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Art. II.—THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

I. Progress in the Past.

THE Episcopal Church in Scotland has a remarkable history —remarkable for two centuries and a half in suffering and vicissitude, remarkable, also, for the last half-century in progress. Rather more than a hundred years ago the Church, as a corporate body, had practically ceased to exist. To-day it can hold up its head and claim, with devout thankfulness to the overruling Providence that has shaped its ends (rough-hewn, indeed, in the dark days when it was hardly safe to discuss a project, much less to attempt to launch it), that it has a right to be regarded as a disciplined division in the great army of the Church of Christ on earth.

The history of Protestant Episcopacy in Scotland is so little known to Churchmen on either side of the Border that I think it may be interesting if, before entering upon the statistical side of my subject, I sketch very briefly the main outlines of a story which in its entirety will amply repay the closer study of those whose zeal prompts them to learn more of it than it is possible in a short paper to convey. For to those noble men of several generations, few in number but firm of purpose, whom no amount of persuasion or persecution could win over to Presbyterianism, the Episcopal Church in Scotland owes the unbroken line of Bishops, presbyters, and congregations which mark the thorny path of its progress from 1661 to the present day. I may as well at once acknowledge that the dates and facts to which I shall have occasion to refer in this part of my paper are taken either from Dr. Grub's "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," or from other books or pamphlets, the authors of which have drawn largely upon the Aberdeen historian for their information.[1]

There are two names in the annals of the primitive Church held in great veneration by all Christians in Scotland: it is almost needless to say that I refer to St. Ninian and St. Columba. St. Ninian was a Bishop, St. Columba was not; and while the fact that St. Ninian was in Episcopal Orders is urged by Scots Episcopalians in favour of their form of Church government, the fact that St. Columba, as abbot of the monastery of Iona, directed the Church's work throughout the

[1] Chiefly: "Epochs of Scottish Church History," by Dean Walker, of Aberdeen, and others; "The Episcopal History of Perth," by the Rev. G. T. S. Farquhar, Canon of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth; and "The Story of the Scottish Church," by the Rev. James Beale.

length and breadth of the land is frequently advanced by Scots Presbyterians as proving that one order of the ministry is sufficient, and that Bishops are unnecessary. There is one point, however, upon which all are agreed—namely, that these two holy men must be regarded as the fathers of Scottish Christianity. St. Ninian was born near the Solway about the middle of the fourth century, educated in Rome, and consecrated as Bishop there before his return to Galloway in 397, and died, after a life of splendid missionary work in his native land, in 432. St. Columba (an Irishman by birth, and probably a pupil of St. Patrick) landed in Scotland in 563, founded a church and monastery at Iona, carried the Gospel message over the greater portion of the land of the Picts and Scots, and died in 597.* Although not himself a Bishop, there can be no doubt that the Episcopal Order obtained in the Columban Church, and that several Bishops were consecrated at Iona during the early days of the monastery.

From the sixth to the sixteenth century is a big stride in history, but it is not within the province of this paper to attempt to show how the simple primitive Church of St. Ninian and St. Columba became in the course of time so tainted with worldliness and corruption that it wrought its own ruin. The Reformation was, politically, a strangely peaceful transition. Almost without a protest the Scottish Parliament, in 1560, adopted the Protestant Confession of Faith. But the unruffled temper of Parliament did not extend to the populace. Incited by the violent preaching of John Knox, the people sacked the monasteries and churches, and there ensued a reaction against all ceremonial and ritual so extreme that its effects have been felt ever since. Presbyterianism, as we now understand it, did not follow as a natural consequence. John Knox's scheme of Church government included an Order of Superintendents who virtually filled the office of Bishops, although not consecrated, and it was not until Andrew Melville (the "Father of Scottish Presbyterianism") returned to Scotland from Geneva in 1575 (three years after the death of Knox) that the Presbytery became paramount. "From that time onwards two distinct parties existed in the Reformed Church—those in favour of Episcopacy as they understood it, and those to whom the very name of Bishop was a byword. These two parties have never ceased to exist in Scotland—the history of the Scottish Church from that time till now is the history of the struggle between these two parties, and the restored and reconstituted Episcopal Church of to-day (for, as we have seen, the Church of St. Columba and St. David was an Episcopal Church), so far from being an exotic, is, humanly speaking, as much the outcome of the one as Presbyterianism

