THESIS

The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church

1550 - 1638

for the degree of Ph.D.

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DUNFERMLINE.

Degree conferred, 22nd July, 1925.
INTRODUCTION.

This Thesis deals with the worship of the Scottish Reformed Church during the period 1550-1638. Strictly speaking there was no reformed Church in Scotland until 1560. There were however Reformed Congregations earlier and the treatise deals with the worship of such in the ten years preceding the Reformation. When dealing with the General History of the Scottish Church during the years mentioned, we find that it may be divided into fairly well defined periods, by the establishment of the Reformed Church in 1560, the Convention of Leith in 1572, the establishment of Presbyterianism in 1592 and the introduction of Episcopacy in 1610. There are however, no such landmarks in the history of the worship of the Church. With the passing of the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI, sometime after 1560 there came the Book of Common Order and this continued to be the guide for the worship of the people under every different form of church government. The only serious attempt made to displace this book was that of King Charles whose Book of Common Prayer (Laud's Liturgy) was summarily rejected by the Scots. Similarly with the Scottish Psalter adopted by the Church in 1564. It continued in use throughout the whole period under review until it was displaced by that of Rous in 1650.

The records of the Reformed Church of Scotland are very scanty so far as its earlier days are concerned. Only one Synod possesses a volume of records which treats of the years prior to 1600 and the volume in question only covers a space of six years. Eight Presbyteries have records earlier than the year 1600 but none so far as is known earlier than 1581.

About a dozen Kirk Sessions are the possessors of 16th century records and in one case - that of St. Andrews - the Register of the Kirk Session actually begins before 1560. A few of these records - or extracts from them - were published many years ago by the Abootsford, Bannatyne and other Clubs, while in more recent days the Register of St. Andrews and the Records of Elgin (the latter dating from 1584) have been published, the former by the Scottish History Society, the latter by the New Spalding Club. A certain amount of information is to be gleaned from local histories but the writer regrets to say that he has found this source rather disappointing.

The plan adopted in writing this thesis has been to go over the various orders of worship first of all, and then deal with incidents and customs illustrative thereof. As the Book of Common Order was in many respects a reproduction of the Book of Geneva it has not been thought necessary to write up more than once, the forms common to both. These are therefore dealt with under the heading "Book of Geneva." In the case of the Psalter the same plan has been followed.
all references to the Psalm Book used after 1560 being brought into one section. In many cases, reference has been made to Scottish Customs later than 1638. These are in some instances at least survivals of earlier ones and indicate what was in use in Scotland previous to the Westminster Assembly.

Each section in the thesis is more or less complete in itself. This explains why occasionally the same thing is referred to more than once, e.g. Easter Communion is dealt with under the section Festivals and Saints' Days and also under the section dealing with 'The Lord's Supper.' The period dealt with (1550-1638) is one of great interest in the History of Scotland and perhaps it is not less interesting in this matter of the form of worship used then in its parish churches. Many things, which during the 19th century, were held to be 'Unpresbyterian' will be found to have been practised by the Reformers and their immediate successors, while other practices believed to be truly Scottish may be found to be 'innovations' introduced from England after 1638.

In conclusion the writer has to express his warm thanks to Professor Mackinnon and Principal Perry for much valued help and guidance, to the Librarians and officials of the University, Advocates' General Assembly's and Signet Libraries, Edinburgh, of the Baillie Library, Glasgow and the Carnegie Library, Dunfermline, for their kindness and assistance while consulting the collections of books under their respective charges.

This explains why each page bears two numbers showing (a) its place in the section and (b) its place in the thesis. As these numbers are short on the top right corner.
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Dowden The Scottish Communion Office (Annotated)

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Duncan The Scottish Sanctuary

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Ecles Traditional Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy

Frere Some Principles of Liturgical Reform

Gillespie Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian Armoury)

Gillespie English Popish Ceremonies (Presbyterian Armoury)

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Henderson Government and Order

Lee Additional Memorial for the Bible Societies

Lee Memorial for the Bible Societies

Lee Reform of the Church of Scotland

Leishman The Westminster Directory (Church Service Society)

Lindsay True Narrative of the Perth Assembly

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Milligan The English Bible.

