word and act, the particular action employed for the purpose may be held indifferent."<sup>1</sup>

The argument set forth above as to the genuineness of intention on the part of those ordaining after the manner of the First Book is a good and acceptable one. But it would be generally agreed by historians that the High Churchmen have not succeeded in their attempt to

1. H.J. Wotherspoon and J.M. Kirkpatrick: A Manual of Church Doctrine, p.168.

present the First Book of Discipline as an unimportant and untrustworthy document. Their arguments against it do not carry conviction when it is recalled that the authors were regarded as the foremost leaders of the Reformation movement in Scotland, and that their opinions, as stated in their book, may be taken as an expression of the views of the adherents of the Scottish Reformation. Try as they might to discredit the First Book of Discipline, the High Churchmen could not minimise the towering figure of Knox, nor delete his signature from the draft copy.

Moreover, a similar point of view had been adopted twenty years before in the Geneva Ordonnances of 1541, where the imposition of hands is omitted "because the ceremonies in times past have been turned into much superstition", and also in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands.

The weakest part of Dr. Sprott's argument concerning ordination as prescribed in the First Book is apparent in his statement that "at that time the appointment of pastors consisted very much in the induction of Reformed priests to settled charges". That most of the clergy of the Reformed Church in Scotland in the decade after 1560 were of this class

is a statement that is open to question. Few former priests were judged fit to become ministers (although some of the ablest leaders of the Reformation had formerly been priests. Those ordained into the Roman Church generally lacked the educational standards required of the Reformed minister, and most of them had to be content to become readers, a status which did not require ordination. That some priests were accepted as ministers is indisputable, but not as many as Dr. Sprott's words would suggest. "Relatively few men", says Professor G. D. Henderson in his Baird Lecture of 1951, "seem to have had such spiritual and intellectual capacity as immediately won for them full charge of a parish. The Church of Scotland declined to content itself with the low standards of the recent past, so that in 1574 there were still only 289 ordained ministers, with 715 readers in temporary office in other parishes".<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion that seems inevitable in this matter of the omission of the imposition of hands in the rubrics of the First Book is that at this period in the life of the Reformed Church the rite was regarded with disfavour. It was too reminiscent of papistical

1. G.D.Henderson: Church and Ministry, p.158.

superstition, and the Reformers deemed it expedient to omit this part of the ceremony.

### III.

#### A Further Defence of Presbyterian Ordination.

But, as Wotherspoon pointed out, this period of irregularity in ordination was of brief duration. "Such dubiety as exists is limited to the period between 1561 and 1566 or, at the outside, between 1561 and 1570; a period too short to have extinguished the succession from pre-Reformation ordinations, even were it shown that the imposition of hands had been disused for part or the whole of it. As a matter of fact little more has been shown than that Knox and his four associates were prepared to recommend that it should be disused. Dubiety is limited to the form used in ordination; as to the doctrine of it - the deliverance of authority to minister by those who as being themselves set in ministry are empowered to authorise - there is no dubiety".<sup>1</sup>

To strengthen their defence of the validity and continuity of Presbyterian orders the High Churchmen further pointed out that as early as 1566 the Reformers subscribed to the Second Helvetic Confession,

1. H.J.Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.26.

in which it is specifically enacted that ordination is to be by presbyters, with prayer and the laying-on of hands. To this Knox and the other compilers of the First Book of Discipline were signatories. In 1570, too, the General Assembly prescribed a form for the ordination of ministers, of which unfortunately no copy is now extant. But its nature and content may be judged from the preface to the ordinal issued in 1620. There the 1570 order is described as being true to the tenets of the Church of Christ in which "it has always been holden unlawful for any man .... to execute any part of the spiritual office of a pastor except he were .... by public prayer with imposition of hands orderly admitted to the same". In the Second Book of Discipline (1581) the principle of the laying-on of hands is clearly stated and has been scrupulously observed since that date in the Church of Scotland.

Doubtless in the confusion of the times immediately succeeding the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland, random instances of failure to carry through the ordination ceremony may have occurred. But exceptio probat regulam. In 1598 Mr. Robert Bruce, one of the leading clergy in Edinburgh, who had ministered by special licence of the General Assembly for ten years was

required to receive ordination by the laying-on of hands.

The emphasis of the Church on a proper administration of the rite of ordination according to the standards enunciated above is seen in the case of an English Non-conformist minister whom Lady Glenorchy wished to institute in 1775 to the chapel she had built within the bounds of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. On being requested to sign the formula used at ordination, the presentee refused, and returned to England. Afterwards a Welshman, also an Independent minister, sought ordination from the Scots Presbytery in London before assuming his pastoral office in Lady Glenorchy's congregation, and was thus able to obtain the recognition of his status by the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

In 1882 the General Assembly admitted two Congregational ministers to full status as ordained ministers. This unprecedented decision "was the executive and not the legislative act of a single Assembly (under pressure of appeal from a powerful and impulsive eloquence)".<sup>1</sup> This grave departure from accepted usage was the subject of much misgiving throughout the Church and led to the formation of the Scottish Church Society in the same

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: *op.cit.*, p.42.

year as a protest against this action of the General Assembly. When he addressed the Society in 1893 Dr. Sprott spoke of the furor occasioned at the time. "During last century, if any Congregational minister applied for admission to our Church he was ordained. As an example, I may refer to the case of Dr. Jones, the minister of Lady Glenorchy's Church, Edinburgh. It was reserved for the Assembly of 1882 to break through this apostolic rule, and to admit men to the status of ministers without a valid ordination. No wonder that such words as the following were then heard in the General Assembly: "This is a bad day for the Kirk": "We shall have to become Episcopalians to save Presbytery": "Certainly there is no Presbytery here": "We are no longer a Church". Many protested against the decision as incompetent, and as overturning the constitution of the Church. The Church has since returned to its previous practice, and if any like departure from its fundamental principles were again attempted, this Society would have something to say on the subject".<sup>1</sup>

Referring to contemporary ordination services Dr. Sprott expressed his regret that the traditio

1. G.W.Sprott: "The Historical Continuity of the Church of Scotland" in S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, pp.171/2.

instrumentorum had fallen into disuse. "Institution", he remarks, "was formerly given by the presiding Presbyter delivering to the newly-ordained pastor the pulpit Bible, and by putting into his hands the key of the church and the bell-strings. This was done at the close of the service, as appears, e.g., from the following extract from the records of the Presbytery of Perth in 1700: "The Moderator having closed the action with prayer and praise, gave the said Mr. C institution by delivering him the Kirk Bible, Key of the Kirk doors, and bell-strings; whereupon Mr. C for his part, and J. B., elder, in name of the rest of the elders and parishioners, asked and took instruments in the Clerk's hands".<sup>1</sup>

Leishman speaks of "claims occasionally heard of as coming from ruling elders to take part in the act of ordination". "But", he replies, "that is to confer powers, such as the right to administer sacraments, which they do not themselves possess".<sup>2</sup> The testimony of the Reformed Standards is quite explicit on this point. It is to the "preaching presbyters orderly associated" that the prerogative of the imposition of

1. G.W.Sprott: Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.215.

2. T.Leishman: op.cit., p.214.

hands pertains.<sup>1</sup> Only in the United Free Church of Scotland (Continuing) has this precept been disregarded. This Church allows the ordination of elders, and permits them to take part in the imposition of hands at the ordination of ministers.

#### IV.

##### Apostolic Succession.

Closely connected with the doctrine of ordination is that of apostolic succession. The attitude of the Scottish High Churchmen to this latter doctrine was that Presbyterianism, throughout its history, could claim, in the words of the Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici that "the receiving of our ordination from Christ and His Apostles and the primitive Churches, and so all along through the apostate Church of Rome, is so far from nullifying our ministry, or disparaging of it, that it is a great strengthening of it, when it shall appear to all the world that our ministry is derived to us from Christ and His Apostles by succession of a ministry contained in the Church for 1600 years, and that we have: (1) A lineal succession from Christ and His Apostles: (2) Not only a lineal succession, but

1. vide Form of Church Government, "Touching the Power of Ordination".

that which is more, and without which the lineal is of no benefit, we have a doctrinal succession also".<sup>1</sup>

The High Churchmen spoke of the ministry as being "a continuous ordinance". "There is not a new order of ministry every time a new minister is made, but one and the same abiding order into which all true ministers are admitted. On the Congregationalist (Independent) theory there are as many ministries as there are ministers, because each ordination springs de novo from the source, which is the congregation". But the Presbyterian point of view is that "the ministry is a continuous institution: he who is ordained "takes part in this ministry" - that, namely, which already exists".<sup>2</sup>

Hence Sprott could claim for the Church of Scotland that "the sacred bonds which bind it to the Church formed at Pentecost have never been broken".<sup>3</sup> Leishman, too, declared that "the continuity of our Church, through the transmission of the ministerial office from generation to generation, can hardly be questioned as a fact".<sup>4</sup> There is in the Church of Scotland, they

1. Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici, Part II, p.45.
2. S.C.S: Presbyterian Orders, pp.778.
3. G.W.Sprott: "The Historical Continuity of the Church of Scotland" in S.C.S.Conferences, First Series, p.162.
4. T.Leishman: "The Historical Continuity of the Church of Scotland" in S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.173.

maintained, a perpetua successio presbyterorum from before the Reformation, for the deficiencies of the pre-Reformation clergy in life and doctrine did not affect the validity of their orders. "The substance of true ordination, remaining at that time in the Church of Rome, cannot be annulled or evacuated by those human corruptions that were annexed or added thereto".<sup>1</sup>

In reply to those who maintained that there could be no valid succession without the safeguard of episcopal ordination the High Church group made it plain that they regarded this as a quite erroneous assumption. They were satisfied that the essential order of ministry in the Church Catholic was not the episcopate, but the presbyterate. Principal Story spoke for his brethren in the Scottish Church Society when he answered those who declared that "no Ministry deserves the name which is not part and parcel of the three-fold order of bishops, priests and deacons. We in the Church of Scotland, with the Reformed Church throughout the world, do not recognise the necessity of this triad. Had it been indispensable to the proper life and functions of the Church, our Lord could hardly have left

1. Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici, App., p.262.

His followers to discover this for themselves, and He certainly never prescribed it to them. The Evangelists, had He done so, would not have forgotten to record it. We do not find it laid down anywhere in the Scriptures. It is not even referred to in any of the oecumenical creeds, and is in no sense a part of the true faith of a Christian".<sup>1</sup>

The crux of the High Churchmen's argument, and the chief point at issue in the controversy over Presbyterian and Episcopal orders, is contained in their assertion that the ministry constituted by the Apostles consisted of two orders (a) the Presbyter or Bishop, who had control of the local churches and (b) the Deacon, who acted as assistant to the Presbyter or Bishop, and, in particular, cared for the poor. Sprott pointed out that, in the language of Scripture, 'Bishop' is but another appellation of 'Presbyter'. "We must be excused for not being able to believe that a bishop is more than first among equals, one of many pastors appointed by the Church to take oversight of a diocese, and, in ordination, a presiding presbyter among other presbyters".<sup>2</sup> "The great principle on

1. R.H.Story: Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church, pp.4/5.
2. G.W.Sprott: Valid Ordination, p.24.

which we rest is that the Episcopate arose out of the Presbyterate, and is merely of ecclesiastical and not of divine right".<sup>1</sup>

Professor James Cooper wrote in a similar strain when repudiating Bishop Gore's argument as to the invalidity of Presbyterian orders. "Bishop Gore ignores the great schoolmen who regard the Episcopate and the Presbyterate as one order, differing only in grade, and the unquestionable fact that Presbyters lay on hands with the Bishop. Episcopacy was an early development, and a good one. It received apostolic sanction. All we deny is its absolute necessity in all cases: while we think the Scottish case, as one of necessity, is pretty strong. Moreover, the Scottish Episcopal Church twice over accepted a whole clergy in Presbyterian orders (1610 and 1661), and the Church of England entered into full communion with the bishops and Church of Scotland in that condition".<sup>2</sup>

Sprott demolishes the argument put forward by some Episcopalians that only bishops have the power

1. G.W.Sprott: Valid Ordination, p.26. For Bishop Charles Wordsworth's refutation of this argument see his Public Appeals on Behalf of Christian Unity, Vol.II, pp.639 ff.
2. H.J.Wotherspoon: James Cooper: A Memoir, p.318.

to ordain. "This opinion", he says, "did not spring up in England until many years after the Reformation. At that time the government of the Church by Presbyters was, in all the Reformed countries, admitted to be of Divine right, and one chief reason of this unanimity was that during the previous ages it had been the common doctrine of Christendom that the Presbyterate is the highest order in the ministry, and the Episcopate only an eminency or degree. This was not only publicly avowed by the Church of England, but the validity of Presbyterian ordination was long practically recognised by that Communion".<sup>1</sup> In his Worship and Offices of the Church Dr. Sprott gives an illustration of such recognition of Presbyterian orders by Anglican bishops. "The minister of a parish within the bounds of the Presbytery of Haddington, having gone to England, was licenced by Archbishop Grindal in 1582 to celebrate Divine offices and to minister the Sacraments throughout the province of Canterbury: and the licence bears that 'as he was admitted and ordained to sacred orders and the Holy Ministry by the imposition of hands according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland, the Archbishop approves

1. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.21.

and ratifies the form of his ordination done in the manner aforesaid".<sup>1</sup> Sprott also pointed out that when Episcopacy was introduced in Scotland in 1610, there was no doubt or question of the validity of Presbyterian ordination.

On the lines of the above arguments the High Churchmen vindicated the Church of Scotland's claim to possess a succession through the presbyterate every whit as valid as any succession through an episcopate. In his Baird Lecture of 1903 Dr. Donald Macleod replies to objections made to the doctrine of apostolic succession. "What is more required in Scotland just now is the reassertion of the source of ministerial authority and the possession of a true succession in the presbyterate of the Church to which we belong..... Instead of being a danger, the assertion of the historical validity of our presbyterate and the undoubted character of the succession through presbyters - as continually proclaimed during the most vigorous period of our history and by the best scholars of whom our Church could then boast - is at once a vindication of our position and a safeguard against the attacks of

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.190.

one-sided clerical assumption".<sup>1</sup>

Principal Story summed up the Scottish High Churchman's point of view on this matter when he wrote in 1897: "The episcopate, being a mere post-apostolic development from the presbyterate, could have no exclusive claim to appropriate a right of which the presbyterate was the original depository, and to exercise a power which presbyters had exercised before bishops, as distinct from presbyters, had been heard of".<sup>2</sup> Nor did the statement of the Scots Confession of 1610, which denies "lineall discente" to be among the "nottis, signes, and assured tokenis" of the true Church, weaken the High Churchman's conviction of valid Presbyterian succession. For, as the Latin version of the Confession makes clear, the words "lineall discente" are translated "successio episcoporum" .... that is, the Confession denies lineal descent from a perpetual succession of prelates to be amongst the characteristics of the true Church of Christ. "The emphasis of the statement", said Wotherspoon, "is manifestly on the word 'Bishops': - what is denied is that the Roman Hierarchy can in right of succession claim jurisdiction

1. D.Macleod: The Ministry and Sacraments of the Church of Scotland, p.167.

2. R.H.Story: The Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church, p.247.

and mission - that apart from that Hierarchy no Church can exist. It is not said that succession is not a note of ministry in the Church".<sup>1</sup>

In the minds of the High Churchmen the doctrine of succession was considered to be of such high importance that they expended much care in expounding their defence of the Presbyterian claim; and if defence is needed for this theory from the point of view of Reformed Scottish Churchmanship, their argument in favour of succession through presbyters is the most reliable one to adopt. They felt that the Church would be impoverished without this noble conception of continuous ordinance and grace. "What we must safeguard", declared the Scottish Church Society, "is what we possess. Along with the Sacraments and the Holy Scriptures, the other gifts of Christ the Lord to the Catholic Church, we have the Apostolic Ministry. But, like the other gifts of the Lord, this may be lost through carelessness or ignorance, and, if once it be lost, we can never, from our own resources, resume or recreate it. Ministers are the stewards for Christ of the Word and Sacraments; for the Ministry itself they

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: "Adequate Security for the Continuance of the Ministry" in Reunion, p.22.

have the same responsibility of stewardship which they have for the Word and Sacraments. They are apt to feel tender about setting forth the qualifications and dignity of the Ministry, from fear of an appearance of personal assumption in magnifying their own office. It is not their own office: it is Christ's. Their feelings about themselves in relation to the office may well be humble indeed, so great are their failures in it, so unequal their lives to their calling. But the office itself! they may not do anything to compromise its nature or origin or purpose. They are but the present keepers of a gift of Christ to the Church; past generations kept it safe for them; future generations must receive it safe from them; it is to be handed on undiminished and unadulterated 'to the end of the world'.<sup>1</sup>

## V.

Superintendents.

In the First Book of Discipline mention is made of "Superintendents", whose duties included the supervision of the parishes and the clergy within their provinces: e.g. Knox's Form and Order of Election of

1. S.C.S: Presbyterian Orders, pp.15/16.

the Superintendents includes the sentence "God..... hath called thee to the office of a watchman over his people".<sup>1</sup> With them was associated in each area a council of presbyters. In this order of superintendents the nineteenth century High Churchmen found a possible solution to the problem of discipline and ministerial oversight in the Church. Except where the condition of parishes had become "a scandal, and the Presbytery is compelled, for shame, to look into the matter",<sup>2</sup> oversight of the clergy had largely ceased to exist. To remedy this they made frequent suggestions that the system of superintendents should be revived.