is of the other."[1] During the next hundred years neither party could claim any distinct advantage. In 1592 Presbyterianism became by Act of Parliament the established religion of Scotland. In 1603 the Episcopacy was restored by James VI., and in 1610, the Episcopal line of succession having been allowed to lapse, three Scottish Bishops were consecrated in London. By 1641 the Presbyterians had again, by masterly strokes of policy, got the upper hand, only to be again dispossessed on the accession of Charles II. in 1661. On December 15 in that year four Scottish Bishops (Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrew's; Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow; Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway; and Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane) were consecrated in Westminster Abbey by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Llandaff. From that date the line of succession has never been broken, and now numbers exactly one hundred names, commencing with the unfortunate Archbishop of St. Andrew's (Sharpe), who was so foully murdered by fanatics on Magus Moor, near St. Andrew's, in 1679, and concluding with the present Bishop of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dunblane (Dr. Wilkinson), collated to his Scottish See in 1893. The Revolution brought with it the downfall of Episcopacy in Scotland. The Bishops and clergy would not take the oath of allegiance to the new King, and their steady adherence to a losing cause resulted in the loss of temporalities, and in the establishment (1689) of Presbyterianism as the State religion of Scotland. It was a political rather than a popular change, for there seems no reason to suppose that the Presbyterians were in a majority in the country at that period. On the contrary, there is ample testimony to show that they were considerably outnumbered by the Episcopalians, and Dr. Carlyle, Presbyterian minister of Inveresk, wrote a little later in the century that, "when Presbytery was re-established in Scotland at the Revolution, after the reign of Episcopacy for twenty-nine years, more than two-thirds of the people of the country, and most part of the gentry, were Episcopals." Canon Farquhar proves from the Presbytery Records of Perth[2] that it took twenty years to "purge" the parishes surrounding the ancient Scots capital of their Episcopalian clergy and to "plant" Presbyterian ministers in their place. And in the Highland districts the people were even more closely attached to their clergy.

The Episcopal Church in Scotland at this period stood com-

[1] "Reformation Period," in "Epochs of Scottish Church History," by the Rev. J. A. Dunbar-Dunbar.

[2] "Episcopal History of Perth," pp. 8-38.

mitted to a policy which could not fail to bring disaster in its train. Practically, its members (or, at any rate, its clergy and nearly all the nobles and other men of influence amongst its members) elected to stand or fall with the Jacobite cause. It staked its existence upon a forlorn hope, and, however much we may admire consistency of conduct and loyalty to an ideal, we are bound, in the light of history, to confess that the Church during this century of ultra-conservatism (some would term it outlawry) showed a strange lack of appreciation of the changed conditions which had made their position untenable. The Episcopalians took a prominent part in the Jacobite rising of 1715. They flocked to the standard of Prince Charles Edward in 1745. It is not to be wondered at that they suffered ecclesiastically for their political adventure. The penal enactments (severe enough since 1715) were doubled in severity, and it became illegal for any priest whose Orders were of Scottish origin to officiate in an Episcopal Meeting-House. None but clergy of the Church of England or Church of Ireland were permitted by law to conduct services "where five persons over and above the household" were assembled. These restrictions nearly crushed the life out of the already prostrate Church, and when they were removed—by the Relief Act of 1792—there remained only thirty-nine congregations which (in spite of penal enactments) were still served by Scottish clergymen. Thirteen "tolerated" congregations (*i.e.*, congregations served by English or Irish clergy working under the Toleration Acts) joined the Church within a year, and ten others at later dates, although it was not until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century that the last two of these "English chapels" (as they were popularly termed) surrendered the freedom of isolation for a place in the re-constituted Episcopal Church.