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Reid Episcopacy in Scotland (Lee Lecture)
Alcuin Club  Essays on Ceremonial
Anderson  Countryman's Letter to the Curate
Anderson  Defence of Presbyterian Church Government etc.
Baird  Chapter on Liturgies
Baird  Eutaxia
Bannerman  Worship and Polity of the Presbyterian Church
Bersier  Projet de Revision de la Liturgie des Eglises Reformees de France
Bonar  Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation
Bovet  Histoire Du Psautier Des Eglises Reformes
Calderwood  Altare Damascenum
Calderwood  The Pastor and the Prelate (Presbyterian Armoury)
Cooper  The Book of Common Prayer (Laud's Liturgy)
Cooper  Reunion
Cowan  Bibliography of the Book of Common Order
Dowden  The Scottish Communion Office (Annotated)
Dowden  Workmanship of the Prayer Book
Duncan  The Scottish Sanctuary
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Wotherspoon  Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI. (Church Service Society)

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A Review and examination of a pamphlet lately published bearing the title of Protesters, no Subverters and Presbytery, no Papacy etc. by some lovers of the interest of Christ in Scotland (Edinburgh 1659)

A True Representation, Rise, Progress and State of the Divisions of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh 1657)

A Dialogue between a curate and a countryman concerning the English-service or Common Prayer Book of England (Anonymous but believed to be by John Anderson, Minister of Dumbarton 1698-1718).
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1550. 1557

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1557 1562. Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI. Protestants lay foundation of a definite organisation. Demand for services in the vulgar tongue. Petition of the Reformers. Suggestion of the Churchmen. Desire for Common Prayers. What Prayer Book was meant? No doubt as to its being Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI. Not difficult to understand why this Book was in demand in Scotland. Its History. Was it used for the Sacraments etc? Probably used as a guide in some things. Mc Crie's strange objection not
well founded. Some laymen inclined to usurp the functions of the Ministry. Lessons from Old and New Testament. This does not necessarily mean that lessons from the Apocrypha were excluded. Later use of King Edward's Book. Knox's custom with regard to the Psalms. Form of Burial at Montrose.

BOOK OF GENEVA.


BOOK of COMMON ORDER

provisional. Numerous editions. Covenanting testimony to the use of the Book. Also Episcopalian. Its use reduced towards end of period. Why this disuse. Brownist influence. Liberty to vary the form leads to the form being neglected. Assembly decides that read prayers are lawful. Continental influence. Final blow dealt by Charles I in his attempt to introduce Lands Liturgy. Petitions against this Liturgy are yet in favour of the old form.

PSALTER


INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

PUBLIC WORSHIP

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Service for Daily Prayer in Book of Common Order. No mention of reading of Scripture. Reason for this, were prayers read on a week day when sermon was also given?


PROPOSED ALTERATIONS in SCOTTISH SERVICE

Liturgy. Presbyterian objections thereto. Read in a few places only. Book of Canons.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.


Offering at the Communion. Taken at Table in addition to the ordinary collection. Various methods employed.


Communion of the Sick. Communion in private Houses


FESTIVALS and SAINTS DAYS

Change in attitude of Reformers. Book of Discipline condemns "Feasts of our Lady". Communion on Festival days. Assembly takes exception to Festival days in Helvetic Confession. Troubles about days. People insist on observing them. Calendar containing such days printed in Calendar in Psalm book. Covenant of 1581, Christmas. King orders observance of Master Perth Articles. Easter communion not objected to. Services for Festivals. Sermon the main feature. Lent, Thanksgiving.

BAPTISM


MARRIAGE.

Session makes its own rules as to who should be allowed marriage. The ring in marriage. Used as a civil rite. Offering at marriage service. Those about to be married to have sufficient religious knowledge.

BURIAL


FASTING


EXCOMMUNICATION and PUBLIC REPENTANCE

Order in the Book of Common Order, a compilation. Summary excommunication. Reception of a person so cast out. Second order used after Admonition. Order of Public Repentance. Form of Absolution. Claims made by the ministry
as to their power to absolve. Earlier forms. Use in later
times. Cases of Lord Hume and Marquis of Huntley.
Henderson's references to Excommunication.

ORDINATION of MINISTERS etc.

Order of the election of Superintendent in Book of
Common Order. No mention of laying on of hands. This rite
in use in 1566 despite what is said in Book of Discipline.
Douglas inducted at St Andrews. Erskine of Dun. Controversy
as to imposition of hands. Case of Bruce. Ordination after
1610. Ordinal of 1620. Interesting points of the ceremony.
Delivery of the Bible. Early and late examples. Presbyteries
and their right to ordain. Cases of Gillespie and Kerr.
Ordination by commissioners. Fasting at ordinations.
Consecration of Bishops. Scottish form of 1620. Adapted
from the Anglican order. Scots form supplies what some have
thought wanting in that order. Nothing said as to ordination
of Deacons. Alteration of ordinal in 1636? Laud's
"essential words". Dress of candidates. Ordinal condemned
by Assembly of 1638.