Critics of the High Churchmen's policy found this proposal an easy target for their animadversions. They accused Sprott and his associates in the Scottish Church Society of desiring to foist prelacy on the Church - of attempting to reintroduce a disguised episcopacy. But such men as the leaders of the High Church group, with their detailed knowledge of Reformation policy and standards, were not likely to fall into the error of equating the Presbyterian

1. G.W.Sprott: Book of Common Order, p.26.

2. G.W.Sprott: "Neglected provisions and Remediable Defects in the Presbyterian Order" in S.C.S.Conferences, Second Series, Vol.II, p.61.

superintendent with the prelatie bishop. It is made clear in the Form and Order of the Election of Superintendents in Knox's Book of Common Order that the Scottish Reformers had rejected any idea of episcopal rule in the Church, for in one of the prayers there occurs the words "as by Thee our Lord, King, and only Bishop we are taught to pray".<sup>1</sup>

A bishop is ordained and consecrated by other bishops; the superintendent was elected by the presbyters: a bishop alone has power to consecrate other bishops, while the superintendent has not, in virtue of his office, the prerogative of ordaining other superintendents. A bishop ranks superior to the parochial clergy, while the superintendent was an ordinary presbyter in charge of a parish to whom certain executive duties had been delegated in order that he might assist in the organisation of the Church in the chaotic first years of the Reformation. Whether the office was merely a temporary expedient or was meant to be a permanency, is an open question. Dr. Spratt maintained that "the idea that our Reformed Church meant the office of superintendent to be temporary is one of those popular errors which it

1. See G.W.Spratt: "Form and Order for the Election of the Superintendent" in Book of Common Order, p.26.

is hard to kill, but it rests on no sufficient ground. The Assembly, year after year, until the setting up of titular Episcopacy, petitioned the Government to appoint superintendents in all parts of the Kingdom".<sup>1</sup> Principal Story believed that the office was one of the "most carefully devised institutions of the Reformed Church, adapted to be permanent".<sup>2</sup> In contrast to the authoritative independence of the prelate, the Scottish superintendent was under the control both of the presbyterial council of his province and the General Assembly.

John Macleod of Govan was of the opinion that the reintroduction of superintendents would promote the standards of ministerial efficiency. "He was accustomed", says a Report of the Scottish Church Society, "to appeal to what was undoubtedly the earlier usage in not the least glorious portion of our Church's history when superintendents and visitors were commissioned to go from place to place and stir up those that were backward in their duty. They acted,

1. G.W.Sprott: "Ordination: Doctrine and Practice of the Reformation, and of the Reformed Churches" in Pentecostal Gift, p.198. Sprott's words do not make it sufficiently clear that the Government was asked only to provide funds so that superintendents might be appointed throughout the whole country.
2. R.H.Story: The Apostolic Ministry, p.255.

not as persons invested with a separate office, but as entrusted by the Church with this particular function, and with powers necessary for its fulfilment. Their very aloofness from those amongst <sup>whom</sup> they came won deference to their opinion and increased their influence for good".<sup>1</sup>

Sprott pointed out that on the missionfield the office of superintendent would be of great practical value. "While I do not believe that the Episcopate is a separate order by Divine right, I find ample traces of superintendentship in Scripture, and I think that in certain cases it is essential to the efficiency of Presbyterianism. In India, for example, Presbyteries 150 miles square, with native pastors, are not workable".<sup>2</sup> "If", he remarked on another occasion, "superintendents were appointed by the Assembly, one for and from each of the Synods, to meet with Presbyteries, and to visit parishes with delegates from the Presbytery, when such visits were called for; and if the reports of the superintendents were fully considered by the Assembly and such instructions given them from time to time as seemed necessary,

1. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1901/2, p.24.

2. S.C.S: Annual Report, 1895/6, p.16.

it would have an immense influence for good. I believe that such a completion of the Presbyterian system would be welcomed by the clergy who are striving to do their duty, and that it would prevent others from falling into careless and disobedient courses. It will be said that the revival of superintendentship would be an imitation of Episcopacy, whereas it would simply be a return to the old paths of the Reformed, as well as of the Early Church".<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cooper upheld the office of superintendent because he believed the superintendent would provide a link between parish and parish, and be a visible impersonation of the Church's unity, especially if he presided "when young people are admitted to the confirmation of their baptismal vow and the participation of the Lord's Supper".<sup>2</sup>

Such a system, it was felt, would be more effective than the "superintendence by schedule" then in force, by which every minister was required to make an annual return to the presbytery, a procedure which buried the schedules in peaceful oblivion. In 1889 it was recommended by a special committee of the

1. S.C.S: Conferences, Second Series, pp.63/64.
2. J.Cooper: Church Reunion: the Prospect in Scotland, p.8.

General Assembly that regular visitation of parishes by presbyteries should be made. This recommendation received almost unanimous disapproval, causing Spratt to comment, in the words of Bishop Burnet, "that as presbyters degenerate, they become very gentle to one another". "But", says Spratt, "this was not the chief reason why the proposal was rejected, and would, I suppose, be rejected again. The main reason was the extreme invidiousness of any member of Presbytery taking the initiative in condemning a brother for neglecting his duty, and the certainty of its creating bad feeling in a local court".<sup>1</sup>

Discipline administered by a Church court tends to be exercised only in cases of grievous misconduct and aggravated neglect. For the work-a-day guidance of the clergy, for kindly counsel, a more personal and more readily available director is required, such as a superintendent would provide. Unsuccessful recent attempts have been made to revive this order as a measure to help promote disciplinary efficiency in the Church. But once again, the presbyteries proved unsympathetic.<sup>2</sup>

1. G.W.Spratt: "Neglected Provisions and Remediable Defects" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, p.63.
2. vide Reports to General Assembly of the Church of Scotland: 1943, p.449 ff; 1944, pp.514-18; 1945, pp.469-72.

## VI.

The Diaconate.

In both the First and Second Book of Discipline mention is made of "elders" and "deacons" who are to assist the presbyters in the government and discipline of the Church. While the office of elder still retains a high and honoured place in modern Presbyterianism, the diaconate has fallen more or less into abeyance.

The High Churchmen expressed regret at this loss, for the office of deacon is a spiritual one and, as Sprott put it: "It seems to me a sin to dispense with any permanent office of divine appointment".<sup>1</sup> And as Leishman pointed out: "The men of the Reformation era seem to have given deacons a higher place than has been conceded to them since".<sup>2</sup> In Knox's Liturgy the diaconate is described thus:

"The Deacons must be men of good estimation and report, discreet, of good conscience, charitable, wise, and, finally, endued with such virtues as St. Paul requireth in them. Their office is to gather the

1. G.W.Sprott: Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, p.9.

2. T.Leishman: "Neglected Provisions and Remediable Defects in the Presbyterian Organisation" in S.C.S.Conferences, Vol.II, p.50.

alms diligently, and faithfully to distribute it, with the consent of the Ministers and Elders: also to provide for the sick and impotent persons, having ever a diligent care that the charity of godly men be not wasted upon loiterers and idle vagabonds. Their election is.....in the Ministers and Elders".<sup>1</sup>

In Reformed practice the deacons were permitted to be present at kirk session meetings, and an Act of an early Assembly enjoined the minister to take an elder or deacon with him to the Superintendents' Synod. Along with their duties in the care of the poor and distressed, the deacons, for a time at least, seem in some places to have distributed the elements at Holy Communion.<sup>2</sup> Gradually their duties were assumed by the eldership.

Leishman believed that a reintroduction of this lay order would be a source of great benefit to the Church, particularly in the realm of Church finance. He speaks of the unseemly methods to which the Church must resort in the collection of money. "Men speak of the hardness of managers, the unwisdom of collectors, the frivolity of bazaars, the deliberate incurring

1. G.W.Sprott: Book of Common Order (Knox's Liturgy) p.16.
2. See D.Calderwood: History of the Kirk of Scotland, Vol.vii, pp.362/3; 437; 456.

of debt, and a general unwillingness among those who, as members of the body of Christ, are bound to deny themselves, to give liberally of their substance to God. Instead of devising novel remedies.....the Church would do well to remember that there is lying dormant a spiritual office, instituted of old to stimulate and direct Christians in the fulfillment of this duty. Were it once more filled by men full of the Holy Ghost and of power, this ministry of God's appointing could not but prosper in the thing whereunto He sent it".<sup>1</sup>

Sprott spoke in similar terms: "I believe it is owing to our treatment of this office that there are now such low views of almsgiving, and such small contributions for missions. Let almsgiving be looked upon as an essential part of religion, as a part of the public worship of God; and let the sacred temporalities of a parish be attended to by those officers whom God has told us should be appointed for the purpose, and the Church will soon feel the good effects of it".<sup>2</sup>

1. T. Leishman: op.cit., p.51.

2. G.W.Sprott: Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, p.9.

In the Free Church of Scotland's "Deacon's Court" may be seen the nearest approximation to the Reformed diaconate - a body of members of the congregation, elected in some churches for life, in others for a period of years, and responsible along with the minister and elders for the financial and temporal affairs of the congregation.

## VII.

### Candidates for the Holy Ministry: Students and Probationers.

The most serious defect in the theological curriculum of the Scottish divinity halls was, in the opinion of the High Churchmen, the lack of specific training in the practical aspect of the minister's work. While provision was made for study of the sacred languages, for divinity, systematic theology and Church history, there was, in Professor Flint's words, "no provision whatever made to guide students for the ministry, as to the composition of sermons, the conduct of public worship, the discharge of parochial duty, or taking part in the government of the Church".<sup>1</sup> Students left the theological

1. Quoted by John Dobie in "The Training of the Clergy" in S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.106.

colleges without any specific instruction in homiletics, liturgies, or church music. To this deficiency Wotherspoon addressed himself and found the answer to the problem in a shorter summer vacation. "A vacation of seven months is an anachronism", he declared. "We must utilise these precious months. What other Church has such wealth to utilise and lets it run to waste? There is room in them for three summer terms, devoted to pastoral theology, homiletics, catechetics, church law, and disciplined instruction in methods of ministry and pastoral work".<sup>1</sup>

It was also felt by the members of the Scottish Church Society that not enough was done in the divinity curriculum to foster the student's devotional and spiritual life. More than one speaker at the Society's Conferences suggested the acquiring of halls of residence under an experienced clerical warden who might act as spiritual counsellor to the students. "The dreary abodes with which some of our students have to be content during the college session furnish little comfort for body or soul. I think the Church might

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: "Candidates for the Holy Ministry" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p. 108.

be more kindly and considerate in her treatment of her students of divinity. If something more like a home, and a manner of living more becoming their position, were offered by the Church, there can be little doubt that such a provision would be gratefully accepted, and productive of much good".<sup>1</sup>

The act of licensing of probationers as preachers of the Gospel was at this time generally conducted in a most unworthy manner, and Wotherspoon expressed his disapproval that a ceremony "which devotes men to the life-long service of God and His Church should be left to the end of a long business meeting of presbytery, and hastened through by the weary remnant who have been conscientious enough to remain to secure a quorum".<sup>2</sup> Licensing ought, he maintained, to be conducted in the House of Prayer "with some decency of surroundings and solemnity of procedure".<sup>3</sup> "One would fain put in a plea", he continued, "for the restoration of the Holy Communion to ordination services, and therewith to occasions of licensing".<sup>4</sup>

1. M.P. Johnstone: "Candidates for the Holy Ministry" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p. 105.
2. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p. 110.
3. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p. 109.
4. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p. 110 (footnote).

Dr. Thomas Leishman noted with some apprehension that the status of the licentiate or probationer had undergone a quite remarkable change compared with that of the "expectant" of early Reformed practice. It was sometimes now forgotten that a probationer was a layman; he was not in holy orders. Yet the title "Reverend" had come to be assumed by licentiates; they were frequently designated "assistant-ministers". "These", said Leishman, "are not questions of the fitness of designations. They touch principles that underlie our Church order. They create and express a belief that there are two grades in the Christian ministry, differing in this, that one reserves to itself the right of ministering sacraments and order".<sup>1</sup> Leishman does not mention the further assumption by licentiates of clerical dress.

The system of competitive preaching was, as is to be expected, much criticised by the High Churchmen, especially wherein it affected probationers. Wother-  
 spoon mentions the anxiety inflicted on probationers seeking a charge - the printing of testimonials, the watching for openings, the seeking of influential persons and then, having at last found a place upon a

1. T. Leishman: "Candidates for the Holy Ministry" in S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p. 92.

leet, being required to celebrate the high praises of God one man against another".<sup>1</sup> If, he suggested, the probationers would decline to participate in competitive preaching, the evil would soon cure itself.

"There are just so many vacancies, and so many men qualified to accept of them. The parishes must come to them if they decline to go in quest of the parishes. Other professions are able to maintain a professional etiquette to protect their dignity; it is strange that the ministry cannot protect the sacredness of theirs".<sup>2</sup>

Unlike the present-day shortage of students of divinity and licentiates, the late nineteenth century Scottish Church possessed a large number of "unemployed probationers", each awaiting the chance to preach upon a parish leet. The plight of such men was often acute, and a speaker at the first Scottish Church Society Conference suggested, for their benefit, the setting-up of "a clergy-house in each of the four university centres, presided over by an accredited superior, which would serve as a practical training school until a wider and more responsible field should open to the junior clergy".<sup>3</sup> From this base of operations Sunday services

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.110.

2. *ibid.*, p.111.

3. John Dobie: op.cit., p.108.

might be supplied by the probationers in country charges when the need arose, and on weekdays there would be ample scope for parochial duties in various understaffed parishes throughout the city. These clergy-houses would also, it was hoped, lead to the promotion of postgraduate work and research in the universities among the younger clergy.

It cannot be doubted that in the remedying of many of the defects of the Scottish theological training and the probationary system the High Churchmen have played a large part. In the four universities there are not only Chairs of Practical Theology, but also visiting lectureships in sociology, church music, elocution and a well-endowed Warrack Lectureship on Preaching. In Glasgow and Edinburgh there are halls of residence for students of divinity. The act of licensing of probationers has everywhere been made a more reverent and seemly act of dedication and consecration.

CHAPTER TENTheir Teaching (continued)The Worship of the Church.

## I.

The Defects of Presbyterian Worship.

The nineteenth century High Church group in the Church of Scotland were thoroughly dissatisfied with the contemporary mode of worship, and concurred in Dr. Robert Lee's opinion that the average Presbyterian church afforded "an ill-ordered, slovenly, uncertain service which wherever it obtruded itself, blunted all reverential feeling".<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of Robert Lee gives a good description of the decayed state of worship in the Church of Scotland at the middle of the century in his account of an average rural congregation. "Look at any country congregation, coming into church with hardly any show of reverence for the sacred place, sitting down without any sign of prayer or blessing asked. The minister enters the too-often ugly and ungainly pulpit, or preaching-box, as one might call it. A few verses

1. R.H. Story: Life of Robert Lee, Vol. I, p. 327.

of a psalm are sung, the singing led by some discordant or bull-throated precentor. A long, often doctrinal and historical and undevotional prayer is uttered by the minister, the people standing listlessly the while, most of them staring at the minister or at their neighbours. Then as he nears the end of his supplications (in the course of which a number of women have generally sat down) there is a universal rustle, and before he is fairly done with the 'Amen' (in which the people never join) they are in their seats. A chapter is read, more psalm-singing, then probably an exposition; then again 'praise and prayer', as it is called; then a longish sermon, then more singing; a concluding prayer, to which the inattention of the now wearied congregation is more obvious than ever; and a benediction, during which the men get their hats ready, and the women gather up their Bibles and draw their shawls into the most becoming drape; and as soon as the last word is uttered, they are all charging out of the kirk as if for their dear lives. This picture is no exaggeration. You and I have seen it a hundred times. A service of such a nature is very remote from the ideal of true Christian worship. It would be bad in any

case; it is extremely bad when it is combined, as it is too often among us, with long-winded, doctrinal, didactic preaching which drones drearily through the aged commonplaces of what people call 'the Gospel', though why the oft-repeated rigidities of the Calvinistic system should be designated par excellence 'good tidings', I for one can't tell. Combined, I say, with dull doctrinal discourses, remote from practical human interest, as Scotch preaching too generally is, such a service as ours is hopelessly depressing and deadening".<sup>1</sup>

Despite his protests of authenticity, the above author's report of Scottish worship seems to give an overdrawn description of its shortcomings. But Archbishop Tait's verdict on a Presbyterian service he attended during a visit to Scotland seems apt - "too much like an East wind".<sup>2</sup>

Yet, as Sprott was fond of pointing out, this bleak and unlovely worship was neither characteristically Presbyterian or Reformed. It was an unfortunate importation from English Nonconformity. "It is

1. "A Letter to a Clergyman on the State and Prospects of the Church" in MacPhail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal, May 1862, p.198.
2. A.K.H.Boyd: Twenty-Five Years of St. Andrews, Vol.I, p.136.

to be regretted", he says, "that English Puritanism has had so great an influence upon Scotland".<sup>1</sup> This alien influence, he maintained, had greatly impoverished Scottish worship, chiefly in the abandoning of the weekly celebration of the Eucharist. But other valuable aspects of worship were allowed to be disused. "Daily service was given up, and churches shut for six days out of seven. Morning and evening prayer, which from the earliest times had been well-nigh universal in the Church of God, had to make way for one service on Sunday at mid-day, and at that solitary meeting, worship was reduced to a minimum. Sacred music sank to the lowest ebb. To have attempted the simple reading of lessons from Holy Scripture, though always enjoined by the laws of the Church, would have been, in some parts of the country, to have run the risk, we are told, of creating a schism in congregations. The Creed and Gloria Patri were regarded as relics of Popery, and the Lord's Prayer was declared even by eminent divines to be unsuitable for Christians. People went to church not so much to pay their public acts of homage to the Most High, as to listen to the preaching. Marriage and

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of Scotland, pp.3/4.

baptism were transferred from the church to the private dwelling; and churches, which should be the monuments of a nation's piety, were allowed in many cases to become a disgrace to Christendom".<sup>1</sup>

Hence Sprott felt it necessary that the Church should realise how far she had fallen from true Reformed practice. "If the Scottish people, as a rule, have little respect for the authority of the Church from the days of the Apostles till the time of John Knox, they at least pay great deference to the opinions of the Reformers and of the Westminster Divines; and it is important that they should be able to distinguish betwixt themselves and the 'sectarian conceits' which were imported from England".<sup>2</sup>

## II.

### Public Prayer.

The greatest defect of Presbyterian worship, in the view of the High Churchmen, was the unsatisfactory nature of the public prayers. They were long, dreary and formless, composed generally of a random string of Scriptural quotations and excerpts from the "floating

1. G.W.Sprott: The Church Principles of the Reformation, p.15.
2. G.W.Sprott: The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.VIII.