The Church now enters upon a period when the word "progress," as applied to its history, ceases to be a term of reproach. From the passing of the Relief Act of 1792 to the present time each decade has shown some real progress. There has probably never during the last hundred years been a moment when Scottish Episcopalians could not look forward with confidence to the future. And during the past twenty years the advance has been so marked that it must necessarily be regarded as an important feature in Scottish Church life. It has varied at different times and in different localities, but, since the removal of disabilities gave the Church a new lease of life, there has been a gradual return of vitality such as sometimes comes to a patient sick well-nigh unto death, but brought back to health again by the merciful intervention of Providence. The first steps towards recovery were not by any

means made easy by the British Parliament. The Relief Act required the taking of the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration, and the signing of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church. By a Church which had taken "a hundred years to agree to make its peace with the State by praying for the reigning Sovereign,"[1] and which had still within its ranks many men who were Jacobites at heart,[2] the oath of allegiance would be regarded as a painful necessity and the oath of abjuration as little short of an insult to their intelligence. And the Thirty-nine Articles would not altogether commend themselves to men who had fought for generations over the "usages" of their own Communion Office. But in the early years of the nineteenth century most of the difficulties which had seemed insuperable only a little time before were overcome, and by the year 1811 the Church was in a position to hold a General Synod, which took place at Aberdeen, and at which much was done to revise and extend the constitution of the Church.

Previously to this, however, two events had taken place which have since had a far-reaching effect in promoting the prosperity of the Church. In 1788, Dr. Seabury, Bishop-elect of Connecticut and the first Bishop of the American Church, was consecrated at Aberdeen. Dr. Seabury had in the first place applied to the Bishops of the Church of England for consecration, but, for political reasons, they were unable to accede to his request. With the Scottish Bishops no such obstacle existed, and they were happily able to forge a link between the Scottish and American Churches which has never since been broken, and to perform an act which aroused much sympathy both in England and America, and which had the effect of dragging the Scottish Church out of the obscurity into which it had drifted. The centenary celebrations of the consecration held in the United States and in Aberdeen in 1888 afforded ample evidence of the gratitude which American Episcopalians bore towards their Scottish brethren for the action of their Bishops a century before. The second event was the consecration, in 1805, of an English clergyman of high standing, Dr. Sandford, as Bishop of Edinburgh. Dr. Sandford was the first of a long list of English divines who

[1] Preface to Dean Walker's "Last Hundred Years of Scottish Episcopacy."

[2] The story is told that Mr. Oliphant, of Gask, in Perthshire (brother probably of Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne, whose Jacobite verse contains some of the finest ballad poetry of Scotland) dismissed his chaplain when he learned that he was to use the prayer for the King and Royal Family, sent him his gown by carrier, and wrote that there would be no more money transactions between them.

have made it their life's work to help forward the re-habilitation of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and, while in certain cases there has been a want of the understanding of Scottish character on the part of these workers in a strange and difficult field, the Northern Episcopalians readily concede that they owe much to such men as Bishop Charles Wordsworth and other prelates whose experience of Church work has been gained in the great Church across the Border.

Although the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed no very rapid growth in Church membership, it saw at least consolidation and organization. All the independent "English" congregations joined the Church.[1] Gradually the Bishops ceased to be non-resident, and ceased to hold incumbencies. In 1838 a General Synod was held, at which a Canon was enacted constituting a Church Society, intended to deal chiefly with the finances of the Church, and especially the Clergy Sustentation Fund. This Society continued to do good work until 1876, when it was superseded by the more comprehensive Representative Church Council. At this period, in Scotland, as in England, there was a great revival of interest in Church work. In 1840 a clause in the Relief Act of 1792, which precluded Scottish Presbyters from officiating, even for a single Sunday, in an English church, was repealed. At about the same time, at Mr. Gladstone's instigation, was launched the scheme which resulted in the founding of Trinity College, Glenalmond, and which brought Charles Wordsworth from Winchester to Scotland. Glenalmond was founded chiefly for the training of students of theology, but became gradually the recognised Episcopal public school of Scotland, and since 1876 candidates for Orders have been trained in the Theological College, Edinburgh, the original foundation of which dates back to 1810. The middle of the last century is also noteworthy for the initiation of a movement which brought in its train a record of progress which forms one of the strongest proofs of the vitality of the Church. This movement had the ancient and strongly pro-Presbyterian city of Perth for its centre.