Admission of Elders and Deacons. No form in Book of
Common Order. One in Knox's works. Used in Edinburgh
authorised by General Assembly. Gillespie on the order of
admission.

APPENDICES

I

Church Furniture.

Only articles mentioned in Book of Common Order Pulpit
and Communion Table. Specimens of the former. Covering for
the Pulpit. Letter near the Pulpit. The Penitents Stool.
The Pillar. The Alms box. Interior of a church circa 1568.

II

Ecclesiastical Dress.


III

Version of the Scriptures

Geneva version used. Instances of early use. Only Version printed in Scotland up to 1633. Lekprevik undertakes to print it but does not do so. Arbuthnet does so. Reference to a proposed new version in 1601. Geneva version used long after Authorised version introduced. Authorised version used by Gillespie and others.

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1550 - 1557.

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Strictly speaking there was no Scottish Reformed Church in 1550 — for at that time, as for many years afterwards no one thought that there could be two churches in one nation and it was not until 1560 that the Roman Church officially gave way to the Church Reformed. We have of course to remember that the Reformation was not a single event to which a single definite date can be attached. The movement for reform in theological and ecclesiastical matters in Scotland can be traced as far back as the fourteenth century, and by the year 1550 the movement had gathered many adherents. By that time there were congregations of Protestants of greater or fewer numbers throughout the country and it is of the worship of such congregations that we now write. Writing in 1551 after a visit to the Scottish Borders John at Ulmis states that "as to the commonalty it is the general opinion that greater numbers of them are rightly persuaded as to the true religion than here among us in England," while just four years later, Knox, after a visit to his native land could say, "If I had not seen it with my own eyes in my own country I could not have believed... The fervency here doth far exceed all others that I have seen." It has to be remembered that when Knox made that statement he had been for several years in England, nominally a Protestant country, and had not simply been confined to one part of it but had officiated at various parts. On the other hand Bishop Leslie

1. Mac Ewan History of the Church in Scotland (274-5) connects the Reformation movement with the Wars of Independence. Several 14th Century references to heretics in Scotland will be found in Hay Fleming's Reformaion in Scotland, Chap.1.
2. Original letters Parker Society, Page 434.
speaks of the reformed preachers "stirring up the rude, the unlearned and the blind, with their stupid (gukit) answers and foolish (glaiket) preaching in chimney nooks, secret holes and such private places." Adam Wallace, who was martyred in 1550 confessed to have taught in "private places," and his words with those of Leslie are evidence that in some places at least the Protestants could only worship by stealth. In other places there was more freedom. In Dundee, the Town Council as early as 1554 refused to allow the church authorities to withdraw children from a school where heresy was being taught. In Edinburgh in 1555 "The trumpet blew the old sound," writes Knox to his mother-in-law, "three days together till private houses of indifferent largeness could not contain the voice of it."

Wishart had laboured in Dundee and had formed a congregation there and at Montrose, while reformed opinion was strong enough in some other places to allow him to preach in the Parish church. At Mauchline the Sheriff "caused man" the church to keep him out and the people, according to Knox, would have broken into the sanctuary had he allowed them. Wishart, however, forbade violence of any description and for three hours preached to the assembly in the fields "the first instance in Scotland of a field conventicle."

As to the form the worship took at those early Protestant services we have little reliable evidence before 1556, when we have certain references to

1. History S.T.S.II. 397.
2. MacEwan History II.28. (Copied from Fosse)
6. e.g. Galston. Knox Works 127.
9. Works I.139.
the methods of Protestant worship contained in a letter from Knox entitled a "Letter of wholesome counsel addressed to his brethren in Scotland" which was written in the month of July in that year. In this somewhat lengthy epistle he reminds the heads of families that within their own houses they are Bishops and Kings, their bishopric and kingdom being their wives, children and servants. "Let your tongues," he says "learn to praise the gracious goodness of Him Whose mere mercy hath called you from darkness to light." All belonging to the household are to be made "partakers in reading and exhorting and in making common prayer, which I would in every house were used once a day at least . . . and thus much," he concludes this section, "for the exercises within your own house." He then goes on to write of large gatherings. "I think it necessary," he says, "for the conference of scriptures assemblies of brethren he had. The order therein to be observed is expressed by S. Paul and therefore I need no use many words in that behalf, only willing (advising) that when ye convene or come together, which I would were once a week, that your beginning should be from confession of your offences, and invocation of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus to assist you in all your godly enterprises. And then let some place of Scripture be plainly and distinctly read so much as shall be thought sufficient for one day or time, which ended, if any brother have exhortation, question or doubt let him not fear to speak