liturgy" of the Church.- the so-called extempore prayers passed down from one generation of Scottish ministers to the next, from older clergy to younger. A. K. H. Boyd speaks of congregations wearily standing through a prayer of 35 minutes "wherein they could have completed every sentence as soon as begun".<sup>1</sup> He believed that this defective state of affairs arose from the fact that "in the Kirk every man is free to make the service just as bad as he likes, in fact, to bring it to his own personal level". "A Scottish congregation", he says, "is helplessly in the hands of the officiating minister for its worship. The congregation's sole security lies in the good sense, good taste and devout feeling of the minister. If he be a fool, he can make the entire service as foolish as himself".<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Boyd points out, it is wrong to speak of the average Presbyterian pulpit prayers as 'extempore'. In most cases these prayers "had gradually crystallised into a form - the same thing was said every Sunday. It had never been composed; it had grown".<sup>3</sup>

Lee corroborates Boyd's remarks. "Many ministers

1. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Liturgics of the Scottish Kirk" in St. Andrews and Elsewhere, p.199.
2. A.K.H.Boyd: op.cit., p.202.
3. A.K.H.Boyd: op.cit., p.206.

pray always the same prayers in public worship, without change or variety, from month to month and year to year, during their whole lives: others have two, three or four prayers which they repeat in succession." He points out that when the prayers are indeed extempore they are "extempore in the most absolute sense - the ministers plunging, on each occasion, into the great wilderness of thought and language like Abraham, who went forth not knowing whither he went, but who was safe under the promised guidance from above which these men show, by their dreary wanderings, that they do not enjoy".<sup>1</sup>

Lee describes the pulpit prayers of his day as "in some cases dry, didactic discourses, discussing points of theology, sadly wanting in solemnity, pathos, simplicity and beauty, and expressed in commonplace and often vulgar and inaccurate language - bad sermons, addressed to God, for the instruction and reproof of the people, who are put in the position, not of worshippers, but of hearers. Very often they are little else than a string of scriptural quotations, connected by hardly the slenderest thread of thought, some word in

1. R. Lee: The Reform of the Church of Scotland, pp. 15/16.

the conclusion of one quotation suggesting that which is made to follow; in other cases the prayers are neat and concise, but poor, thin and meagre; deficient in comprehensiveness, depth, fullness and fervour, leaving out many essential petitions of public prayer, and containing little reference to those great facts, doctrines and duties which ought always to be remembered in the worship of the sanctuary."<sup>1</sup>

It was, Lee pointed out, a sign of the current discontent with the pulpit prayers of the Scottish Church that "a few ministers, young and inexperienced, offer prayers made up of scraps from the liturgy of the Church of England, as if they were ambitious to exhibit the Kirk as some poor Lazarus, subsisting on crumbs that fell from the table of a rich neighbour. The hearers", Lee adds, "are said to declare themselves 'much refreshed' with this innovation".<sup>2</sup>

There was much prejudice against prayers read from a manuscript or book. The majority of Scottish churchgoers then - as now - disliked such prayers as "vain repetitions". "I heard it stated in a Church Court", says Boyd, "that the reason why Dr. Robert Lee proposed to read his prayers probably was that having wholly

1. R.Lee: op.cit., pp.14/15.

2. R.Lee: op.cit., p.15.

given up praying in private he had lost the power of expressing himself in supplication".<sup>1</sup>

Lee's Prayers for Public Worship and the publication of Euchologion by the Church Service Society were attempts, not to impose a liturgy on the congregation of Old Greyfriars or the Church of Scotland, but a well-meaning endeavour to improve the existing state of things. The goal to which the early High Churchmen strove was the right of a minister to break the fetters of the accepted use and wont and to gain freedom to introduce into the worship of the Church a new beauty and seemliness. "The question", Boyd pointed out, "is not FORM or NO FORM. The only issue is - shall the form be provided deliberately, calmly, with serious consideration and by the combined wisdom of a company of devout and earnest men? Or shall it be provided in great haste, nervous trepidation, and utter blankness, without a vestige of devotional feeling by some youth without religious experience and quite unable to interpret and express the needs and feelings of good old Christian people, tried in ways of which he knows nothing at all?"<sup>2</sup> Lee found himself wondering

1. A.K.H.Boyd: op.cit., p.207.

2. A.K.H.Boyd: op.cit., p.210.

"whether the generality of ministers, or rather ministers universally, should be considered competent to produce, without writing them, without preparation, or, if they so please, without one moment's previous study or consideration, a whole public service for hundreds or thousands of people - and that from week to week and from year to year? Whether the stupidest, rawest, least learned and accomplished stripling whom any presbytery may have licenced to preach, or on whose head they may have laid their hands, shall be esteemed qualified to produce six public prayers each Sunday out of his own mind on the spur of the moment; and also to extemporise, as the occasions recur, services for baptism, for marriage, and for the celebration of the most solemn rite of the Christian Church - the Lord's Supper?"<sup>1</sup>

Lee pointed out, too, the inconsistency of ministers laboriously preparing their sermons, yet giving no thought to the Sunday prayers. "The sermon is the work of the week: on the other hand the prayers are the result of no pains or thought either by himself or anyone else".<sup>2</sup> He therefore advises ministers to compose and write their prayers "bestowing not less

1. R.Lee: op.cit., pp.71/72.

2. R.Lee: op.cit., p.75.

pains on these than they now almost all bestow upon their sermons".<sup>1</sup> He also sought to encourage the reading of prayers, since he felt that the intolerance of the people to this practice would soon be overcome, "when it was discovered, as it would very soon be, that the read prayers were very much superior to the others".<sup>2</sup> The reading of prayers did not mean that a minister is "aping Episcopacy". "Many persons appear to think that the reading or reciting of prayers is the grand and decisive distinction between Episcopacy and Presbytery; and even in our Church courts some speakers have displayed such incredible ignorance as to talk of a minister who read prayers in the church as 'playing at Episcopacy'. But if so, John Knox and John Calvin played at Episcopacy, and so did the Church of Geneva and all the Reformed or Presbyterian Churches on the Continent, and also our own beloved Church - the Church of Scotland - with her sisters. The Episcopal Church in Scotland also must have 'played at Presbytery' when her clergy used the same manner of praying as their Presbyterian contemporaries....."<sup>3</sup>

1. R.Lee: op.cit., p.79.

2. R.Lee: op.cit., p.80.

3. R.Lee: op.cit., p.88/9.

The successive editions of Euchologion became the prayer-book of the High Churchmen, not as a liturgy to be slavishly followed verbatim, but as a model, a standard. Many of the ideals of this group were incorporated in Euchologion (especially in the sixth and later editions), and from its pages may be gleaned their aims in the improvement of public prayers - the prayers no longer a haphazard collection of miscellaneous supplications, but a seemly, ordered pattern of invocation, confession of sin, a prayer for pardon and peace, supplication: prayers for the natural and Christian year, followed by the Lord's Prayer. In Euchologion the second traditional prayer of Scottish worship was confined to thanksgiving and intercession.

It was a basic conviction of the "innovators" that the Lord's Prayer should be repeated, as the Westminster Directory recommends, "at every gathering for Divine Service". "This came to be considered Popish", says Lee, "and was universally discarded - nay a great uproar was excited, in some cases, by the attempt to re-introduce it; and within the present century some leading ministers, even in Edinburgh, preached sermons to show that the Lord's Prayer did not

belong to the New Testament dispensation, and was not properly a Christian prayer".<sup>1</sup> In every service of Euchologion, a prominent place is assigned to the repetition of the Lord's Prayer.

There can be no doubt that this concern for the seemliness of public prayer fostered by the High Churchmen, and the influence of the Church Service Society, led to an increased interest in the study of the liturgies and devotional literature of Christendom. "In the liturgies", Sprott pointed out, "we have the purest gems of devotion in the choicest settings: the grandest and holiest thoughts and aspirations clothed in the simplest and most beautiful forms".<sup>2</sup> He recommended that ministers should accumulate a store of material from such liturgies which would be used as the basis of their public services, and that instruction in the art of public prayer should be imparted in the divinity halls. "Students of theology should have their attention thoroughly directed to this department of their clerical duties. I am inclined to trace the deficiencies in the public prayers and special services of some of our clergy very much to the fact that the subject is too much neglected in some, if not in all,

1. R.Lee: op.cit., p:13.

2. G.W.Sprott: The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.51.

of the universities. So far as I am aware, students leave college without having received anything like sufficient instruction as to the way in which they should perform this very important part of their duties. I do not know that they are even recommended to prepare their prayers; and I believe that some consider it rather as a disgrace to do so".<sup>1</sup>

### III.

#### The Question of a Liturgy in Presbyterian Worship.

As early as 1840 Dr. Cumming of the Scots Church, Covent Garden, published an edition of Knox's Liturgy, "which", he said, "had slumbered for centuries on the shelves of antiquarians." In the preface he expresses the hope that consideration might be given to the re-summption of this liturgy in the services of the Church of Scotland. So, too, the Duke of Argyll, in his Presbytery Examined (1849), raised the question of the re-introduction of a liturgical form into Presbyterian worship. He favoured a partial liturgy, believing that it would help to mend the existing chaotic state of public worship, which was driving many into the

1. G.W.Sprott: The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, pp.19/20.

Episcopal Church - not from "any previous conversion to the 'Church principles' of Prelatic Priesthood" . . . . . but by "the superior attractions of a more ritual worship".<sup>1</sup>

In 1856 an American Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Charles W. Baird, published in New York, and later in Britain, a volume entitled Eutaxia: a Chapter on Liturgies, in which he assembled the principal features of the main Calvinistic and Reformed Liturgies which are part of the heritage of Presbyterianism . . . the liturgies of Calvin at Geneva; that of John Knox in Scotland; early Puritan worship; Baxter's Reformed Liturgy; the Liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church, etc. Baird offered his work to the notice of his Presbyterian brethren in order to show that the use of a liturgy was not foreign to that Church. "Among readers of this book", he writes, "there will be many who will learn from it with surprise the views entertained respecting the use of liturgical forms by those of the Reformers whose followers in this country have long repudiated anything of the sort. There are those who will be surprised to find that Calvin not only approved of forms of prayer, but that he lamented the lengths to which some had gone in rejecting altogether certain

1. Duke of Argyll: Presbytery Examined, pp.302/3.

ecclesiastical rites and customs; and that Knox prepared an order for public worship which was adopted and sanctioned by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland".<sup>1</sup> Baird remarked also that there was dissatisfaction among many American Presbyterians with the impoverished state of worship in their Church, and a desire amongst them for something "deeper and richer - deeper devotion and richer song". What was wanted, he felt, was a form of service in which the worshippers would be able to take a more active part "so that by audible repetition and appropriate response they shall feel that they positively do pray as well as listen to another praying".<sup>2</sup>

In a review of this book Spratt made one of his earliest contributions to the subject of Presbyterian worship. He assents to Baird's contention that Presbyterian worship is too much the concern of the officiating minister. He courageously expresses his view that a partial liturgy is required in the Church, and "had little hesitation in saying that he agreed with Calvin, Knox, and the other Presbyterian Reformers in holding that a partial liturgy, not rigidly imposed,

1. C.W. Baird: Eubaxia: A Chapter on Liturgies, Preface, p. ix.
2. C.W. Baird: op.cit., p. xxiv.

is most desirable and indeed essential to the full equipment of the Church".<sup>1</sup> Both ministers and people would welcome it, "and as for those who would fight against it, they are probably the persons who stand most in need of such help." Such a book of prescribed forms would, he felt, be invaluable to Scottish settlers in remote parts of the colonies, to seafarers, and to Scots resident on the Continent, who, having no prayer-book with which to guide their worship when no minister is available, have to use the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. He notes especially how often on board ships at sea and amongst Presbyterians in remote places and in the Army and Navy the English burial service is required to be used because a Scottish rite for the burial of the dead is not available.

Moreover Spratt believed that the task of completing such a liturgy would not be difficult, since there are so many admirable Reformed liturgies available - especially the prayers of Calvin which, with modifications to bring them up-to-date, would, he felt, meet with general approbation.

1. G.W.Spratt: "Eutaxia, or the Presbyterian Liturgies" in Edinburgh Christian Magazine, August and September, 1856, p.144.

The arguments in favour of a discretionary ritual were also brought forward by Robert Lee in his book, The Reform of the Church of Scotland. He pointed out that Scottish worshippers had no creed to recite, no confession of faith in which to declare their Christian beliefs. The Presbyterian confessions of faith "are, as we employ them, merely standards for the clergy". A liturgical form would supply this need. "It was noted", he says, "as a fatal defect in the Westminster Directory that 'it recited no creed'. Probably every writer De Re Liturgica of whatever age, country, or sect, is agreed that the reciting of a creed is indispensable on every occasion of public worship or common prayer; and this is so essential, in the administration of the Sacraments in particular, that without it these ordinances cannot be regarded as performed in a regular, legitimate and proper manner".<sup>1</sup> But Lee did not consider that any of the ancient liturgies would be suitable for modern Presbyterian worship. "Though ancient, they are not venerable to us, because to us they are neither familiar nor known. Their language and modes of expression sound strange in our ears: they wear a foreign and outlandish air".<sup>2</sup>

1. R.Lee: op.cit., p.185.

2. R.Lee: op.cit., p.187.

He desired to see something simpler, less dogmatic and theological than any either of the patristic or reformed rites, couched in the language of the Authorised Version. Especially urgent, he maintained, was the need of provision of forms for the Sacraments, marriage, and the admission of catechumens, since at present there was endless confusion, each minister celebrating these rites in his own way. "Whatever therefore may be done, or left undone, in regard to our ordinary Sunday services, it appears indispensable that for administration of the Sacraments especially, some form or order be provided without delay. Without such provision these solemn ordinances can never be expected to be celebrated with sufficient decorum and reverence".<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1862 an anonymous contributor to a Scottish journal doubted whether in public worship one can dispense with the assistance of some form of liturgy. "No memory, strong as death, and tender as the sympathy of angels, can cling to our ever-varying prayers. They can form no link in the sacred chain of our spiritual history. We cannot, in our churches, Sunday by Sunday, solace ourselves with the thought -

1. R.Lee: op.cit., p.190.

so dear to English hearts - that while we join in the uttered prayers, thousands of our fellow-worshippers, far and near, are saying the same words, breathing the same aspirations. We are too isolated, silent, unsympathetic in the crudity and vagueness of our worship. We listen to the minister praying - but we do not pray with him - how can we, when we don't know a word he is going to say?"<sup>1</sup>

Critics of the Church Service Society, especially in its early years, often alleged that it was the aim of the Society to introduce a liturgy into the worship of the Church of Scotland. In his Lee Lecture of 1905 the Rev. John Kerr of Dirleton, a prominent member of the Society, spoke for his associate members when he declared emphatically that this was not the object of the Society. But he felt it right to state that many individual members held it as their personal opinion that a national church should have a national liturgy. "I confess to be one of that number", he said, "and consider that it is nothing short of delinquency of duty on the part of our National Zion that an Order of Service has not been prepared so as to secure some measure

1. "A Letter to a Clergyman on the State and Prospects of the Church" in MacPhail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal, May 1862, p.201.

of uniformity in our Church services".<sup>1</sup>

The desire of the majority of the members of the Society seems to have been for a combination of formal and free prayer. This was expressed in a letter from the Duke of Argyll to Principal Story in 1880 in which he stated that "no one would deprecate more than I should the monotony and rigidity of a compulsory and formal rule, or the abandonment of spontaneous prayer as a usual, if not an essential part of worship. It is not the substitution of one for the other, but a habitual combination of the two that I desire to see".<sup>2</sup>

"Our position so far as I understand it", said Kerr, "is to hold the balance between the rigidity of the Anglican service and the ravings of an unfettered style of worship that is liable to all kinds of abuse".<sup>3</sup>

The provision of even a partial and discretionary liturgy which could be placed in the hands of worshippers did not receive much consideration from the Church Service Society or the High Churchmen of the day and did not figure prominently in discussions of desired reforms. It was realised that to attempt to introduce

1. J.Kerr: The Renaissance of Worship, p.24.

2. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.25.

3. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.26.

a liturgy into the Church at that juncture was to court certain failure. "The introduction of a liturgy into any Church", states the first minute of the Church Service Society in 1865, "whose worship has not been hitherto liturgical, must be a measure long considered, slowly matured and ultimately carried, not by any private association of clergymen, but by the official and constitutional action of the Church itself".<sup>1</sup> "It would", remarked Professor James Cooper, "be a serious matter for the General Assembly to commit itself to a liturgy that was not thoroughly good; and it is better to wait for the growth of such than to invoke a premature decision".<sup>2</sup> "It is scarcely worth while discussing this point", said Sprott, "as there is not the least likelihood of even a partial liturgy being imposed upon the clergy of Scotland".<sup>3</sup> "It strikes one very forcibly", said Professor Allan Menzies at a meeting of the Church Service Society in 1908, "that the task of furnishing the Church of Scotland with a liturgy is scarcely within the compass of human powers. Great authorities, Reformers, Archbishops and Bishops, both in our Church and in the

1. J. Kerr: *op.cit.*, p.53.

2. J. Cooper: The Revival of Church Principles in the Church of Scotland, p.18.

3. G.W. Sprott: Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, p.4.

English Church, have tried it. None of these attempts proved successful. The Scots never had a liturgy for which they conceived any abiding affection".<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

##### Posture.

During the Rev. (later Principal) Marshall Lang's incumbency of the East Parish, Aberdeen from 1856-9 he referred in a sermon to the praise of the congregation and to "the inconsistency of the choir standing to sing while the congregation sat", pointing out that if there was good reason for the choir standing, the reason was equally valid for the whole congregation. The result was that, after Lang's sermon, "one and another and another and finally nearly all in the crowded church stood to sing. Next morning", he writes, "I found I was famous (or infamous)".<sup>2</sup> The newspapers gave great prominence to this innovation, and when the matter was raised in the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Lang found himself censured and enjoined to return to use and wont. This

1. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.179.