In 1805 the "regular" congregation in Perth ceased to exist as a separate body, the small remnant left of the orthodox having been compelled by circumstances to join the "English chapel" of St. John's. The managers of this church had clothed themselves with unlimited authority, for their constitution empowered them to "appoint and remove clergy-

[1] Two or three, however, held out for many years; *e.g.*, St. John's, Perth, which for more than a century had owed allegiance to no higher authority than their own Vestry, did not come in until 1848.

men, and to do everything for the complete management of the temporal and spiritual affairs in every particular without control," and (as already stated) it was not until 1848 that they gave up their independence. But in 1846 the experiment was tried (under the direction of Bishop Torry) of opening a small mission-room for those who wished to come under the ægis of Church authority. It was a very humble start (there were only thirty communicant members at first), but prospered beyond the expectation of the most sanguine. A few years later two new schemes for forward movements were formulated: one (by the Warden of Glenalmond) for the reunion of the two congregations, and the building of a handsome church to contain them; the other (by an influential committee of clergy and laity, including Mr. Gladstone) to build a cathedral at Perth, which, in addition to being a rallying-point for the diocese, should serve as a church for the new congregation. The latter scheme was adopted. The chancel of the new cathedral (the first cathedral built in Great Britain since St. Paul's) was completed and consecrated in 1850, and here for forty years, under successive "Provosts" or Incumbents, the congregation gradually grew in number until it became absolutely necessary (in order to provide room if for no other reason) to face the question of the completion of the building. The task was taken in hand by the Provost (the Very Reverend Dr. Rorison, now Dean of St. Andrew's) in the same spirit of faith and energy which had enabled him to raise £10,000 for the building of a new church at Forfar only a few years previously, and the Bishop of the Diocese (Dr. Wordsworth) gave the scheme his approval and support. The nave was completed in 1890, and was consecrated by Bishop Wordsworth on August 7 of that year. All the Scottish Bishops (seven in number) were present, and the sermon was preached by the present Archbishop of York, then Bishop of Lichfield. Eleven years later (on July 30, 1901) a chapter-house, built as a memorial to Bishop Wordsworth, and other additions to the cathedral, were consecrated by the present Bishop of St. Andrew's (Dr. Wilkinson), and the dedication sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The building of a cathedral may not in itself be evidence of great progress in the work of a church, but there can be no doubt, I think, that (even as a cathedral, the focus of diocesan effort and the centre from which the life of the diocese should radiate) St. Ninian's at Perth has been a great blessing to the Church. As the church of the congregation enrolled in the humble "upper room" in 1846 its records show that the faithful few have been added to year

by year, until at the present time the congregation numbers no less than 1,125 members, of whom 277 were present at the Holy Communion on Easter Day this year. And during the same period the sister church of St. John has been rebuilt, and the congregation (after some falling-off due to controversy) is at the present time increasing steadily in number.

No review, however brief, of progress in the Scottish Episcopal Church would be complete without some reference to the great work for the Church accomplished by Bishop Charles Wordsworth during the forty-one years that he held the See of St. Andrew's. Dr. Wordsworth was not only a good man and a learned prelate, he was also *persona grata* with Scottish Presbyterians, and did more than any other man during the past century to remove the friction and prejudice existing between the two communities. During his episcopate the membership of the church in his diocese increased from 3,200 to 7,500, and the number of charges from twenty to forty-seven. When he entered upon the work of the diocese there were only two parsonages; at his death there were twenty.

The progress in the Diocese of St. Andrew's may be regarded, I think, as typical of the experience of the Church in other parts of Scotland, where a steadily increasing population has given good opportunities for recruiting her ranks. In Edinburgh the path of progress for many years seems to have been not only wide, but strewn with the plenteous fruits of labour and organization. The ever-changing conditions of Church life brought the gradual transfer of the venue of Church government from Aberdeen[1] to the Scotch metropolis. During a century and a half of trial and misunderstanding the stout-hearted Churchmen of the North had preserved their charge from utter wreck; but the awakening came from the South, and to Edinburgh and to England the Church has now learned to look chiefly for men and measures. During the third quarter of the century the need for a more liberal constitution became increasingly urgent. The more zealous among the laity had for years been asking for a share in the work of administration, and in 1852 Mr. Gladstone had written to the *Primus* (Bishop Skinner) advocating the admission of the laity to the Synods. It was, however, not until 1876 that the majority of the Bishops and clergy could be persuaded to this measure. It had long been felt that if adequate funds were to be found for the Church's maintenance the interest of the laity must be

[1] "From 1830 till 1837 all the six Bishops belonged to the Aberdeen district, and one-half of them resided within the Diocese and county of Aberdeen" (Dr. Walker's "Last Hundred Years," p. 11).

aroused. The Church Society had done good work for thirty-eight years, but the Church had outgrown its scope, and an organization on a much wider basis had become necessary. The adoption of a new Code of Canons and the institution of the Representative Church Council (measures already described in this magazine)[1] in 1876 not only to a great extent solved the difficulty, but gave an impetus to Church work of every kind, resulting in a "forward movement" of a most gratifying description.