1. Knox IV. 129 - 140.
2. Livingstone "Scottish Psalter of 1635" p.10 says "Neither Knox nor Calderwood mentions any express instance of psalm singing in connection with Public preaching, in the early years of the Reformed Movement in Scotland. He must have overlooked the above.
3. Knox never refused to give the writers of the Testament what some of his successors termed "popish Titles."
   The reference may be to Colossians VI. 16 "Teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" or I. Corinthians XIV. 40 "Let all things be done decently and in order."
or move the same so that he do it with moderation either to edify or to be edified." He goes on to add that if anything occurs in the text which they are not themselves able to understand that the same should be put in writing before the congregation is dismissed and laid before some person more skilled in interpretation. He himself would be very willing to help in such a way. He continues, "I would in reading the scripture you should join some books of the Old and some of the New Testament together as Genesis with one of the Evangelists. Exodus with another and so on, ever ending such books as ye begin, (as the time will suffer,) for it shall greatly comfort you to hear that harmony and well tuned song of the Holy Spirit speaking in our fathers from the beginning... Be frequent in the prophets and in the Epistles of St. Paul... Like as your Assemblies ought to begin with confession and invocation of God's Holy Spirit so I would they were finished with thanksgiving and common prayers for princes, rulers and magistrates for the liberty and full passage of Christ's Evangel and for the comfort and deliverance of our afflicted brethren in all places, now persecuted but most cruelly within the realms of France and England and for such other things as the Spirit of the Lord Jesus shall teach unto you to be profitable either to yourselves or to your brethren... My good hope is... that ye shall not change your nature which we have received by grace, through the fellowship and participation which we have with the Lord Jesus in his body and blood."

From this letter, it would appear that those to whom it was addressed had already partaken of the Lord's Supper in the Protestant fashion. At least it is rather difficult to explain the last words of the quotation in any other way. Their little services were to include common prayer, reading
of the scripture, exhortation and perhaps singing of psalms and hymns. (The words "Let your tongues learn to praise the gracious goodness of God," seem to point that way.)

To take the last point first, there seems little doubt that there was a body of song suitable for worship in Scotland in the years in question.

That by 1550 metrical psalms were in use among the reformed may be accepted from the evidence which has come down to us. We have the well-known incident of Wishart, the night before he was arrested, singing with his friends, the 51st psalm which as Knox tells us was put in Scottish metre and began thus:–

"Have mercy on me now good Lord
After thy great mercy, etc.,"

Thus in 1546 this psalm - which is found in Wedderburn's Collection - must have been well enough known to be sung by at least one company of worshippers. In 1550 Adam Wallace, a native of Tarbolton in Ayrshire, was burned at the stake as a heretic on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. The warder had taken his Bible from him but according to Fomb he passed the night lauding and praising God, "having learned the psalter of David without book to his consolation."

Similarly Knox relating the death of Elizabeth Adamson, wife of James Barroun burgess of Edinburgh in 1555 tells us that "a little before her departure she desired her sisters and some others that were beside her to sing a psalm and among others she appointed the 103rd Psalm beginning "My soul praise thou the Lord always," which ended, she said "at the teaching of

1. Works I. 139.
this psalm began my troubled soul first effectually to taste
of the mercy of my God." There is no known version of the
103rd Psalm in which the line given by Knox occurs. It may
have been an early version which has been lost but more
probably Knox made a mistake regarding the number for the
first line of the 146th Psalm in Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalter
(published as early as 1549) begins with the line the historian
has preserved.

Further evidence as to the use of the metrical psalter
in Scotland at this period is to be found in a little work
entitled "Brief Discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort"
where when the exiles were drawing up an order of service for
the public worship it was decided that after the confession
the people were to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, as
was and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish
and Scottish churches." The new spiritual life which had been
brought into being largely by the study of the scriptures
in the vernacular in the 15th and 16th centuries, found
utterance in popular sacred song which spread the influence of
the New Movement still further afield. This was perhaps
more true of the Continental nations where we read of
Romanists flocking to the assemblies of the Protestants to
listen to their psalmody, than it was in England where psalm
singing, though indulged in, had not the hold that it had
elsewhere. In that country Sternhold and Hopkins' version
was introduced by the exiles who returned at the beginning of
Queen Elizabeth's reign and by the injunctions which she issued
in 1559 the singing of a "hymn or such like song to the

1. The psalm was put into metre by Hopkins.
2. Knox Works IV - 1-68. The work is attributed to
Whittingham. Dr Laing says "The internal evidence in favour
of Whittingham being the author is all but conclusive.
McCrie was of a similar opinion (See Introduction to 1846
Edition) On the other hand. The Author of the Life of
Whittingham mentions the account of the troubles but says
nothing about Whittingham being the Author. See Hume Brown
3. i.e., a tune founded on one of the Ancient plain song melodies.
praise of Almighty God is the best melody and music that can be devised" was permitted at the beginning and end of "Common Prayer either at morning or evening." The following year Bishop Jewi writing to Peter Martyr states that the "practice of joining in Church music has inclined the people everywhere to the better part." But it may perhaps be questioned whether the practice ever came to be adopted and appreciated outside of Puritan circles.