2. J.Kerr: op.cit., p.88.

was done, but his action, according to Robert Lee, entitled Lang to be considered "the first innovator".<sup>1</sup>

Shortly afterwards Lee sought to follow Lang's courageous lead, pointing out to his congregation at Old Greyfriars that standing at prayer and sitting at praise was an English Puritan innovation of the seventeenth century; until then the Scottish Church had followed the universal custom of kneeling for prayer and standing to sing. In 1858 Lee persuaded his congregation to stand for praise, and while objections to the practice were heard in presbytery and General Assembly, no action was taken. "Standing and kneeling", wrote Lee in defence of his action, "are recognised attitudes of reverence and respect universally". Sitting at praise he considered "an indecorum and an irreverence, condemned by the whole voice of Scripture and by the authority of nearly the whole Christian Church in every age, as well as contrary to the universal feeling of propriety, and not having even the argument of convenience to support it; for, as everyone knows, standing is the natural attitude for singing, and prompted by well-known physical reasons".<sup>2</sup>

1. J. Kerr: op.cit., p.90.

2. R. Lee: op.cit., pp.92/3.

By reversing the common practice and encouraging the congregation to kneel at prayer there would be, as Lee pointed out, great relief, especially for the infirm and aged, at having no longer to stand throughout a prayer which might last nearly half-an-hour. "In every congregation where they stand at prayer, some do not attempt to stand at all, and others drop down upon their seats in increasing numbers as the prayer is protracted until, in some cases, a considerable proportion of the congregation have resumed their seats before the tedious supplication comes to an end".<sup>1</sup> He also pointed out that "Christians of other communions found this exceptional custom of ours so disturbing and disagreeable that they can hardly bring themselves to feel as if they were in church or engaged in prayer at all".<sup>2</sup> Lee repudiated the charge of "innovating" in causing his people to stand for praise and kneel for prayer with the assertion that this was the ancient Scottish usage, and that in remote places such as the Orkney Islands this ancient practice had never been abrogated, and that to kneel at prayer is a Scriptural practice. "I think", he said, "it would

1. R.Lee: op.cit., p.94.

2. R.Lee: op.cit., p.94.

be somewhat harsh and a little presumptuous if the Presbytery of Edinburgh or the General Assembly were to censure me and my congregation for doing what was done by Daniel, by Peter, by Paul and, so far as we know, by the Christian Church universally".<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as Lee pointed out when he defended the innovation in the Assembly of 1859, it has been the immemorial practice of the General Assembly to stand for praise.

Sprott remarked that, in his time, a compromise posture for prayer had become common - sitting for prayer rather than kneeling. But he would prefer the standing posture to be retained rather than allow the House of God to become "a place for the indulgence of laziness and for those who are inclined to lounge and take their ease".<sup>2</sup> This unfortunate habit has, however, persisted in the Church, partly owing to the narrow space provided in the pews which makes the kneeling posture impracticable.

1. R.H.Story: Life and Remains of Robert Lee, Vol.I, p.354.
2. G.W.Sprott: Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.236.

## V.

Scripture.

The reading of Scripture had become desultory and haphazard in the nineteenth century Presbyterian services, and in the opinion of the "reformers" it was essential that Holy Writ be given a more honoured place in public worship. Despite the rubrics of the Westminster Directory that a portion from the Psalter and at least one chapter from each Testament be read at every service, and that "the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the Scriptures", the reading of Scripture was much neglected. "It was", says Sprott, "the most melancholy feature in the degradation of Scottish worship that for a long period the simple reading of Scripture by the minister was everywhere given up, and would not have been tolerated in many parishes".<sup>1</sup> When a chapter was read it was used as the basis for "the lecture", an expository discourse, verse after verse and sometimes word after word. In 1856 the General Assembly enjoined all ministers to read from both the Old and New Testaments

1. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.30.

at each diet of worship.

The provision of a lectionary in Euchologion did much to remove this unsatisfactory feature in Scottish worship, for it provided for the inclusion of two lessons from Scripture at each Sunday service.

## VI.

### Fraise.

The harmonium which Lee introduced as an aid to devotion in Old Greyfriars Church in 1863 was not the first attempt made in the Church of Scotland to enlist the help of instrumental music in the services of the Church. In 1807 the congregation of St. Andrews Parish Church, Glasgow, introduced a chamber-organ "as a help to the precentor in guiding the voices of the singers", but the Presbytery of Glasgow forbade its further use.

With Lee's introduction of an organ the question of its legality was revived. "To enlightened Christians", he wrote, "it may appear incredible that in the year of grace 1864, persons, and even sects, should still be found that consider it not only inexpedient, but even sinful to employ an organ or any other musical instrument of man's invention in the worship of

God".<sup>1</sup> The organ was objected to as being a mere "human invention" and that the human voice is "God's own instrument, superior to any of man's invention".<sup>2</sup>

But, as Lee pointed out, the singing in most Scottish congregations was deplorably inadequate. "In a large number of our churches we have no music that deserves the name or that accomplishes, in any tolerable degree, the legitimate purposes of music". Thus he felt that the use of an organ or harmonium would be of inestimable value. "It so happens that in this country a knowledge of music is not common among men, but is almost universal among women of the higher and middle classes, so that while it is often impossible to find in a country parish a competent male precentor or teacher there is perhaps hardly any parish which does not contain some female thoroughly qualified to teach the people to sing".<sup>3</sup>

Lee's introduction of an organ was not the object of any definite decision by the General Assembly, nor has there ever been any formal conclusion on the matter. But the step taken by Lee was quickly followed by other congregations throughout the land. One re-

1. R.Lee: op.cit., p.108.
2. R.Lee: op.cit., p.110.
3. R.Lee: op.cit., pp.133/4.

sult of the use of the organ or harmonium was the abandoning of the outmoded custom which still lingered in many congregations of "reading the line" - a practice which, says Sprott, "has contributed more than anything else to the degradation of our Church music."<sup>1</sup> It had previously been the practice in English parish churches, and the Directory recommended its continuance, as a temporary measure, for the benefit of those who were unable to read. It was at first extremely unpalatable to the Scots, who looked upon it as an indignity that such a usage should be imposed upon an educated people like them. But it made way, and in course of time came to be regarded as a venerable Scottish custom".<sup>2</sup>

The introduction of the use of hymns in Presbyterian worship was one of the most beneficent of the innovations which sought to enhance the services of the sanctuary. The first small hymnal, entitled Hymns collected by the Committee of the General Assembly on Psalmody, was published in 1860. But it was soon

1. G.W.Sprott: Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.34. "Reading the line" was a custom, imparted from England, of the precentor reading aloud each line of the psalm before he and the congregation sang it. See Miller Patrick's Two Centuries of Scottish Psalmody, pp.141-6.

2. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., p.35.

evident that this was an entirely unsatisfactory production. It contained only 85 items of praise, many of which had been composed, as Boyd remarks, "by some good ministers who had attempted original composition in a field to which their peculiar genius did not extend".<sup>1</sup> But in fairness to the authors of these hymns it should be stated that members of the Psalmody Committee had been invited to submit hymns of their own composition.

It was A. K. H. Boyd who took the first step in the production of the book which came to be known as the Scottish Hymnal. In 1866 Boyd, through the Presbytery of St. Andrews, overtured the General Assembly that since the previous book prepared by the Assembly Committee on Psalmody was not satisfactory, it was expedient that a new book of hymns be prepared by the Committee. This being agreed, the guiding principle adopted in the preparation of the Hymnal was that no hymns were to be admitted except such as had already found acceptance among Christian people for their acknowledged excellence. Moreover the hymns were to contain the exact words of the author unless change was absolutely requisite to bring the

1. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Hymnology of the Scottish Kirk" in East Coast Days and Memories, p.83.

doctrine contained in them into harmony with the teaching of the Church.

In 1867 Boyd was elected convener of the Committee. The aim was to produce a collection of 200 hymns. "A large Committee was appointed to this work, but the work was practically done by four or five members. After much opposition both in the Committee and in the Assembly by men who were generally quite ignorant of hymnology, the Scottish Hymnal was sanctioned by the Assembly (by a narrow majority) in May 1870, and published in September of that year. It contained only 200 hymns. But it was approved by all competent authorities; it was very generally adopted in public worship; and in fourteen years near a million and a half copies have been sold".<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish Hymnal was first used in public worship on Sunday, August 14, 1870. "The success of this Hymnal", said Boyd, "has been phenomally great: and those who prepared it are thankful. It has been partly the cause, but much more the effect, of a revolution in the Kirk in the matter of Church music".<sup>2</sup>

1. A.K.H.Boyd: "Committee on Psalmody and Hymns" in Year Book of the Church of Scotland, 1886, p.114.
2. A.K.H.Boyd: "The New Hymnology of the Scottish Kirk" in East Coast Days and Memories, p.84.

Despite its overwhelming success - within less than a decade two million copies of the Hymnal had been sold - there was opposition to the book by a vocal selection of ecclesiastical diehards, including Dr. Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, who solemnly withdrew himself from religious communion with the convener because of his resentment of the Hymnody Committee. "The compilers", says Boyd, "were called Ritualists, Rationalists, Romanists: wholly ignorant of Holy Scripture: despisers of their ordination vows: high-handed and insolent."<sup>1</sup> When, through modesty, they suppressed their names from the Hymnal, they were told that the reason was that they dared not.

When a larger hymnal was desired, the same Committee which had prepared the Scottish Hymnal compiled a large Appendix, at first issued separately, and later incorporated into the Hymnal, making a total of 442 hymns. This collection was approved by the 1884 General Assembly, again in face of much opposition. Included in this volume were the Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Te Deum and Gloria in Excelsis.

1. A.K.H.Boyd: op.cit., p.99.

Of all the "innovations" introduced into Scottish worship in the second half of the nineteenth century those concerned with the musical aspect of Divine service have been most readily and quickly adopted by congregations. Indeed, as early as 1895, a speaker at a Scottish Church Society Conference found it necessary to issue a word of warning against allowing the organ becoming too prominent both in position and performance. "In many of our churches we find the organ usurping the place which should be occupied by the Holy Table. Its position there is suggestive rather of an idol to be worshipped than of an instrument to accompany praise: and when we have, in addition, a meagre choir (enclosed in a species of pen around the base of the organ) utterly out of proportion to the power of the organ or to the size of the congregation which they are supposed to lead, the result is the reverse of edifying. The whole arrangement savours more of the concert room than of the Church".<sup>1</sup>

The same speaker suggested the formation of "Song Schools" in different parts of the country in order to improve the quality of church choirs and provide instruction in the various aspects of Church music,

1. S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol.II, p.222.

and also to deepen the spiritual life of choir members. "It is not the ability to render music well which we chiefly desire to find in our choirs, but devoutness of spirit and holiness of life".<sup>1</sup>

During Dr. A. K. H. Boyd's convenership of the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns, a prose psalter, with Anglican pointing, was issued, and a collection of anthems published. But, as Mr. J. M. Nisbet, organist of East St. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen, pointed out to the Scottish Church Society in 1895, there seemed to be, in Presbyterian churches, a "prejudice against chanting", and congregations evinced a lukewarm and indifferent attitude to this type of praise. As a means of reviving interest in chanting he suggested the use of plainsong. "Properly used", he said, "it is peculiarly suitable for the musical recitation of the prose version of the Psalms, and it does not interfere with the proper rhythm of the text. By the use of a Psalter noted - that is, with the plainsong music written along with the text, a note for each syllable, the danger of losing hold of the congregational element in chanting will be avoided. Plainsong can also be adapted to the great Hymns of the Church with advantage;

1. S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p.225.

the Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Benedicite, and the various Creeds, can readily be obtained, set to Plainsong; and in that form are easily mastered".<sup>1</sup>

But the so-called "services of praise" should, he felt, be abandoned. "A farrago of anthems, choruses, hymns, and songs does not become a service by being interposed between one or two passages of Scripture and a couple of irrelevant collects. These performances are a travesty of worship - depressing to the spiritual life of a congregation, and hurtful to the devotional tone of a choir. They defraud devout worshippers of the due opportunity to worship to which they have a right. From every point of view they are objectionable, and ought to be interdicted by the proper authorities".<sup>2</sup>

## VII.

### The Christian Year.

Alone among the Reformed Churches the Church of Scotland abandoned the use of the Christian Year in worship. Most of the Continental Churches, while abolishing the observance of the multifarious

1. *ibid.*, pp.215/6.

2. *ibid.*, p.218.

medieval accretions which had come to disfigure the sacred Calendar, retained the fasts and festivals commemorative of our Lord's work and Passion. In Scotland, however, an extreme position was adopted, and the Church departed entirely from the recognition of holy days and seasons. But, as Dr. W. D. Maxwell points out, "this was an abandonment in theory rather than in practice, for in a large number of parishes the chief festivals continued to be observed".<sup>1</sup>

From the seventeenth century onwards the historic Christian Calendar was altogether laid aside, being replaced in Presbyterian usage by the fast-days of the Communion seasons. The rejection of even the Christmas and Easter festivals has continued to impoverish Scottish worship until quite recent times.

In 1864, however, Dr. Robert Lee courageously suggested that "the time had perhaps come when it may be proper seriously to inquire whether there be any good reason why we should not celebrate such festivals as Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day and Whitsunday with all, or nearly all, our Christian brethren throughout the world. I cannot persuade myself that any mischief would accrue to our faith or

1. W.D. Maxwell: Outline of Christian Worship, p.127.

practice, or to our soundness and safety as Protestants or Presbyterians, though we should consent to follow the example of nearly all other Protestants and Presbyterians throughout the world and commemorate, on the same days as our brethren, the birth, the death, the resurrection and the ascension of our Lord, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, according to His promise."<sup>1</sup>

This plea was taken up by Dr. Thomas Loishman of Linton some years later in his pamphlet May the Kirk keep Pasche and Yule? (1875). This little essay helped, in no small measure, to revive interest among Scottish Churchmen in the Christian Year as a valuable form of worship and a never-failing means of spiritual blessing.

Both Herbert Story and John Macleod were amongst the pioneers of the reintroduction of the chief occasions of the Christian Calendar. While minister at Roseneath, Story wrote in 1877: "We have had great doings here this Christmas - a largely attended Christmas service, a splendid Christmas tree, and last night a Christmas service, no less".<sup>2</sup> In 1881 we find him advocating in his parish magazine the keeping of Good Friday and

1. R. Lee: The Reform of the Church of Scotland, pp.191/2.

2. Principal Story: A Memoir, p.157.

Easter. "Surely no two days of the year", he writes, "deserve more remembrance: the one in sorrowing recollection of our Saviour's sufferings and death: and the other in joyful commemoration of His glorious resurrection".<sup>1</sup>

While minister at Duns John Macleod attempted to introduce the observance of the five great commemorative days of the Christian Year which became so marked a feature of his ministry at Govan. But he met with much opposition, especially in the presbytery. The subsequent judgment on the case by the General Assembly forbidding the keeping of the great festivals greatly disturbed and discouraged Macleod. "Dr. Macleod told me", says Cooper, "that in the years immediately succeeding it he felt inclined to give out on Easter Day, the 137th Psalm, 'By the rivers of Babylon'".<sup>2</sup>

James Cooper, too, loved the varying circuit of the Christian Year with its evangelical emphasis and its light and shade of fast and festival. In a diary kept during his early ministry there is recorded a vow which in later years he scrupulously kept: "Christmas Day 1873. The Scottish newspapers have taken to advocating Christmas services. Dr. Watson had service in

1. Principal Story: A Memoir, p.180.

2. J.Cooper: A Christian's Love for the House of God, p.35.

St. Mary's, Dundee, Dr. Boyd at St. Andrews, and in Edinburgh Mr. Scott, Greenside and Mr. MacMurtie had. Please God I shall have service also next year".<sup>1</sup> Like John Macleod, Cooper valued especially the devotional significance of Holy Week.

The observance, in its main features, of the Christian Year was one of the objects of the Scottish Church Society as set forth in its Constitution. Its high devotional and educational value was emphasised, for in it "we are brought face to face with facts, and we are made to act over again and celebrate the history of our Lord".<sup>2</sup>

But there was no desire amongst members of the High Church group to allow the Christian Year to become overloaded with a multiplicity of saints' days and minor anniversaries. As a speaker at the first Conference declared: "The Christian Year may be a great burden with its mechanical form and calculation of Hours, Days and Groups of Days, with an infinite series of rites, vestments, offices, scraps of Scripture lessons, and remembrance of Saints in an overloaded calendar. I cannot easily forgive the Roman Church for pushing her ritual to such an excess as to

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: James Cooper: A Memoir, p.97.  
2. S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.100.

make it so burdensome even to the ministrant that there came from him the pathetic wail for relief which we find expressed in the Preface of the English Prayer Book and in the Homilies".<sup>1</sup>

In this matter there has been a marked increase within recent years of proper observance of the holy seasons in Scotland. Christmas services, especially on Christmas Eve, are generally held, and in areas of urban population, Holy Week is observed by united services in local churches. Ascension Day, however, tends to be overlooked, falling as it does on a working day.

Daily service, introduced by James Cooper in the East Parish Church, Aberdeen in 1881, was, by the end of the century, to be found in St. Giles' and St. Guthbert's, Edinburgh, and in Govan Parish Church and the Barony of Glasgow.

## VIII.

### The Church Building.

In an informative address in 1895 to the Scottish Church Society on "Church Fabrics", R. Rowand Anderson, LL.D., a noted architect and Churchman, reminded the Society that, although much damage was done to Scottish

1. S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.86.

church buildings by Reformers and Covenanters, much more harm was done by eighteenth century neglect.

"The old country churches used for service were", he declared, "in a disgraceful state of disrepair".<sup>1</sup>

In this unfortunate period, too, many of the great churches were mutilated by their division into two or three separate meeting-places, - e.g. St. Giles' Cathedral, Glasgow Cathedral, and St. John's Kirk, Perth. New churches erected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by heritors were generally of the cheapest design and workmanship. "As all that the law stipulated for was a building which should be wind and water-tight, we see everywhere that little else was provided".<sup>2</sup> Moreover, although more recent church building demonstrated a greater desire to make the House of God seemly and worshipful, Scottish church architecture had not yet achieved a type of building peculiarly suited to the Presbyterian form of worship - "a church which shall be as distinctively characteristic of the Church of Scotland as the medieval church was of the Church of Rome".<sup>3</sup>

1. R.R.Anderson: "Church Fabrics" in S.O.S.Conferences, Second Series, Vol.II, p.233. Dr. Anderson was the architect of the Parish Church of St.Constantine, Govan.