The essay of Perth in cathedral building (although opposed by many Scottish Churchmen at the time) was followed by Inverness in 1874, and by Edinburgh in 1879, when the beautiful Cathedral Church of St. Mary's (built by Sir Gilbert Scott and his son at a cost of about £60,000) was consecrated, and where in twenty-two years a congregation of nearly 3,000 members has been brought together. Nor has this been by any means the only effort made by Edinburgh Episcopalians to provide church accommodation for their steadily increasing numbers. Nearly every year has seen some new church projected or completed. The same may be said of Glasgow, which still (like Dundee) awaits its cathedral, but which can point to many churches built and much progress made. In Glasgow there is almost unlimited scope for Church work, and there can be no doubt that if the labourers, and the funds for their support, are forthcoming, the richest harvest of the immediate future may be looked for in the western city.

The mere detail of figures often fails to interest the general reader, but I hope the statistics given below[2] will be found sufficiently clear to prove that the Church has made great progress, in membership at any rate, during the last twenty years:

Diocese.	Number of Members.			Percentage of Increase.
	1881.	1901.	Increase.	
1. Aberdeen and Orkney ...	10,260	13,837	3,577	35
2. Argyll and the Isles	2,352	3,152	800	34
3. Brechin[3]	12,340	19,550	7,210	58
4. Edinburgh	15,338	34,965	19,627	128
5. Glasgow and Galloway ...	20,199	38,868	18,669	92
6. Moray, Ross, and Caithness[4]	2,725	4,861	2,136	78
7. St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, etc.[5]	5,439	11,860	6,421	118
Total ...	68,653	127,093	58,440	85

[1] See "The Position and Power of the Laity in the Episcopal Church of Scotland," in the CHURCHMAN for October, 1901.

[2] Compiled from the Year-Books of the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Representative Church Council's Reports.

[3] Including Dundee. [4] Including Inverness. [5] Including Perth.

To meet the additional parochial work entailed by this rapid growth there has been a corresponding increase in churches, clergy, and parsonages—an increase best illustrated by a further reference to statistics:

	Number of Churches and Mission Stations.	Number of Clergymen.	Number of Parsonages.
1880	239	234	104
1900	356	324	138
Increase	117	90	34

During the same period (or nearly so) there has been an increase in the Endowment Funds of the Church (apart from real property) of a very substantial value. In 1880 these funds amounted to £187,895; in 1900 they are returned at £337,173—an increase of £149,278, or rather more than 79 per cent. The total endowments of the Church (funds and property) were valued in 1892 at £650,000. A rough but moderate estimate of their present value (made upon the same basis) shows them to have increased to not less than £850,000. And the contributions to the central funds administered by the Representative Church Council—the Clergy Sustentation, Home Mission, Foreign Mission, and Education Funds—also show a steady increase. This increase is small in the case of the Clergy Fund (affected, probably, by the large amounts set aside for endowment purposes and by the curtailment of contributions due to a long period of agricultural depression), but most marked in the case of the Mission Funds, the contributions to which have been trebled during the past twenty years.

In addition to the central funds already referred to, the Representative Church Council manages the affairs (and has hitherto done so with conspicuous success) of the Theological College, the Training School for Teachers, and the numerous other societies and funds which rapidly spring up in connection with a flourishing Church. The day-schools (seventy-three in number and with 13,250 children on their rolls) alone give cause for uneasiness, and I question whether it will be possible to continue in competition with the School Boards for many years longer. But in every other respect there seems no reason why the Scottish Episcopal Church should not continue to advance in influence and in efficiency.

In my next paper I shall endeavour to show how the prospects for the future are viewed by members of the Church of different schools of thought, and also to describe the Church's position as seen from a Presbyterian standpoint.

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