There seems to be some foundation for belief that a Scots metrical psalter existed as early as the end of the 16th Century but whether it was still in use at the period we are considering must be left undetermined. Coverdale's metrical version of the Psalms was published some time before 1546 and contained in addition to metrical psalms, a number of hymns mostly translations from the German. Coverdale's book was suppressed in 1546 but it is quite possible that a number of copies may have found their way to Scotland along with other English religious books which we know did come North. Coverdale's collection was connected in some way with the Scottish "Compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Songs" more familiarly known as the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" but what the precise relation was between the two must remain something of a mystery. The earliest edition of the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" which has survived to our day, dates from 1567, but there is no doubt that there must have been earlier editions, and it is probable that some of the ballads may have originally

3. "Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs drawn out of the Holy Scripture."
4. The exact date cannot be determined. See Mitchell Gude and Godlie Ballads, S.T.S. CXVI.
been printed as broadsheets.

It is chiefly to John Wedderburn of Dundee that we owe, in its rudimentary form at least, this "Compendious Book." He was one of three brothers all of whom had to go into exile for their adherence to the reformed doctrines. All three appear to have been students of St. Leonard's College Circa 1514-1533. These were the days when the Principalship of that college was held by Gavin Logie and when "drink of St. Leonard's Well" was an equivalent expression for imbibing reformed doctrines. All three appear to have been men of a literary turn of mind and to have used their talents in exposing the corruptions of the Church and the vices of the Clergy.

James, the older brother, "had a good gift of poesie" and was delated to the King, letters of caption being directed against him for his efforts in that direction, so that he had to flee the country. He fled to Dieppe and established himself as a merchant there in 1540. As he lived in prosperity in France and died in peace, it may be taken for granted that he kept his opinions to himself.

Robert, the youngest brother, was ordained to the priesthood and succeeded his uncle as Vicar of Dundee, holding that office to his death in 1553. He also had to go into exile while Cardinal Beaton was in power. He sought refuge on the continent, spending some of the time in Paris "chiefly in the company of those who were instructed in religion."

John, the second brother, also became a priest though, according to the historian, "against his will" and, like his

2. Calderwood History I. 142.
3. Ibid. 143.
brothers, got into trouble with the authorities. Mitchell thinks that it is "barely possible what he studied under Logie," though Calderwood is quite clear on the matter. At any rate his love for the Reformed Faith led him into exile. He went to Germany where he came into contact with Luther and Melanchthon, becoming very "fervent and zealous." He also, says Calderwood, translated many "of Luther's dytements" into Scottish metre and the Psalms of David. "He turned many bawdie songs and rhymes into Godly rhymes." He came back to Scotland after the death of James V. in 1542 but, not long afterwards, he had to flee to England, owing to persecution by Cardinal Beaton.

It is possible that he had commenced the work in Germany and that, on his return, it was put in circulation in a rudimentary form. That part was in print before the death of Wishart may be considered certain. It is also quite probable that the Act of the Privy Council prohibiting the making of "slanderous bills, writings, ballads, and books, on pain of death," which was passed in 1542, may have reference to Wedderburn's work in that direction.

This "Compendious Book" falls into three parts. The first is doctrinal and contains a Calendar, Cathechism which is described as containing— the Commandments, Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer and the words of institution of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These are followed by four metrical versions of the Creed and the four scripture passages, which appear to owe something to German originals. Then come a number of

1. Mitchell Gude and Godlie Ballads XXVI.
2. Calderwood History I. 142.
3. Ibid. I. 143.
5. The scripture passages are not taken from any known English versions but seem to be translations from Luther's German Bible.
6. A Scots metrical version of the Creed is to be found in Lindsay's Satire of the Three Estates.
hymns of which the majority appear to be from German sources, though several appear to be entirely Scottish. One of these latter in a Paraphrase of Hebrews XII but more interesting is a little group which are entitled "Certain ballads of the Scripture." Two of them starting "Rycht sorely musing in my mind" and "Alas that same sweet face" are probably founded on secular songs mentioned in the Complaint of Scotland. The last twelve hymns in this part have, only in two or three instances, been traced to German or Dutch sources. They are peculiarly noteworthy in that they are almost all Easter or Christmas Carols.