2. R.R.Anderson; op.cit., p.233.

3. R.R.Anderson; op.cit., p.233.

It was a constant point of criticism with the High Churchmen that so often in Scotland a church was regarded as merely an auditorium for the hearing of sermons. "In many of our churches there is absolutely no outward sign that they are places of worship. There is often no Font for Baptism, no Lord's Table for the Holy Communion, no choir as a place for the singers, no lectern to give due prominence to the part which the reading of Scripture should have in the service . . . in a word, no provision for those parts of the worship which are distinctively Christian, no architectural expression of the fact that the Church is beyond all other things a House of Prayer".<sup>1</sup>

Too many modern churches were tawdry and vulgar in their pretensions. A speaker at a Scottish Church Society Conference attempted a description of the all-too-common "cheap modern Gothic structure, with its fairly good front borrowed from some drawing of a pre-Reformation building, its side walls made meaner in style and work because meant to be partly hidden, its windows bisected with galleries, and its back (not meant to be seen) a mere rubble wall, or possibly the "mutual gable" of the adjoining tenement. Take the

1. S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p.239.

common case of an ecclesiastical building, with a cheap and flimsy spire, a chimney in the east gable, ignoble tracery and mouldings everywhere, hideous raw-coloured glass, shining barley-sugar woodwork, a gallery over the vestry for the organ, with stucco arches, stucco ornament everywhere, a huge screen round the pulpit platform, red cloth dado and red cloth on doors, red carpets, and red and green cushions (in some cases, every seat, or what is still more repulsive, every other seat cushioned) - what a travesty of a Church".<sup>1</sup> Better, he considered, the square, unpretentious, solid, country church - "decent and homely, often comely, never vulgar".

It was considered a matter of regret by the High Churchmen that the organ, often a large and expensive instrument, had been given too prominent a place in Scottish churches. Usually it was placed where the Holy Table ought to be, and the pulpit bracketed into the organ-case, with the choir seated below in a half-circle, as in a concert hall.

Professor James Cooper spoke of the impossibility of assuming a reverent attitude in prayer in most Scottish churches. "Prayer seems to be the last

1. S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p. 241.

thing thought of by many of those who fit up our churches. Not only is there nothing visible to suggest that we should pray, or to help us in prayer, but there is no provision made for our assuming its proper attitude. The pews are for sitting in, not for kneeling in". The result was "that you may see whole congregations not making even an attempt to bow at prayer, sitting bolt upright or lolling back in their pews, staring about them with eyes wide open. They behaved in much the same way when they used to stand at prayer. Nothing will correct the irreverence except kneeling . . . and it must be made physically possible".<sup>1</sup>

Stained-glass, now universally used in Scottish Churches, was first used by Dr. Robert Lee (at the suggestion of Dr. G. W. Sprott) at the restoration of Old Greyfriars circa 1857. "It rapidly became popular", says Cooper, "and we have had to be careful ever since to get the right sort of it - stained, not painted; devotional, nor monstrous, not vulgar, not obtrusive, not utterly commonplace".<sup>2</sup>

It was the conviction of the High Churchmen that the architecture of a church should proclaim the Faith:

1. S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p.254.

2. J. Cooper: The Plan and Furnishing of Churches, p.16.

it should be symbolic of our beliefs. Hence Cooper's suggestion that a crucifix in stone might be set up above the main door, with such words as Jeremiah's inscribed underneath - "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me".<sup>1</sup> "Every building, however humble, reared for divine service should, alike in its exterior features and interior arrangements, embody to the eye the divine revelation. In the vision of the structure itself - its design, its proportions, its materials, its order, its beauty, and its adaptation to all sacred uses, it ought to be impossible for any Christian worshipper to do else than kneel and say 'This is none other than the House of God'. We must secure for the worshipper, every time he crosses the threshold of the church, or sees it even afar off, all the help that art can offer towards deepening in him the faith of a Divine presence, and evoking in him the spirit of joyful adoration".<sup>2</sup>

Most of all, the Holy Table should receive the place of greatest honour and centrality in every church, setting forth the fact that the celebration of Holy Communion is the most distinctive rite in Christian worship.

1. Lamentations, Chapter 1, verse 12.

2. S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. II, p. 246.

CHAPTER ELEVENTheir Teaching (continued)The Doctrine of the Sacraments

## I.

The Neglect of Sacramental Worship.

Foremost amongst the aims of the Scottish Church Society and the Churchmen associated with it was that of the restoration of sacramental worship to its rightful place in the life of the Church. Repeatedly in their discussions, literature and conferences, attention is drawn to the prevalent neglect of the Sacraments, especially that of Holy Communion. It was the unanimous conviction of the High Churchmen that therein lay the greatest weakness of Presbyterian worship, and one whose remedy brooked no delay. No lasting spiritual renaissance would revitalise the Church so long as the Sacraments were accorded a secondary place.

Moreover, this sacramental apathy was a repudiation of the true standards of the Church, Catholic and Reformed alike. As Dr. John Macleod stated in a celebrated paper to the second Scottish Church Society

Conference: "No branch of the Christian Church contains more definite sacramental doctrine in its formularies than the Church of Scotland".<sup>1</sup> The Church's position is based squarely on the sacramental teaching of the Word of God, the Catholic creeds, and the Westminster standards, and her defection appeared to the High Churchmen of the day a most reprehensible departure from what was best and vital in her tradition.

## II.

### Holy Baptism.

The High Churchmen found it necessary to express their apprehension at the low, unworthy view of the Sacrament of Baptism - a view far removed from that of Scripture, of the Church Catholic, and of the Reformers - which had come to prevail in Scotland. Too often it was administered in a careless and perfunctory fashion; and the increasing number of parents who allowed their children to remain unbaptised suggested an imperfect understanding of its nature and function. "In many quarters", said Professor Cooper, "it seems

1. S.C.S. Conferences, Second Series, Vol. I, p. 21.

to be considered superstition to attach any importance to this Sacrament at all. Baptism is regarded perhaps as a service at the naming of the child, or, at most, as an act of ours in dedicating it to God".<sup>1</sup> Likewise Wotherspoon complained that too often Baptism was looked upon "as a dedication by parents, as a sentimental formality, as a social decency, a customary propriety, an incidence of childhood; a duty, a 'family-ordinance'".<sup>2</sup> For such ignorance and misconception of the true doctrine of the Sacrament of Baptism the Church must bear the blame, and she must bestir herself, declared the High Churchmen, to the duty of educating and enlightening her people as to the proper meaning of the baptismal rite. Parents should be reminded that in seeking Baptism for their child they were not merely "giving him his name". In this Sacrament, declared Dr. John Macleod, the baptized are brought into mystical connection with our Divine-Human Head in Heaven, Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup> Baptism is not a man-made ceremony. It is an act of God wherein He confers on us a gift - "this gift", says Cooper, "is nothing less than the

1. J.Cooper: One Baptism, p.7.

2. H.J.Wotherspoon: Religious Values in the Sacraments, pp.178/9.

3. J.Macleod: S.C.S.Conferences, Second Series, Vol.I, p.28.

engrafting of the person baptized into His incarnate Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the True Vine".<sup>1</sup>

This, the High Church group pointed out, was no new or fanciful interpretation on their part of the baptismal activity. It is the teaching embodied in the traditional standards of the Church of Scotland. The Shorter Catechism, for example, declares that "baptism is a sacrament, wherein the washing with water in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost doth signify and seal our engrafting into Christ, our partaking of the benefits of the covenant of grace, and our engagement to be the Lord's". The Scots Confession speaks of our being, by Baptism, "engrafted into Christ Jesus, to be made partakers of His justice, by which our sins are covered and remitted." The Westminster Confession offers a fuller statement. Baptism "is ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life". Thus the confessions and formularies of the Church all seek to describe the

1. J.Cooper: op.cit., pp.4/5.

sacramental efficacy of Baptism in terms similar to those of St. Paul when he speaks of a man being "baptized into Christ Jesus" (Romans ch.6, v.3), or "baptized into Christ" (Galations ch.3, v.27), or "buried with him in baptism".(Colossians ch.2, v.12). The implication of Baptism is union with Christ.

Since, therefore, by his engrafting into Christ the baptized one is inserted as a living branch into the Vine, there is implicit in this translation a pledge and promise of new life. "Grace" is conferred: sins are remitted: the soul is reborn. Thus, with the Reformers, we may speak of the "regeneration" wrought in Baptism. "Our entrance into this state of grace", says Macleod, "is the Divine Mystery of our Regeneration or Second Birth. Our lives are capable of becoming the temples of the indwelling personal presence of the Holy Ghost".<sup>1</sup> In this act of rebirth the first impulse is with God. "God does it, and it is done".<sup>2</sup> "It is an assertion of the Divine initiative and for the supremacy of grace; it is a form of the doctrine of sovereign election to the Christian opportunity".<sup>3</sup>

1. J.Macleod: op.cit., pp.46/47.

2. H.J.Wotherspoon: and J.M.Kirkpatrick: A Manual of Church Doctrine, p.41.

3. H.J.Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.171.

Recognising that the theory of baptismal regeneration brings the discussion into an area of intense controversy, the High Churchmen sought to emphasise that they did not attach to it any mechanical ex opere operato idea. It is not a magical operation set in motion by the application of an external ceremony. Grace is never mechanical, never compulsory.

There is imposed upon the baptized the requirement of "improving his Baptism". For grace may be repudiated. In the vine not all the branches are living branches. "What is grafted", says Wotherspoon, "may wither. What is generated may not come to birth. What is born may die. The forgiven may go on to sin. The son may prove prodigal and go from his father's house. Yet the grafting, the generating, the birth, the adoption, took place".<sup>1</sup> "From the moment of their Baptism", Macleod asserted, "the persons baptized are under an 'engagement to the Lord's'. That responsibility is also final. No-one can receive Christian Baptism a second time. Once baptized, we must go forward in the way of life unto eternal blessedness, or be judged as apostates".<sup>2</sup>

1. H.J.Wotherspoon and J.M.Kirkpatrick: op.cit., p.42.

2. J.Macleod: op.cit., pp.48/49.

To those who seek to remain in the baptismal covenant, and to live "in Christ", there is available a reservoir of strength. Macleod draws an analogy between the continued strengthening of the baptized by the constant gift of the Holy Spirit and the coming down of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. This, "instead of being, as many regard it, an event of action limited in its whole character to that particular day, was really the beginning of a process or manner of Divine action towards us which has been, and is, in uninterrupted progress from that day to this. It is precisely so with our Baptism. What was therein sealed to us was our entrance into a state of grace in which we are called, through the conscious exercise of a renewed will, daily to abide".<sup>1</sup> Baptism implies a life-long consecration of body, soul, and spirit. We ought, says Cooper, to remember always "the two dread alternatives so solemnly set by the Redeemer before everyone who has received this engrafting:

'He that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without Me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather

1. J.Macleod: op.cit., p.12.

them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned".<sup>1</sup>

How far removed was this noble conception of the baptismal rite, maintained the High Churchmen, from the debased ideas pertaining to it in the popular mind. "The question put to parents in the Book of Common Order for Baptism, as it appears in Knox's Liturgy, is one which may reveal the distance by which the Church of the present day has departed from earlier times: "Do ye here present this child to be baptized, earnestly desiring that he may be grafted in the Mystical body of Jesus Christ?" We fear that, if such a question were put now, it would excite some surprise".<sup>2</sup>

### III.

#### A Criticism of the High Churchmen's Attitude to Baptism.

In a notable series of lectures delivered at the second Conference of the Scottish Church Society, the Rev. Dr. John Macleod of Govan expounded the Society's attitude to Baptism, as outlined above. The report of these lectures draw from Professor Marcus Dods, of

1. J.Cooper: op.cit., p.6.

2. D.Macleod: The Ministry and Sacraments of the Church of Scotland, p.229.

the Free Church College, (in the columns of the British Weekly), a sharp expostulation. He claimed that the Society's views on Baptism showed an undoubted tendency towards "ritualism" and "sacramentarianism": that "they were counter to the traditions of Scottish Christianity, and alien to the temper and spirit of the Scottish people"; that it is not the Baptism of infants, but "that of adults which exhibits the ordinance in its normal form". To make so much of Baptism was, Professor Dods claimed, "to commence a retrograde movement, and to set oneself to undo what St. Paul made it the task of his life to achieve."<sup>1</sup>

To these charges the Rev. James Cooper, then minister of the East Church, Aberdeen, felt it his duty to reply. He refuted the notion that the High Churchman's views on Baptism were "sacramentarian" in tendency, or foreign to Scottish Presbyterian tradition, by showing how closely they adhered to the authoritative doctrinal standards of the Church. "The true traditions of Scottish Christianity", he declared, "are most faithfully represented, I hold, not by the laxity of the present generation, but in the documents which the Church of Scotland has

1. British Weekly, August 22, 1895, p.278.

publicly authorised; the 'First Confession' of her Reformation period-----; the Westminster Confession and the two Catechisms she adopted in the seventeenth century; her Paraphrases of the eighteenth; and her Hymnal of the nineteenth".<sup>1</sup>

Cooper also pointed out that St. Paul, far from disparaging or minimising the baptismal rite, highly exalted it. "See in what a company of Divine Persons and Divine Works he ranks it! 'There is one Body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is over all, and through all, and in you all'. Imagine the Apostle putting a mere ceremony into a catalogue like that! The position of Baptism in the text is intelligible only if (as we contend) it is a Divine act, whereby, as by an instrument, God at once engrafts us into Christ, and assures us that we are engrafted".<sup>2</sup>

But it was chiefly with the assertion of Professor Dods that "the baptism of adults exhibits the ordinance in its normal form" that Cooper found it necessary to deal. His reply on this matter is

1. J.Cooper: op.cit., p.8. vide Paraphrase 47 and the Scottish Hymnal, Hymns 312, 313.
2. J.Cooper: op.cit., p.11.

of interest as exhibiting the arguments of the High Church group in vindication of the practice of infant Baptism.

To claim superiority for adult Baptism means, said Cooper, that there is not one Baptism, as St. Paul declares, "but two Baptisms, one much weaker than the other". Such a notion creates large problems. "It is agreed on all hands that Baptism cannot be repeated. 'The Sacrament of Baptism', says our Confession of Faith, 'is but once to be administered unto any person'. If then, when it is given to infants, it is robbed of much of its grace, is it right to give it to them? Ought we not to wait till they grow up? Infant Baptism is defensible only on the ground that the Sacrament, whenssoever in the recipient's life it is administered, is one and the same - one on its outward side - the same element, the same formula; one also in its inward side - the instrument of union with the one Christ, for the reception by each person of the self-same benefits, effected by the one and the same Spirit, and bringing the baptized into the One Body of the Catholic Church".<sup>1</sup>

To this argument the High Churchmen would have

1. J. Cooper: op.cit., pp.11/12.

at once agreed. For they were at one in finding their warrant for the practice of infant Baptism in the attitude of the Lord to His disciples when they attempted to deny access to His presence to the children who sought His blessing. Christ rebuked them with the reminder that the child is the true ideal of the heavenly citizen, and that the child-like heart is the badge and mark of those who would enter the Kingdom. While in the first years of the Christian dispensation the recipients of Baptism would largely be adult converts from Judaism or paganism, this does not imply that henceforward Baptism was to be confined only to "believers" of mature years. References in the Acts of the Apostles to "households" being baptized simultaneously with their masters suggests that servants and children were also baptized.

Nor is infant Baptism in any way invalidated or made less real because it depends on the faith of others than the baptized. "In the general view of Christians", says Wotherspoon, "it is a necessary consequence: they (parents) cannot think of themselves on one plane of existence and of their children on another: they 'in Christ' and their children

behind in the world: they called and their children ignored. On the contrary, they are convinced that birth of Christian parents - nay, that birth within Christendom - is a call to be Christ's".<sup>1</sup>

"There is no distinction", maintained Cooper, "in respect of benefit conferred, between Infant Baptism and Adult Baptism (except that the sooner any one is engrafted into Christ the better for him)".<sup>2</sup> Hence it was, he asserted, the first duty of Christian parents to ensure Baptism for their children ..... for Baptism begins that process of Christian education which is the birthright of the baptized child.

"Baptism is the basis of Christ instruction". It "supplies the ground on which alone an education truly Christian can be built".<sup>2</sup> In that process of education the Church must recognise her duty to participate. For the Church is the "garden of God, the nursery of believers, the school of faith".<sup>3</sup> Baptism is not a rite to be accomplished, and then dismissed. As the baptized come under the instruction of the Church they ought to be continually reminded of their baptismal obligations, of their membership in Christ and in His Church, and that there was imposed on them, in their

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.167.

2. J.Cooper: op.cit., p.13.

3. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.167.

Baptism, a life-long engagement to be 'the Lord's'. "It is", says Wotherspoon, "for the Church to create and sustain in her baptized children the knowledge of what Christ has done to them".<sup>1</sup> By careful and continuous Christian nurture the child and youth should be led, stage by stage, from the Porch to the Altar, until, at length, he reaches the point at which he is ready to profess publicly the Faith into which he has been baptized, and to declare his personal acceptance of the baptismal covenant into which he was entered in infancy.

#### IV.

##### Private Baptism.

As is to be expected, the common practice of administering the Sacrament of Baptism in private houses - especially among the well-to-do - was viewed with extreme disfavour by the High Church group. In a Report on Public Worship and Sacraments submitted to the General Assembly in 1891, it was found that, out of 758 ministers reporting, 100 stated that they administered Baptism "generally in Church", while 658 admitted that they administered the sacrament almost

1; H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., pp.182/3.

always in private. Dr. Sprott pointed out that this was a definite contradiction of the rubric of the Westminster Confession which states that Baptism "shall not be administered in private places or privately, but in the place of public worship and in face of the congregation". He refers also to the direction in John Knox's Liturgy that "sacraments are not to be used in private corners" but "are necessarily annexed to God's Word as seals of the same" and that "therefore the infant that is to be baptized shall be brought to the church on the day appointed to common prayer and preaching". The practice of private Baptism, Sprott maintained, tended to the degradation of the sacrament and was often the occasion of unChristian class-distinction. "No wonder", he says, "that the poor are indignant when they are told they must bring their children to church, while those in better circumstances get theirs baptized at home. Most righteously did the First Book of Discipline say concerning pastors that "whatsoever they do to the rich in respect of their ministry, the same they are bound to do to the poorest under their charge". It is humiliating to think of church members asking the laws to be set aside, and distinctions made in their favour in the matter of God's ordinances,

because they are a little higher in the social scale than their neighbours".<sup>1</sup>

## V.

Catechumens and Confirmation.