The second part of the Book consists of metrical Psalms of which it has been said, that suitability for singing does not at first strike the reader as being their most prominent quality. There are in all twenty-two metrical versions of Psalms some of those being further divided into several parts. All have the Latin titles as in the Vulgate, while many of them are also numbered according to that version. Others have the numbers as in the Hebrew and English Bibles. This section of the work is avowedly a translation since it is headed, "Here ends the Spiritual Songs and begins the Psalms of David, with other new, pleasant ballads as after follows. Translated out of Enchiridion Psalmarum to be sung." Dr Mitchell has, I think, proved his case, that these versions have also been made from continental originals and not taken direct from the Latin.

5. One of those hymns has its tune given "Baw lula low." This is the name of an old Scottish lullaby.
7. A few are wrongly numbered.
While there are stanzas which deserve to live, as for example the opening verse of the 23rd Psalm "The Lord God is my pastor gude," or that of the 67th

"O God be merciful to us
And send to us Thy blessing."

on the whole they can hardly be called inspiring and not one of them found a place in succeeding Scottish Psalters.

The third part of the books is, perhaps, the most interesting as it consists of the secular songs which have been turned to Godly uses. Some of these might have been used in worship but many of them are quit unsuitable for devotion - either public or private. One can hardly imagine any company of worshippers singing: "The Paip that pagan full of pride," or "God send every priest ane wife" but, on the other hand, such hymns as:

"Go heart unto the lamp of Light
Go heart unto Thy Saviour."

"Pray God for Grace, my love most dear" might well have been used in the services of those days. "Even today" says Lord Selbourne. "Some of these songs require little beyond the change of some archaisms of language to adapt them for church or domestic use."

Another book which almost certainly was used in Scotland at the period of which we are writing was the Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins which was published in 1551. It

1. One may also mention the verse of the 79th Psalm where a picture, taken not from the Holy Land or from Germany, but from Scotland is presented to us. "And as water that fast runs ower ane linn Does not return again to his own place So Thou good Lord put our sins from Thy face." Similar pictures are presented in the version of the 124th Psalm.

3. " " " " " 188.
4. " " " " " 162.
5. " " " " " 167.
7. The "Gude and Godlie Ballads" was long a favourite book in Scotland. James Melville (Mary 23) speaks of his delight in learning "Dudderburn's Songs." Editions were published in P.T.O.
contained 44 Psalms, of which 37 had been versified by the former and 7 by the latter. This little collection was really the nucleus of the later Reformation Psalter and as we have seen, there is reason to believe it was in use among the Reformed in Edinburgh in 1555. (See Page 26)

A reference to "Singing of Psalms and Spiritual Songs" by the Protestants of 1559 indicates that, in their worship, they did not use metrical psalms only. The hymns of Wedderburn seem to have been written as much for communal as private singing. Nor is this to be wondered at. Among the Protestants on the Continent, among whom Wedderburn had sojourned, there was nothing of the spirit which afterwards arose in Scotland to ban all "human hymns." The hymns of Luther, Eber, Weiss and their confreres were sung everywhere among the Reformed in Germany and one can hardly expect that the Scots, who had dwelt there in the days of their exile, would find anything "popish" in a mode of worship which commended itself to such stalwart opponents of the papacy.

(Continued from previous Page)

1. Thomas Sternhold was a native of Southernpron and, in 1538 appears as a friend of Cromwell. His psalms were written in the simple ballad metre now called Common Metre. Two earlier editions had appeared under his name only. One published previous to 1549 contained 19 psalms and one published in that year 37. John Hopkins was a clergyman of the Church of England who became Rector of Great Waldingford, in Suffolk. He died in 1570.

2. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, a contemporary work says of the Congregation"And so praising God continually in singing of Psalms and Spiritual songs they rejoiced that the Lord had wrought thus happily with them. Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, pp.58 - 59.
Knox, in the letter already mentioned, refers to the "making of Common Prayers" by the families of Protestants and the larger gatherings which were in the habit of meeting together. Were these prayers offered extempore or were they read from a Prayer Book? If the latter what book was likely to be in use? The only evidence on these points is the phrase "Common Prayer" which, at the period in question, in England (and so presumably also in Scotland) usually meant the Morning and Evening Services in the Anglican Book. According to Gasquet the word "Common Prayer," now so familiar to us, was, at that time, quite a novelty. Knox was certainly acquainted with this usage.

In the original draft of the 38th Article of Religion, as drawn up by Cranmer, the Prayer Book is affirmed to be "Holy, Godly and not only by God's scriptures probable in every rite and ceremony but also in no point repugnant thereto as well concerning Common Prayers and Ministrations of the Sacraments as the Ordering and Admission of Priests, Deacons, Bishops and Archbishops." Knox objected, as is well known, to kneeling at the communion and hence he, along with the Provost of Eton and an English Nector, drew up a memorial to the Privy Council, objecting to the order in so far as it enjoined approval of that posture. It is quite possible then that he is, in his "Letter of Wholesome Counsel" referring to King Edward's Book which he must have used partly, at least, in

1. Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer 54. The term "Common Prayer" seems first to have been used authoritatively in a rubric to the English Litany of 1544 where the Litany is referred to as "this' Common Prayer of Procession". Blunt Annotated Book of Common Prayer - 82. The phrase "communis oratio" is found in St. Cyprian's Treatise on the Lord's Prayer.
2. Lorimer John Knox and the Church of England Vol.II.267-274.
England as he afterwards did in Frankfort. English Bibles and other books of a religious nature were being sent into Scotland from her Southern Neighbour and there is no difficulty in supposing that copies of the Prayer Book had found their way North. There is no doubt as to its use a little later than the date of Knox's Letter and, when the Reformers asked that "Common Prayers" should be used in the Parish Churches, it was the English Book that was being referred to. On the other hand it is difficult to find anything in that book dealing with the afflicted brethren in France and England for whom common prayers were to be made.

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1. Dr Wotherspoon has made a somewhat curious slip with regard to Knox's use of the Phrase. He says "Knox speaks of the duty to make the family partakers in reading, exhorting and in making of Common Prayers. In the next paragraph where he deals with weekly conventions at which a minister or qualified leader might be present, he says nothing of Common Prayers." Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI-62. As will be seen from the extracts given Knox speaks of Common Prayers in both cases.
There is little evidence as to what form of service was used at the administration of the Sacraments at this time. One of the charges made against Adam Wallace in 1550 was that he had baptized his own child, a fact which may be held to indicate that, by this time, Protestants were administering that ordinance. Lay baptism is — and was — recognised as quite valid in exceptional circumstances by the Church of Rome, though it was only supposed to be used when a priest could not be had. The words of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, 1552, are quite clear. In answer to the question "Who is the minister of Baptism" it says. "The Minister of this sacrament should be a priest having ordinary authority, a man of laudable life ... For truly it is not man who gives but Christ our Saviour gives the effect of baptism and the priest only the Minister of Baptism under Christ ... And whenever it chances that the child cannot be brought conveniently to a priest and there is reason to fear the child is in peril of death then all men and women may be ministers of baptism if so be that, when they lay water upon the child, they therewith pronounce the words of baptism with which the kirk intends that sacrament to be ministered.

Knox has given us his own views on Baptism though he says little of the order of service used. In a letter which he wrote probably about 1556, we find him stating that "Baptism

1. Professor Clow in the "Church and the Sacraments" says with regard to the Roman doctrine "Baptism is a regenerating rite when celebrated by an ordained priest" but he is in error.
2. Part iii Chap.IV.
now used by the papistry is not the true baptism which Christ Jesus did institute." Nevertheless no one who had been baptized by a Roman priest was to be baptized again, for the malice of the devil could never altogether abolish Christ's institution for it was ministered unto us "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." "If," he adds, "The regenerate man hath never received the sacramental sign of baptism he is bound to receive the same."²

Knox objected to the Roman Ceremonies in Baptism and, in his dispute with Friar Arbuckle at St. Andrews in 1547, he spoke vehemently against spittle, salt, candle, etc., being used at the Baptismal Ceremony.

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2. Knox I. 197. He was willing to allow the "cude" or white garment if it was "to keep the Bairn from cold." It may be noted that he does not mention "signing with the Cross" among the rites objected to. This was retained by English Reformers.
With regard to this Sacrament Wishart had celebrated in both kinds at Dun in 1545 and again in the Castle of St. Andrews, according to the Reformed fashion on the morning of his execution; probably at other times as well. Knox tells us that, in 1547 at St. Andrews, he celebrated the Lord's Supper "in the same purity that now (i.e. circa 1566) it is ministered in the Churches of Scotland with the same doctrine," and that many of the people of the town joined with those of the castle "in participation of the Lord's Table."