In his Worship and Offices of the Church (1882) Dr. G. W. Sprott deplores the perfunctory method by which young people were admitted into full Church membership and to participation in the Lord's Supper. In many cases there was no attempt at instruction of the catechumens, a personal interview with the minister being regarded as sufficient. "I have frequently heard members of the Church in different parts of the world speak with dissatisfaction of the way in which they had been prepared for and admitted to the Communion, and of their surprise and disappointment at the absence of those solemnities which they had expected in connection with it".<sup>2</sup> Very different was the Reformers' insistence that careful preparation of candidates should be made. In the First Book of Discipline (1560) it was laid down, for example, that none should be admitted to the Lord's Table who could not repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and

1. G.W.Sprott: Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, pp.59/60.

2. G.W.Sprott: op.cit., pp.89/90.

the Ten Commandments. In 1706 the General Assembly recommended ministers "to take as strict a trial as can be of such as they admit to the Lord's Supper, especially before their first admission thereto, and they they diligently instruct them.....as to the covenant of grace and the nature and end of that ordinance as a seal thereof, and charge upon their consciences the obligations they lie under from their Baptismal covenant, and seriously exhort them to remember the same".

In a paper to the Scottish Church Society in 1895 on The Instruction of Catechumens Before First Communion Sprott speaks of the desirability of there being a course of not less than six lectures, at which those preparing for first Communion would be instructed in (1) the Church and the Baptismal Covenant, (2) The Apostles' Creed, (3) the Ten Commandments, (4) the Daily Life of the Christian, (5) the Sacraments, (6) the Lord's Prayer and the Worship of the Church. In addition, the candidates should be required to commit to memory the Creed, Commandments, the latter part of the Catechism, and the Words of Institution. The service of reception of catechumens should be held in Church.<sup>1</sup>

1. G.W.Sprott: "Instruction of Catechumens before First Communion" in S.C.S.Conferences, Second Series, Vol.I, pp.200-206.

At a later date (1899) we find Dr. H. J. Wotherspoon regretting that the rite of Confirmation had come to be disused. It was wrong, he maintained, "to suppose that Confirmation is necessarily associated with the office of Bishop. Over the whole Eastern Church it is ministered by the pastor. Need we, if we count valid the laying-on of the hands of the presbyterate for ordination, hesitate to allow the presbyter to lay on hands for the Confirmation of the baptized?"<sup>1</sup>

In his Religious Values in the Sacraments Wotherspoon reverts to this theme. "Why is it", he asks, "that a practice primitive, Scripturally suggested, in one form or another universally recognised for at least thirteen centuries, retained by Anglicanism and Lutheranism, came to be disused by most of the Reformed, and in particular by the Church of Scotland, which certainly aimed to conserve the really Catholic? Was it that the rite had become overlaid with obscuring ceremonial .....and that it was therefore allowed to lapse along with other benedictions and unctions which were thought superstitious? Was it that the reservation to the Bishop led to its passing with diocesan Episcopacy?"

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: "A Proposed Revival of Confirmation" in Life and Work, November 1899, p.208.

Or was it let go under Knox's influence and to propitiate his dislike for symbolism generally - the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper excepted? In any case the loss was incurred, and thereby the Church of Scotland set for herself a problem in her relations to youth which is still unsolved".<sup>1</sup>

Wotherspoon believed that the time had come for an authorised service of Confirmation to be adopted by the Church, in which there would be not only the confirmation of baptismal vows, but a definite invocation of the Holy Spirit, with imposition of hands upon each catechumen. While it is part of the function of the rite to be the vehicle of the renewal of vows, the principal aspect should always be the Divine activity, "when in solemn prayer the Holy Ghost is invoked to establish and endow us for new needs and new service".<sup>2</sup>

## VI.

### Holy Communion.

Without doubt, however, the most characteristic note in the teaching of the nineteenth century Scot-

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: Religious Values in the Sacraments, pp. 223/4.
2. H.J. Wotherspoon and R.S. Kirkpatrick: A Manual of Church Doctrine, p. 58.

tish High Church group is found in their attitude to the Lord's Supper, and especially in their insistent advocacy of more frequent celebration of Holy Communion within the Presbyterian Churches. They regarded the prevalent annual or bi-annual Communion as a clear departure from true Catholic tradition and a neglect of the unequivocal directions set forth in the Westminster Directory and Confession. "The tendency to a merely annual Communion, such as prevailed for a long time until lately in most of the parishes of Scotland is an inheritance from the darkest days of Romanism when the Lateran Council of 1215 decreed, on account of the general neglect of the laity of the Communion, that it was necessary that they should communicate at least once a year".<sup>1</sup>

For the Church to provide such slender opportunity of communicating was a manifest disregard of our Lord's precept and of the practice of the Apostolic Church. "During the period in which the Apostles guided the Church, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated every Lord's Day, and the celebration of it was the principal and distinctive purpose for

1. J. Macleod: Holy Communion and Frequency of Celebration, p.5.

which the congregation came together. They assembled on the "first day of the week", not primarily to receive instruction or even to unite in prayer, but in "the breaking of bread" to do what the Lord had specially charged the Church to do, in unity with Him, and for a memorial of Him before the Father, until He comes".<sup>1</sup>

Macleod further pointed out that, until the Reformation, the Eucharist was always and everywhere regarded as the chief service of Christian worship. "For fifteen hundred years it never occurred to the Christian Church that her principal Lord's Day service should be other than a celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The fact that all the extant liturgies, carrying us back almost to the apostolic age are wholly services for the celebration of the Holy Communion, and that the very word "liturgy" signifies the order of celebration, are in themselves a conclusive indication of what the mind of the Church throughout all its history has been. The earliest notices of Christian worship, such as those familiar to every reader in the writings of Justin Martyr, and in the letter of Pliny to Trajan, show that the celebration of the Communion

1. J.Macleod: op.cit., pp.3/4.

on the Lord's Day was the distinctive service of the period immediately subsequent to the Apostolic age".<sup>1</sup>

But the prevailing usage in the Scottish Church was also, as the High Churchmen pointed out on innumerable occasions, at variance with true Reformed teaching. The Westminster Directory, for example, speaks of Holy Communion as a part of "ordinary worship". The Reformers repeatedly affirmed the desirability of celebration being made every Lord's Day, vide Calvin's dictum that "we ought always to provide that no meeting of the Church is held without the Word, prayer, the dispensation of the Supper and alms. We may gather from St. Paul that this was the order observed by the Corinthians, and it is certain that this was the practice many ages after. Most assuredly the custom which prescribes Communion once a year is an invention of the Devil".<sup>2</sup>

Hence Macleod spoke for all his High Church brethren when he declared that "no Lord's Day should ever pass without this service being rendered. It should be the principal service of each Lord's Day. The communicants should be trained to regard their presence at, and their efficient assistance in, the

1. S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.122.

2. J. Calvin: Institutes, Book IV, Chapter xvii, Section 4.

fulfilment of that service as the principal object for which they come up to the House of God and the highest form in which they can fulfil their common Royal Priesthood".<sup>1</sup>

To the charge that weekly Communion was "un-Presbyterian" Macleod answered: "If Presbyterianism means the repudiation of the Lord's Will in these matters the sooner that Presbyterianism is blown to the winds of heaven the better. The first question a man should put to himself is not 'What is Presbyterianism?' but 'What is the teaching of the Scriptures, and what is the Lord's Will?'"<sup>2</sup> And to those who objected that frequent celebrations would result in a diminished attitude of devotion and awe in the Sacrament, Wotherspoon retorted that this was not borne out in actual experience, for "in those areas of Christianity in which celebration is most frequent, do we find that the Sacrament is less regarded, or more ? less valued or waited on with less devotion or intent of heart?"<sup>3</sup>

It was Sprott's conviction that the gravest defect of evngelical religion is its neglect of the

1. S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.120.
2. J.Macleod: The Normal Place of Holy Communion, p.9.
3. H.J.Wotherspoon: Religious Values in the Sacraments, p.256.

Sacrament, preaching having usurped the rightful place of the Lord's ordinance.<sup>1</sup> Wotherspoon assented to this view, and declared that since preaching-services were no longer attractive to the generality of the people, the Church must again resort to more frequent provision of Holy Communion if she were not to lose their loyalty. "There is", he said, "complaint of slackening interest in non-sacramental worship, the ordinary services of prayer and sermon; but there is no comparable slackness in resort to the Holy Communion when it is offered. There is then an abundance of response which is in notable contrast with the Church's parsimony of the opportunity. Has the Church nothing to learn from that? And will it not learn? The instinct of the folk recognises that in the sacramental there is the root of the matter; that in Baptism and the Lord's Supper the mystical union with Christ and with His Body is constituted and maintained, and that at the Lord's Table they find what they seek, both the Gospel and the Grace of God. The hopefulnes and infinite patience with which congregations wait upon preaching is pathetic enough,

1. S.C.S. Annual Report, 1895-6, p.16.

and still more pathetic the frequency of disappointment".<sup>1</sup>

Macleod, too, speaks of "the growing weariness of the routine service twice a Sunday, and of services in which a sermon (too often a mere essay or a poor attempt at a rhetorical oration) is always the principal feature".<sup>2</sup> In a sermon at Govan on Sunday, 17 December 1893, referring to the life and work of the late Professor William Milligan, Macleod remarked: "We believe that when we come together on the Lord's Day to worship, we should always give to God in the highest possible form the glory due unto His Name, instead of so doing merely twice or four times a year. We therefore advocate the restoration of the Holy Communion to the place which the Lord assigned to it, because we know it to be the divinely-ordained worship of the Church and the supreme means of grace. We are far indeed from seeking to disparage or set aside from its proper place the ordinance of preaching. God forbid that we should do so. But we protest against the preaching which assumes or seems to assume that the hearing of sermons is in itself an acceptable service; that the end of preaching is not to train

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: Religious Values in the Sacraments, p.293.

2. S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, p.133.

worshippers, but merely to draw hearers and minister to their gratification; and that we are entitled to substitute on the Lord's Day, services of which the principal feature is the perpetual hearing of sermons for that SACRAMENTAL REMEMBRANCE OF HIM AND PARTICIPATION IN HIS BODY AND BLOOD which is THE DIVINE SERVICE, which our Lord ordained".<sup>1</sup>

It was a matter of regret to the High Church group that within the Church - and even amongst their own number - there was so negligible a record of progress towards greater frequency of Communion. In a paper entitled The Normal Place of Holy Communion Macleod specially referred to this. "We know", he said, "that God in His Providence has raised up, time after time, in the Church of Scotland, witnesses of His eternal will in this matter. We can quote the acts of the General Assembly, passed time after time, in favour of more frequent Communion; and when we come to our own day we know that within the last ten years there has been raised in Scotland, unchallenged because unchallengable, a more emphatic and explicit testimony of the truth that the celebration of the Holy Communion is the orderly, Divinely-appointed

1. J. Macleod: Judge Nothing Before the Time, pp. 21/22.

worship of the Lord's Day. Yet what do we do? We halt between the premises and the conclusion and year after year passes and in practice we almost do nothing. At this moment there are, I suppose, nearly 600 congregations in the Church of Scotland who have only a biennial or an annual communion; I do not suppose there are many more than 100 churches who even yet have quarterly communion; only 2 congregations in Scotland in which there is monthly communion; and there is, against the hundreds, perhaps I may say thousands, in the Church of England, not one congregation in Scripture-loving Scotland in which there is to be found a literal and explicit fulfilment of the Divine ordinance in this matter. That is a thing that should occasion for us considerable misgiving. If St. Paul were to come here, imagine what he would say if he came amongst us and found the Lord's Day pass month after month and no Communion! If he said 'I desire to celebrate the Holy Eucharist with you' and if, unfortunately, the date of the Spring Communion had been fixed by the Town Council and he were told that if he remained for six months he would have an opportunity - what would he say? I hesitate not to say that St. Paul would say with emphasis far greater than when he used the same words to the Corin-

thian Church 'Shall I praise you for this? I praise you not!'.<sup>1</sup>

Wotherspoon pointed out that since Holy Communion is the act of the Church and not of the individual communicant, the Church cannot wait on the whim of the individual for the opportunity to worship, but should celebrate "as often as the will of the Lord may be held by her to indicate, and they do so though each individual member does not receive at every celebration which is accessible to him".<sup>2</sup>

"All experience", says Sprott, "shows that the commemoration of the Lord's death is the most effective preaching of the Cross; and if the Communion conveys spiritual nourishment, and is needful for the increase of holiness, as all Christians believe, infrequent participation must necessarily involve loss of grace".<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, sacramental worship transcends all barriers of class and education. "There is", says Wotherspoon, "a worship-value in the sacramental provision of a form which is equally comprehensive to all grades of intellectual and of social culture,

1. J.Macleod; The Normal Place of Holy Communion, p.3.

2. H.J.Wotherspoon; Religious Values in the Sacraments, p.255.

3. G.W.Sprott; Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p.103.

and which is equally adapted to them all. The language of symbol is common to 'gentle and simple', to the educated and the ignorant, the sacrament is the same to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; they meet there on shared ground who otherwise have few thoughts alike; for whom the same sermons are not suitable; who do not easily enter into the same prayers, who do not like the same hymns; for whom, therefore, it is sometimes supposed that there must be opportunity to worship apart, rich with rich and poor with poor. The Holy Communion is our Lord's protest against class distinctions and colour bars and racial antagonisms".<sup>1</sup>

Alone amongst his contemporaries Macleod of Govan was successful in initiating within his parish a plan of more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion. After much careful teaching and preparation he was able to effect a marked progress. In the first year of his ministry biennial celebrations gave way to quarterly; this was shortly increased to six annual celebrations, and for the remainder of his ministry monthly Communion at the principal service of the day was the rule, while the traditional spring and autumn adminis-

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: op.cit., p.255.

trations and those held on the great Christian festivals were retained. "One may believe that with time he might have realised his ideal of the weekly Eucharist, but death interrupted".<sup>1</sup>

In this plea for a greater frequency of celebration there was, however, no desire amongst the High Churchmen merely to adopt the Anglican method of early morning eucharists. While the Church of England clergy were to be commended for their zeal in providing, in many cases, a daily service of Communion, it was felt that this movement in the sister Church south of the Border was tending in a wrong direction, inasmuch as by a multiplication of Communion services in which only a few participate, the more desirable end of a great parish Communion at the principal service of each Lord's Day was being obscured. The Scottish High Churchmen did not visualise a Sunday programme such as that so often seen in the Church of England - 8 a.m. Holy Communion, 11 a.m. Morning Prayer, 12 noon Sung Eucharist. What they wished was to see the Communion given its proper and supreme place as THE service of the Lord's Day, not a mere appendage to

1. H.J. Wotherspoon: "John Macleod of Govan" in Constructive Quarterly, 1920, p.681.

another service. "Few would contend", says Mr. Gordon Donaldson, "that the present arrangements in most Episcopal churches are ideal. There is little to be said in theory for the early celebration with a handful of communicants, and less to be said for the late celebration at which many attend but few communicate. It would now be generally admitted that the biggest mistake the nineteenth century Anglo-Catholics made was to take over from the Romans the non-communicating high mass. However, while Episcopalians deserve credit for their success in going some way to overcome the medieval prejudice against frequent communion, the Presbyterians on their side have never lost sight of the ideal of a corporate, a congregational, a parochial action. The Episcopalians can undoubtedly learn something from the example of the Presbyterians in this particular, and at least one Episcopalian congregation has taken a leaf out of the Presbyterians' book by distributing Communion Cards before four Communion services in the year - Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday and Harvest - so that these may be especially great congregational occasions. It is a problem common to the two Churches whether there is a place for

a limited number of special Communion seasons and at the same time a place for the weekly Communion at which only a few are present to communicate."<sup>1</sup>

A further defect in the Presbyterian attitude to Communion, often referred to in discussions of the High Church group, was the tendency to regard the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as merely reminiscence, as a memorial of the Saviour's death.

Wotherspoon quotes with approval the words of Principal F. T. Forsyth: "How can we have a mere memorial of One who is still alive - still present and acting in us? No Church can live on that". "The Christ of the Eucharist is the Living Christ who intercedes for us. Receiving the gifts of His Body and Blood we communicate with the Living One and with the power of His Resurrection, not with the Body that was laid lifeless in the Tomb, or with the Blood which fell on the rocks of Calvary".<sup>2</sup> "The Holy Communion", says Macleod, "is not merely an ordinance resting, as it is so often put, on the 'dying command' of Jesus, and to be observed in commemoration of what He was and did, but also, and still more, an institution

1. G. Donaldson: "Scottish Worship: The Heritage of the Past and the Needs of the Present" in Church Service Society Annual, 1958, p.8.
2. H. J. Wotherspoon: Religious Values in the Sacraments, pp.244/5.

of the Risen and Living Lord. The Holy Communion is to be regarded not so much the commemoration of the Death or Passion of our Lord as rather the Memorial of Himself, and of Himself in what He is as well as in what He was, in what He does as truly as in what He did".<sup>1</sup> Dr. George Macleod of the Iona Community tells of "a Presbyterian minister in New York who, pleading recently with his Session for a celebration of Holy Communion of Christmas Day, was denied it on the grounds that Christmas was a joyous festival while this Sacrament was the record of a Death".<sup>2</sup> An indication of how prevalent even yet is the Zwinglian conception of the Sacrament.

Thus we can speak truly of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. This doctrine is in no way connected with the Roman idea of transubstantiation, however. For, as Wotherspoon remarks, "the conception of Christ as at a given moment, in obedience to a given formula, descending to an earthly altar and either entering into or taking the place of the elements, would to the Fathers of the first ages have seemed not sacramental at all".<sup>3</sup> He quotes Calvin's sentence

1. S.C.S. Conferences, First Series, pp.124/5.
2. G.F.Macleod; Only One Way Left, p.109.
3. S.C.S; The Pentecostal Gift, p.145.

"I deem it unlawful to think or speak of any other body than that which was offered upon the Cross and has been received into heaven. It is detestable impiety to imagine Christ with two bodies".<sup>1</sup> "But this is the glory of Christian worship", declared Macleod, "not merely that we can come and pray to Jesus, but that He comes sacramentally into the midst of the assembly of His faithful people, and that therein we are united to Him in appearing before the Father. Through this sacrament I see Jesus really, though mystically and sacramentally, here on earth, making with us the memorial of His own passion, appearing in the presence of God, and carrying us along with Him in one intercession before the Father".<sup>2</sup>

"The Church of Scotland", says Doctors Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, "teaches that, receiving the consecrated elements, we receive Christ's Body and Blood. In the Sacrament, and for its purpose, they are what He has declared them to be. \*Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible Elements in this Sacrament do then, also inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not corporally or carnally, but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ Crucified and all the

1. S.C.S; The Pentecostal Gift, p.148.

2. J.Macleod: The Gospel of the Holy Communion, pp.64/65.

benefits of this Death: The Body and Blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the Bread and Wine; yet as really, but spiritually, present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the Elements themselves are to their outward senses'. (Conf. of Faith, xxix. ?)."<sup>1</sup>

It was a defect, too, that the Sacrament was regarded in too subjective a manner, overmuch emphasis being placed on the blessing to be received by the worshipper, and the Godward aspect obscured. "How many people go to Holy Communion moved with a sort of vague expectation of some sort of blessing each for himself, but with never a thought that he is a member exercising his vocation to help, not himself, but the whole Church in maintaining on earth an exhibition of the very same Intercession of Christ offered for the whole Church before the Throne".<sup>2</sup>

Hence the High Churchmen were at pains to develop in their congregations the sense of their "assisting" at the Sacrament, and pointed out the significant place given to the communicant by St. Paul. "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup YE do

1. H.J. Wotherspoon and J.M. Kirkpatrick: A Manual of Church Doctrine, pp.78/9.

2. J. Macleod: The Normal Place of Holy Communion, p.4.

show the Lord's death until He come". The bread which WE break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ? The cup of blessing which WE bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ?

The better ordering and more frequent celebration of Holy Communion was, the High Churchmen believed, the most urgent need in the Church of Scotland.

## VII.

### The Common Cup in Holy Communion.

The High Church group unanimously opposed the practice, a novelty until the last decade of the nineteenth century, of the use in the administration of Holy Communion of "individual cups". This regrettable importation from the United States of America has since invaded a lamentably large number of congregations, and is not only destructive of the symbolism of the rite, but imperils its dignity and solemnity. In a recent article in Life and Work, the Church of Scotland's monthly magazine, attention is drawn to a further departure from Apostolic and Reformed practice: "A more pronounced type of individual cup has been introduced into some city churches. It is a labour-saving gadget. No longer do the elders have to distribute the

elements. For in front of each communicant is installed a contraption clamped on to the book-board. At the word "Eat" the communicant presses a button, which produces an individual portion of bread; and at the word "Drink" a glass is released. All drink in unison as if responding to a toast. There is no passing of the elements, no giving one to another".<sup>1</sup>

In a paper read to a Scottish Church Society Conference, a lesser-known member enunciated the Society's objections to the use of "individual cups". It is, he maintained, as grievous an infringement of our Lord's command as is the Roman Catholic practice, prevalent in that Church since the thirteenth century, of withholding the cup from the laity. In the method of celebration by "individual cups" Christ's behest is ignored, for all the Gospels refer to one cup being used at the Last Supper. "It is in them all, 'He took the Cup' (τὸ ποτήριον), Mark 14, v.25; and in S. Matthew, 'Drink ye all out of it' (ἐξ αὐτοῦ), that is, "out of the Cup"; and in St. Luke and S. Paul, 'This Cup (τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον) is the New Covenant in My Blood'".<sup>2</sup>

1. "Arthur": "Common Cup or Individual Glasses" in Life and Work, March 1958, pp.69/70.
2. W.A. Knowles: "The Limitation of the Powers of the Church in Regard to Ordinance" in S.C.S. Conference Report for 1912, p.5.

The Cup used by our Lord was a shared cup. "There is a deep significance", the Society was reminded, "in the Common Cup of the Holy Feast. As the Cup is the means of fellowship with the Risen Lord, so the Common Cup is the token of fellowship with one another. It is shared with our fellow-communicants as the pledge that we are all sharers in the life of Christ, all brethren in Christ Jesus, all members joined to the One Head. It matters not for this how many Cups may be used as a matter of convenience, so long as they are all blessed and shared. But when each is provided with a cup for himself, the symbol is broken and destroyed. So the abolition of the Common Cup is a spoiling of the symbolism, but it is more: it is a deliberate departure from the Divine institution of the Holy Eucharist. Any argument on the ground of cleanliness or health, even if it could be made good, is utterly worthless to the devout disciple when set against the Word of his Lord. It should be enough for us to say, 'The Lord hath ordained it so,' and to rejoice, in following His Holy example in word and action, that we may fulfil His Institution in righteousness and joy".<sup>1</sup>

1. *ibid.*, pp.5/6.

## VIII.

Attitude to Fast-Days.

While it was essential for right participation of Holy Communion that there should be adequate preparation on the part of the communicant, the High Churchmen felt that the traditional fast-days, long associated with Scottish Communion seasons, no longer served their original purpose as days of spiritual preparation. In this matter they had the support of a considerable proportion of thoughtful Church people. "A strong feeling was growing in the Church that this day, the Thursday before the Communion Sunday, had long lost its sacred character, and in most places had degenerated from a holy day into an ordinary holiday of the most secular sort".<sup>1</sup> It had become solely a day given over to amusement and, in the neighbourhood of large towns there were often scenes of drunkenness and disorder.

Robert Lee of Greyfriars was one of the first to raise a protest against the misuse of fast-days.

"They are becoming quite a scandal, and some remedy must be found, and that speedily".<sup>2</sup> "A fast-day",

1. Principal Story: A Memoir by his Daughters, p.39.

2. R.Lee: The Reform of the Church of Scotland, p.193.

wrote a contemporary, "is simply a day when there is a service in the church - when there is little or no work done, and when those who don't want to go to church have only to travel into the next parish, or town, as the case may be, to have a day's pleasuring. To speak of this day as a day of 'fasting and humiliation' preparatory to receiving the Lord's Supper, is a ludicrous and almost a profane misnomer. There is no fasting whatsoever; there is no humiliation whatsoever".<sup>1</sup>

In 1867 Story brought an overture anent fast-days before the General Assembly which resulted in a committee of enquiry being set up. No satisfactory result followed, and several years later Story resumed his fight for reform with a pamphlet, designed for popular consumption, entitled On Fast-Days, with reference to more Frequent Communion and to Good Friday (1876). He adopted a suggestion previously made by Lee that a Saturday evening service of preparation be held. "For a service of this kind the fittest time is the Saturday afternoon. The business of the week is over then. It is the eve of the feast.

1. "A Letter to a Clergyman on the State and Prospects of the Church" in MacPhail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal, May 1862, p.204.

Its few hours may easily be kept free from external distractions and given to public worship, followed by meditation, self-examination, and prayer".<sup>1</sup> As a real fast-day he suggested Good Friday as a day of humiliation and prayer. "If it be objected that the abolition of the existing fast-days would leave the Church without any day, in the whole year, specially given to humiliation and prayer, the answer is simple - keep Good Friday. Do what is done in every other Church, Eastern, Western, Reformed, Unreformed, Established, Unestablished, except in our own and some of those that descended from us: observe, with penitence, prayer, and mortification of the flesh, the day on which the Saviour of men died on the Cross".<sup>2</sup> In 1877 the fast-day was abolished in his own parish of Roseneath, and, gradually, throughout most of the country, save in the Highlands and Islands, its use was discontinued.

Dr. John Macleod desired to see fast-days discontinued as a step towards the attainment of more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion. In 1884,

1. R.H.Story: On Fast Days, p.31.  
 2. R.H.Story: op.cit., p.41.

as convener of a presbytery committee appointed to enquire into the matter, he submitted a report which resulted in the abolition of fast-days within the bounds of Glasgow Presbytery.<sup>1</sup>

1. R.S. Kirkpatrick: The Ministry of Dr. John Macleod in the Parish of Govan, pp.56/57.

CHAPTER TWELVEAn Assessment of the Movement

## I.

A further discussion of origins.

Having viewed the work of the nineteenth century High Church group, and before considering their contribution to the work and worship of the contemporary Church, one vital question demands an answer: What prompted these pioneers in their desire for reform of worship, for a more sacramental Church, and what set alight their ardent wish to see the Church claim, in both worship and doctrine, her full heritage as a part, not only of the Reformed, but of the true Catholic Church.

We have seen<sup>1</sup> that there was at this period a general revival of interest in liturgical scholarship in Germany, France and the United States of America, and a renaissance of what may be termed neo-Catholicism - a new respect for ancient Catholic practices and a turning back to the creeds and liturgies of the pre-Reformation Church. In this awakening the Church of Scotland shared.

1. Chapter One, Section II.

## II.

The Catholic Apostolic Church.

But the liturgical revival in Scotland was set in motion by several other impulses. One of these was a somewhat unexpected fons et origo. "The liturgical revival in this country", says Sprott, "began with the Catholic and Apostolic Church, many of the first members of which had been followers of Edward Irving and had been brought up in the Church of Scotland".<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, however, Sprott does not amplify this statement, and the reader is left to conjecture in what manner the Catholic Apostolic Church did, in fact, influence the revival of liturgiology and Churchmanship in Scotland.

When one recalls, however, that Irving was ordained into the ministry of the Church of Scotland, that many of his friends and adherents were of Scottish birth and Presbyterian persuasion, a connection between the Church which arose from his London ministry and the Church of Scotland can be traced. Principal Herbert Story, one of the prime movers of the Church Service Society, was the son of one of Irving's oldest Scottish

1. Church Service Society: Euchologion, 7th Edition, p.xii.

friends, and the phenomena of glossolalia first occurred in Roseneath, Story's parish. Hence the younger Story could not fail to be interested in the Church which often got the name "Irvingite". Leishman of Linton, too, had frequently met Irving in his father's manse at Govan, and it has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that Dr. Matthew Leishman was greatly influenced by the Catholic ideals of his life-long friend. Most prominent of all in his Catholic Apostolic sympathies was Dr. John Macleod of Govan. "By 'apostolic act'", says Dr. A. L. Drummond, "the Apostolic College recognises the 'orders' of such clergy of other branches of the Universal Church as desires it; and during the Victorian era a number of people in sympathy with the movement availed themselves of this, including Presbyterian ministers like Dr. John Macleod of Govan".<sup>2</sup> It will be recalled<sup>3</sup> that Dr. Macleod, as a young minister at Duns, was profoundly influenced by some "Irvingite" parishioners and, as a result, his whole outlook on the ministry was re-orientated, with a new conception given him of the grandeur of the Church's apostolic and Catholic heritage, the powerful efficacy

1. Chapter Three, Section II.

2. A. L. Drummond: Edward Irving and his Circle, p.235.

3. Chapter Five, Section II.

of the Sacraments, and a new ideal of what worship ought to be. In a personal letter, Dr. H. C. Whitley, Irving's latest biographer, writes: "Most of my information about John Macleod has come through conversations with older members of the Catholic Apostolic Church - most of them now dead - who told me vivid stories about him and his connection with the Edinburgh church. There is no doubt at all that he did, on occasion, attend services at Mansfield Place. He was greatly influenced by the Liturgy of the Church, and indeed what has become known as the Govan Communion Service is largely based on the Holy Eucharist Service of the Catholic Apostolic Church. He was also considerably influenced by Edward Irving himself - as were also men like Dr. Harry Wotherspoon and Professor James Cooper. The difficulty, of course, is getting factual statements in writing. But Dr. Harry Wotherspoon used to tell me that the whole movement within the Church of Scotland which led to the formation of the Church Service Society owed its origin to the Catholic Apostolic Church.<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. J. C. Carrick, in a memoir of Dr. J. Cameron Lees, speaks of the influence of the Catholic

1. Letter from Rev. H. C. Whitley, D.D.

Apostolic Church on the minister of St. Giles'.

"He had a great affection for Irving's Liturgy, and often quoted it, using indeed some of its beautiful prayers in his own Book of Common Order".<sup>1</sup>

The Catholic Apostolic Church also had an indirect influence through the revival of High Church ideals in the United States of America.<sup>2</sup> A movement in the German Reformed Church there for the revision of the liturgy led to a revised edition prepared by a Committee who not only based it on Catholic and Reformed liturgies, but, as Sprott declares, "made good use of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy, and to their labours the Church Service Society is much indebted".<sup>3</sup> Sprott was himself the compiler of the Euchologion Communion Service, and his indebtedness to the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy is acknowledged in the appendix to the seventh edition, which lists the sources of the prayers used throughout the book.

The Church Service Society, moreover, had as one of its chief aims the study of the liturgies of the Church, both ancient and modern. The Catholic Apos-

1. J.C. Carrick: Cameron Lees, Queen Victoria's Soul-Friend, p.28.

2. See Chapter One, Section II.

3. Church Service Society: Euchologion, 7th Edition, p.xv.

tolic Liturgy (1842) was the newest liturgy with which the Society had to deal, and since it showed all the evidence of being a truly outstanding liturgy drawn from Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Anglican sources, and couched in memorable Laudian phraseology, it was natural that the Scottish High Churchmen should regard it as a fine compendium of prayers, and look to it for guidance.

Hence the primary impulse of the High Church Movement in Scotland preceded the Tractarian revival for the Catholic Apostolic Church and its Liturgy were in existence before the Oxford Movement began.

### III.

#### The Tractarian Movement.

It was not to be expected, however, that the influence of the Tractarians would not be felt in the Church north of the Tweed, and many Scottish ministers believed that what had taken place in the Anglican Communion would, if imported into Scotland, help to lift the Scottish Church from the low estate into which she had fallen. A. K. H. Boyd, for example, is a typical illustration of this. More than most of his

brethren, he dearly loved all things Anglican, and was fond of contrasting the often uncouth and formless worship in the bleak and bare churches of Presbyterian Scotland with the ordered beauty of the worship of the Anglican communion. Into his services Boyd introduced as many Anglican practices as he dared, as did not a few others in the early High Church group. Hence some sections of public opinion came to the conclusion that the High Churchmen were merely trying to "ape the Anglicans". The liturgical party, Dr. Drummond maintains, "drew their inspiration more often from Anglican sources. It is well known that from the Disruption onwards the anglicising social tendency among the aristocracy had become accentuated, drawing their sons to English schools and universities, and thus gradually augmenting the influence and prestige of the Scottish Episcopal Church. This anglicising tendency by the close of the nineteenth century now effected the well-to-do middle class. It was quite natural that ministers most in touch with these classes (e.g. Dr. A. K. H. Boyd) should have sought to free the Kirk from the ugliness and slovenliness that repelled, and were not the inevitable concomitants of Presbyterianism. Unfortunately this reform movement

was infected with a subtle snobbery. There was an affected use of the name 'Holy Communion' for the Lord's Supper. There was a conscious imitation of Anglican 'Morning' and 'Evening Prayer'. It was the fond ambition of ecclesiological clerics to build Gothic churches with deep chancels, cluttered up with choir stalls, eagle lecterns, and prayer-desks of the type standardised by the Oxford Movement."<sup>1</sup>

This imitation of Anglicanism is seen in the regrettable change which was effected in the Order of Morning Service in the sixth edition of Euchologion. To bring it into conformity with Anglican matins the post-sermon thanksgiving and intercessory prayer was transferred to a point in the service preceding the sermon, thus destroying the traditional primitive and Reformed tradition, and also preventing the order of morning worship from adhering as closely to the Communion rite as possible. Spratt and many others vigorously dissented from this radical change-over to Anglican procedure. Frequently, too, Spratt expressed his regret that Scottish ministers should incorporate portions of the Anglican prayer book into their public devotions. "As for quotations from the

1. A.L.Drummond: The Church Architecture of Protestantism, p.87.

English liturgy which we sometimes hear mingled with Presbyterian prayers, I cannot say that I am partial to them; the mixture seems incongruous and the dignity and independence of the Church of this ancient Kingdom seem thereby to be more or less compromised".<sup>1</sup> Another member of the Church Service Society criticised this habit by telling of an Englishwoman "who went into one of our parish churches, and the whole service was so much like what she had heard in England, with some differences, that she was very much surprised. When she came out she was asked what she thought of it, and she said she preferred Scotch broth to mock turtle".<sup>2</sup> The speaker went on to plead for a distinctly Scottish service.

The influence of Sprott, Leishman, Cooper and Macleod, however, helped to keep this tendency in check. But it ought not to be overlooked that the Tractarian movement brought much that was beneficial into the Scottish Church. It prompted a desire for more seemly churches, more reverent worship, a greater decorum in the attitude of worshippers and, most of

1. G.W.Sprott: "Eutaxia, or the Presbyterian Liturgies", in Edinburgh Christian Magazine, September 1856, p.177.

2. J.Kerr: The Renaissance of Worship, p.144.

all, led the Church to contrast the abundant provision of Holy Communion offered by the Church of England with the infrequent celebrations of the Kirk in Scotland.

#### IV.

##### The Aberdeen Doctors.

Clearly discernible, too, in the teaching of the Scottish High Churchmen is the echo of that of the "Aberdeen Doctors", a small group of northern scholars and theologians connected with the city and university of Aberdeen who lent distinction to the Church of Scotland during the First Episcopacy (1610 - 1638). Their spokesman and leader was Dr. John Forbes of Corse (1593 - 1648).

During the bitter struggle between Church and State and between the rival claims of Episcopacy and Presbytery the Aberdeen Doctors sought to pursue a policy of moderation and conciliation. They believed that since both Presbytery and Episcopacy were consonant with Apostolic and Scriptural tradition the most desirable solution of the situation within the Scottish Church would be the retention of an "Anglo-Presbyterian" form of government. In such a system the graded courts of Presbyterian usage

would be allied with the superintendents or bishops of the Knoxian Church. The bishop would remain a presbyter, and would be under the control of the General Assembly. He would act as permanent moderator of presbytery and would preside at ordinations, in which he would be assisted by other presbyters.

The Aberdeen Doctors desired also to restore the historical aspect of the Church's theology and to show "that the doctrines of the Reformed Church were no upstart novelties, but had their basis in Scripture and Catholic antiquity".<sup>1</sup> In the field of worship they deplored the loss incurred by the rejection of the Christian Calendar, and strove to commend the reintroduction of the main Christian liturgical days and seasons. They likewise maintained that a liturgy was a requisite element in all truly congregational worship.

Their teaching, after long neglect, was infused with new life and emphasis when it was taken up by the nineteenth-century High Churchmen, and notably in Professor James Cooper's vision of a reunited Presbyterian-Episcopal Church of Scotland their Churchmanship found renewed expression.

1. D. MacMillan: The Aberdeen Doctors, p.102.

## V.

"Heroes before Agamemnon".

Another impulse which brought the High Church movement into life was, as has been seen, the vigorous expansion shown by the Scottish Episcopal Church in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> And Kerr, in his Lee Lecture of 1905, mentions the desperation in the minds of those who felt that something must be done to rescue the Church from the nadir of perfunctoriness and slovenliness into which she had fallen. "There seemed to be at the time a wave of revival in the way of ritual in the Church, due no doubt to the fact that worship had reached such a degraded and deplorable condition that something had to be done to improve matters".<sup>2</sup>

Kerr mentions in this lecture the names of some "heroes before Agamemnon"<sup>3</sup> who, in various ways, prompted the movement for reform. One of these was Professor James Robertson,<sup>4</sup> who, along with Principal George Hill of St. Andrews and others, successfully overtured the General Assembly for forms of service suitable for remote dwellers in the Highlands and

1. See Chapter One, Section V.

2. J. Kerr: op.cit., p.8.

3. J. Kerr: op.cit., p.10.

4. See Chapter Three, Section IV.

Islands and the Colonies; this notable step forward led to the formation of the Committee on Aids to Devotion in 1859. Nor must the names of the Rev. J. Marshall Lang and the Rev. Dr. James Bisset of Bourtie be overlooked - the one for his courageous action, which the Presbytery of Aberdeen promptly censured, in asking his congregation to stand at singing; the other for his valiant commendation of the innovations in worship begun by Dr. Robert Lee in his moderatorial address to the General Assembly in 1862.<sup>1</sup> Rev. Dr. George Campbell of Eastwood does not figure prominently in the annals of the Church Service Society. Yet it owes its origin to his persual of George W. Sprott's pamphlet The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, and his "conspiracy" with J. Cameron Lees and Herbert Story. "We three conspirators", wrote Campbell, "then met in Glasgow and agreed to sound the views of various likeminded ministers, and to invite them to attend a meeting".....for the purpose of forming a Society for the study of the principles of Church Worship.<sup>2</sup>

Kerr reserves an honoured place in the roll of

1. See Chapter Five, Section III.

2. J. Kerr: *ibid.*, pp.7/8.

the progenitors of the movement for reform of Scottish Churchmanship for "His Grace the Duke of Argyll, whose inherited love of the Kirk of Scotland and sympathy with her progress were so well known that his work on Presbytery Examined, which was published in 1849, and advocated reforms very much on the lines of Dr. Lee, commanded much attention".<sup>1</sup> The Duke early became a member of the Church Service Society and took the keenest interest in its affairs. As owner of Iona Abbey he placed it in the custody of the Church of Scotland in 1897, and each year, upon St. Columba's Day, a service of thanksgiving was arranged there by the Church Service Society.

## VI.

### Successes and Failures of the High Church Group.

What, then, were the achievements - and failures - of the nineteenth century High Church group, and in what way has their teaching imposed itself on the thought of the modern Scottish Church?

It is worthy of passing reference that the Societies they inaugurated are still in existence, the Church Service Society, in particular, maintaining

1. J. Kerr: *ibid.*, p.11.

a large membership of over 700 ministers and laymen, and still in vigorous life. Its finely-printed and well-illustrated annual journal is a feature of its contribution to liturgical scholarship. The Scottish Church Society and the Scottish Ecclesiological Society do not claim large membership, but their influence is unobtrusively beneficial.

Moreover the books published by the High Churchmen, notably those of H. J. Wotherspoon and G. W. Sprott, are still in demand in college libraries and command the attention of students of liturgy and worship.

The most permanent influence of the group has undoubtedly been in the field of public worship. Their strenuous plea for more reverence, more decorum, and more regard for the inherited traditions of the Scottish Church has awakened in her ministers and people a renewed conception of the supreme place worship ought to have in the life of the Church. Amongst the clergy there is an increased interest in liturgical matters, a desire to make the services of the sanctuary worshipful. While the sermon is still given a high place it is no longer regarded as the chief element in a service, nor are the prayers, Scripture lessons and

praise items looked upon as the mere "preliminaries" to an oratorical effort on the part of the minister. More and more it is being acknowledged that the church building is more than an auditorium. It should be, above all things, a House of Prayer.

While there is still, amongst a diminishing section of Church people, a lingering prejudice against read prayers, the various editions of Euchologion and its successors, (Prayers for Divine Service 1922, and the Book of Common Order 1940), have done much to set a pattern of public prayer, and in language and outline have moulded the practice of the Church into a generally-accepted usage. The two principal prayers of a Scottish service, whether read or not, are almost everywhere divided into the sections suggested by the rubrics of the service-books - Adoration, Confession of Sins, Supplication in the first prayer (including a declaration of Divine absolution) and, in the second prayer, Thanksgiving and Intercession. Especially amongst the younger ministers there are many who adhere with fidelity to the orders of morning and evening service for the month as set out in the Book of Common Order. The idea has been banished that public prayer should be "eloquent" or "striking" or "unusual". The Lord's Prayer has

everywhere been restored to its supreme place in public worship.

The services of the Church have been greatly enriched by a notable Church Hymnary - a twice-revised successor of the Scottish Hymnal - whose collection of hymnology, ancient and modern, is, in both words and music, a fine vehicle, at once Catholic and Evangelical, of the Church's offering of praise.<sup>1</sup>

The observance of the main features of the Christian Year was, as has been noted, one of the early objects of High Church endeavour, and within the past decade this aspect of worship has made considerable progress in the Church. Much is now made of the Christmas Festival and, particularly on Christmas Eve, congregations are larger and more inclusive of all age-groups of worshippers than at any other service throughout the year. But Christmas Day and Good Friday are not official holidays in Scotland, and in some communities, though on a decreasing scale year by year, shops and places of work are open for ordinary business, as are cinemas and places of amusement. Ascension Day, falling on a weekday, is not generally observed by divine service, the Sunday

1. The Church Hymnary Revised Edition, Oxford, 1933.

following being utilised for its commemoration. Holy Week, especially in the larger towns and cities, is increasingly marked by united evening services throughout the week of a devotional nature, with a course of sermons on some aspect of the Passion, Holy Communion on the Thursday evening, and usually a large congregation on Good Friday. Easter Day is now frequently observed by services of Holy Communion, and Archbishop Gordon Lang's strictures, while a young ordinand preparing for the ministry of the Church of England in preference to the Church of his fathers, no longer apply. On his first Easter Day as an Anglican he found himself "quite sad to think how feeble and beggarly was the welcome of my native country to the Risen King".<sup>1</sup>

Official sanction has been given to the observance of the Christian Year by the inclusion in the Revised Church Hymnary of many and varied hymns suitable for all the great Christian festivals and seasons, and by the publication of Prayers for the Christian Year - a companion volume to the Book of Common Order 1940.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is provided that, throughout the Church, the Gospel of God is fully proclaimed and

1. J.G.Lockhart: Cosmo Gordon Lang, p.84.

2. Prayers for the Christian Year, Oxford, 1935.  
Second Edition 1952.

each of the great verities of the faith remembered in proper sequence throughout the year.

The influence of the early High Churchmen is discernible, too, in the Church's attitude to Holy Communion. In the words of Dr. J. Wilson Baird in a recent presidential address to the Scottish Church Society, "Holy Communion is now more reverently celebrated, more generally understood. We think more - far more - than once we did of Holy Communion as the normal act of worship".<sup>1</sup> In the successive editions of Euchologion a norm of eucharistic worship was provided which served the Church well and which, while good in itself, has been surpassed in excellence by the rite found in the first "Form and Order for the Celebration of Holy Communion" in the 1940 Book of Common Order which, as Dr. W. D. Maxwell says, "represents a long tradition brought to a high perfection, indigenously Scottish and Reformed, and essentially Catholic. In its dignity of action, centrality of content and felicity of expression, it provides a vehicle of worship entitling it to a place among the great rites of Christendom, and is rapidly

1. S.C.S. Annual Report, 1947-8, p.9.

becoming recognised as such. Indeed, its influence in many other communions is notable, not only in the daughter Churches, but even at Geneva itself where, translated into French, it is a rite used in Calvin's Church of St. Peter".<sup>1</sup> This service, more than any other in the Book of Common Order, has greatly commended itself to the Church and is in general use throughout the land, and seems likely to become a fixed and permanent rite in Scottish worship.

Baptisms and marriages are now commonly celebrated in church.

A greater sanctity and seemliness may be detected in the church buildings of Presbyterian Scotland. Where congregations are privileged to worship in ancient or historic shrines the upkeep of the fabric is regarded as being of primary importance. The hand of the "restorer" which in the past has mutilated so many fine old sanctuaries has been checked by the prior investigation of presbytery and General Trustees before any proposed "improvements" or alterations are made in Church property. An expert "Committee on Artistic Questions" is available for consultation by ministers and architects.

1. W.D. Maxwell: A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland, p.183.

Churches built in the Disruption period - an unfortunate transition era in Scottish Church architecture - and in the late nineteenth century have in many cases been renovated into more semblance of homes of worship and prayer. The vast Victorian pulpit with its red plush cushions and hangings, behind which stood serried ranks of organ pipes, is no longer regarded as a suitable expression of modern taste. Hence in the new churches (notably those in Church Extension parishes), and in the renovations of the nineteenth century neo-Gothic churches, the varnished pulpit and heavy pews, the choir-box and organ in too prominent a place have been replaced by a seemly chancel, a central Holy Table, and a pulpit no longer dominating the scene, but taking its place as an essential part of the church furnishings, and symbolic of the place the Revealed Word has always occupied in Reformed practice. More colour and light is being brought into our churches - the walls are no longer hideously stencilled, nor the beauty of the woodwork hidden beneath layers of shiny paint or varnish. Above all, the symbol of the Cross is again being introduced.

Then, too, the High Churchmen have successfully brought into the forefront of the Church's thought the

fulness of her heritage as a Reformed and also a Catholic branch of the Church of Christ. Ever conscious though the Church is of her debt to the Reformation, this date is not looked upon as the beginning of her existence as a Church. She can claim her part and share in the Catholic inheritance. Her place in the Holy Catholic Church has always been expressly affirmed in her credal statements and constitutional declaration, and was expressly re-stated in the Basis and Plan of Union in 1929.<sup>1</sup> But in the present day this conception of the Church's true Catholicity has been brought from the realms of creed and statement into the consciousness of the ordinary churchgoer. The "sect" idea no longer dominates Scottish Churchmanship; the recent development of ecumenical endeavour; the work and witness of the Iona Community, whose membership is open to men and women of all denominations; the united witness of the various denominations in recent large-scale evangelical campaigns, e.g. The Tell Scotland Movement and, not least, the potent influence of radio and television broadcasts which bring into Scottish homes religious

1. J.T.Cox: "Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in matters spiritual" in Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland, Third edition, p.340.

services from all the denominations, have had the effect of widening Presbyterian horizons. The habit-<sup>ually</sup> repetition of the Creed in many churches had helped to foster the Catholic outlook and has given to modern Scottish churchpeople the assurance that "we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another".<sup>1</sup>

But on the other hand, certain ideals of the High Church pioneers which they regarded as of very great value, have not found a way into the contemporary life and worship of the Church. Especially is this seen in the matter of the frequency of the celebration of Holy Communion which to Macleod and his party was an issue of such urgent importance. It would be a matter of disappointment and regret to them to observe how slow has been the progress towards the ideal of frequent Communion. Holy Communion is still, in the general practice of the Church, regarded as an occasional, and not the normal service of the Church. The Church has shown herself reluctant to depart from the bi-annual or quarterly communions which are still the accepted usage in the majority of parishes. In only one Church (St. Giles' Cathedral) is there a weekly

1. Romans, Chapter 12, verse 5.

celebration, and that after the morning service. In some other congregations a similar service is held at monthly intervals.

Much of the hesitation against the institution of more frequent celebrations seems to be due, not to popular prejudice or complacency with the existing situation, but to apprehension lest, in providing Communion at weekly or monthly intervals, there should be any weakening of the place of the great "periodic" parish Communion which have for so long been a notable feature of Scottish Church life. There is a fear that these proposed smaller celebrations would detract from the crowded attendances at the celebrations of established tradition. "The last thing, I imagine", says Oswald B. Milligen (a son of the first President of the Scottish Church Society), "that any of us would like to see is the abandonment of the 'periodic' Communion which from every point of view has made so great a contribution to the life of our Scottish Church. No one questions the spiritual value which these recurring seasons have in our congregational as also in our individual lives. No one denies the subjective influences produced by the gathering of a great congregation, and the loss that would be sustained

were frequency of Communion to destroy a factor which in our present system has proved its real spiritual value. Are there not, however, in the life of any congregation, and in the lives of those individuals who compose that congregation, constant occasions when the need cries for the deepest and fullest response which the Church can give? There are times of temptation, times of loneliness, times of joy and times of sorrow, and at these times the deepest desire of the soul is for a fellowship that will uphold and understand and keep; and where has the Church a better ministry through which to make response to the cry of her children than in the administration of the Sacrament?"<sup>1</sup>

The ideals of the High Churchmen have borne fruit in that in every modern Church built for Presbyterian worship the Holy Table is always now given the most prominent place. It is usually the finest example in the building of the craftsman's art and skill. But the question arises - why is it not honoured by its more frequent use? The witness of John Macleod, Sprott, Cooper, and Wotherspoon in the matter of sacramental worship still awaits fulfilment. It has yet to

1. O.B. Milligan: The Ministry of Worship, P. 100.

be realised that in these days of increased evangelical activity when the Gospel is being preached not only in churches, but in schools, army camps, shipyards, offices and factories, and nation-wide revival campaigns are being organised, that in both the Reformed and Catholic tradition the preaching of the Word is not alone sufficient. Those who have been led to submit their lives to God through the words of preacher or evangelist must be brought to the Font of Baptism and to the Table of Communion if they are to attain to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ".<sup>1</sup>

Nor has the influence of the High Church Party of the nineteenth century or its modern successors been able to prevent the increasing use of the method of celebrating Holy Communion by means of "individual cups", which is so lamentable a departure from Reformed and Catholic tradition. Once this practice has been adopted by congregations, it is difficult to eradicate, and many ministers find themselves obliged to celebrate the Sacrament in a manner which they regard with extreme disfavour on doctrinal, historic and Scriptural grounds.

1. Ephesians, Chapter 4, verse 13.

The question of the Christian education of the young presents an even greater problem to the modern Church than it did to the Churchmen of the last century. Every minister regards with the utmost concern the drift of adolescents from the Church, and every chaplain in the armed forces finds that the overwhelming majority of young men and women with whom he comes into contact are ignorant of even the fundamental truths of the Christian Faith and exhibit a marked disinclination to attend services of worship.

But may not the early High Churchmen have indicated at least a partial solution to the problem of youth's defection from the Church when they stressed the need (a) for a system of religious education firmly based on the catechetical method? They affirmed the need for a popular, cheap, and easily-memorised catechism - a handy text-book of the Church's Faith set out in terms suitable for children and young people. It is interesting to note that the Youth Committee of the Church is now endeavouring to prepare such a handbook. And (b) the High Church group seem to have anticipated the needs of modern youth in their plea for more colour, more beauty, more symbolism in worship. A generation which spends so much of its

leisure time in brightly decorated, colourful cinemas and dance-halls will not be attracted into churches which are ugly, devoid of any beauty or spiritual suggestiveness, stuffy and gloomy, with an air of decay and mustiness in them. Moreover, an age which receives its information and amusement so largely through the pictorial sense, which prefers the film and television-show to the lecture or the book will be impatient with a worship which is "almost exclusively addressed to the ear", to use Hislop's description of Calvin's service.<sup>1</sup> There must be in our churches and our services not only an intellectual appeal, but an appeal to the eye, through the beauty of the church building, its ornaments and furnishings, the solemn dignity of the worship - and, most of all, through the reverent admiration of that dramatic symbolic act which "proclaims the Lord's death until He comes".

It must be admitted, however, that while the contribution of the High Churchmen of the nineteenth century has been of notable value to the Churchmanship of our day, yet the promise of the movement's beginning has not been entirely fulfilled. The cause has

1. D.H.Hislop: Our Heritage in Public Worship, p.190.

suffered greatly from being, in Evelyn Underhill's words "urban and clerical".<sup>1</sup> A study of the list of office-bearers and members of the Church Service Society and more especially the Scottish Church Society shows how little appeal has been made to the laity of the Church. The movement has suffered, too, from the lack of such vigorous and colourful personalities as for example Fathers A. H. MacKnochie and A. H. Stanton of St. Alban's, Holborn, or C. F. Lowder of St. Peter's, London Docks, whose work and witness in London's East End captured the popular imagination and was a tremendous asset to the Anglo-Catholic cause. The Scottish High Church leaders were, at the beginning of the movement, (with perhaps John Macleod as an exception), men of the academic and ecclesiastical type, more at home in their studies and pulpits than in the hurly-burly of the market-place. The absence of appeal through popular literature was a handicap to the movement's success; none of the High Churchmen produced anything comparable to Keble's Christian Year (1827) which proved such an amazing best-seller and became so valuable an educative influence in the spread of Tractarian ideals, for copies of it were

1. E. Underhill: Worship, p. 296.

found in almost every Church of England home, placed beside the Bible and the Prayer Book.

Yet the nineteenth-century High Churchmen have undoubtedly left a deep impression on the modern Church of Scotland. Our Churchmanship has lost its narrow sectarianism, has become ecumenical in outlook and sympathy, and Catholic in its insistence on the Church's rightful place within the Una Sancta Ecclesia of Christ. Our worship has been enriched by drawing its inspiration from the liturgical and devotional treasury of every branch of the Church Catholic. The Church of Scotland today owes much - more, perhaps, than is generally acknowledged - to those pioneers and men of God who, in an earlier generation, reminded her of her true heritage as a Church both Catholic and Reformed, and bade her:

"Ask for the Old Paths - - - and walk therein".

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