There has been preserved a fragment of an order for the celebration of the Lord’s Supper used by Knox at Berwick-on-Tweed when minister there 1549-51. This order is of special interest seeing that it is drawn partly from the Liturgy of the Church of Zurich and there is reason to believe that it was through Wishart that the Reformers became acquainted with it. This liturgical fragment was first made public by the late Dr. Lorimer who found the Manuscript in Dr. William’s Library in London. It is headed: "The Practice of the Lord’s Supper used in Berwick-upon-Tweed, by John Knox, preacher to that congregation in the Church there." The service opens thus: First certain sermons of the benefits of God by Jesus Christ given us (in) John 13.14,15,16 Chapters. Then, after that, the principal minister standing in the pulpit, that all the people might see, begins "In the name of the Father and

2. Mitchell Scottish Reformation 77. Wishart was the translator of the first Helvetic Confession which he probably intended to be the confession of the Scots Reformed Congregations which he started.
of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." 1 This is followed by a short prayer wherein thanks are given for our creation "And principally for our redemption when we were dead and lost in sin." Thereafter is a petition for grace "that we come together to celebrate the Supper of Thine beloved Son. Jesus Christ . . . and that we may do the same with sincere faith in remembrance of Him, and thanksgiving unto Thee for Thy most liberal kindness shown, granted and given unto us by Thy Son, our Lord Jesus who livest and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost one God world without end. Amen." 2 Then comes the reading of the warrant. "This portion of Paul to the Corinthians 'when they come together' until this place 'If ye judge ourselves' followed by a declaration of the Apostle's mind upon the same place." 3 "Then must be declared what persons be unworthy to be partakers thereof." 4 The Prayer of Confession comes next and after it is something akin to the Absolution which follows the General Confession in the Anglican Prayer Book. "Some notable place of the evangel wherein God's mercy is most evidently declared should then be read plainly to assure the penitent of full remission of all offences, and thereafter ought the minister openly to pronounce to such as unfeignedly repent and believe in Jesus Christ to be absolved from all damnation and to stand in favour of God. And thereafter ought the minister to have there (i.e. at that point in the service) prayers made, not only for themselves, but also for others, whereupon they

1. This is the opening sentence in the Liturgy of Zurich. It is said by the "Antistes" or presiding minister.
2. This prayer somewhat resembles the one in the same place in the Zurich Book. In that book the Amens are said "In name of the congregation" by the Archdeacon.
3. This portion of Scriptures is read here in the Zurich Book but there is no declaration.
4. The fencing of the Tables. Nothing corresponding in the Zurich Book.
5. The Sentences, Confession, and Absolution were added at the revision of 1552.
ought to begin to pray for that congregation." The prayer for the congregation is given from which it appears that by "the congregation" is meant, not only the Assembly in Berwick-on-Tweed, but the whole of the Reformed Church in England. The last item is simply a heading "A prayer for the Queen's Majesty." This order presents many points of interest. We have at the outset the union of the preached word with the administration of the sacrament on which the Scottish Reformers always insisted.

The shortness of the prayer of thanksgiving stands out in marked contrast with many of the later prayers used by Knox. This prayer is also of interest by reason of the doxology with which it concludes, for the day was to come in Scotland when to follow the example of the Reformer in this matter was to lay oneself open to the charge of copying Episcopacy. Then the invocation is to be made by the "Principal" minister which seems to imply that there was more than one usually present. The reading of the "Warrant" and the Fencing of the Tables have come down to our own time, incorporated in the traditional ritual of the Scottish Church. The prayer of Confession with the substitute for the absolution may have been suggested by the corresponding part of the Communion Service in King Edward's First Book, but the wording of the paragraph reminds one of the words of Calvin. "There is none of us but must acknowledge it to be very uself that after the General Confession, some striking promise of Scripture should follow, whereby sinners might be raised to the hopes of pardon and reconciliation." Calvin introduced such a feature in the first Prayer Book he composed, but he

1. The Opening rubric of the Zurich Book reads: First, the Minister teacheth out of the Gospel what great truth love and mercy God hath bestowed upon Mankind.
2. Appendix to Calderwood's History VII - XXXI.
left it out in his Book of Geneva, to his after regret. The prayer for the Queen's Majesty at once raises the question as to who the queen was who was thus prayed for. In Knox's own copy we may take it the prayer would be for the "King's" Majesty. The order, as we have it, must have been copied either shortly after King Edward's death, before the Roman Faith was again established, or at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, before strict conformity to the Prayer Book was enforced.

There has been preserved, among other works by Knox, a "Summary according to the Scriptures of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" which it has been thought may have been the "declaration" which the Reformer used for his "Table Address."

The summary bears evident marks of having been expanded, - a considerable part has been added to what has apparently been a short discourse.

During the period of Knox's ministry in Berwick-on-Tweed the official Prayer Book of the Church of England was the first book of King Edward VI, and, by the terms of his license as a preacher, he was bound to the teaching of that book. We learn, however, from himself, that he feared not "to go before statutes and laws" in such matters. Apparently the Prayer Book had not been introduced into the Northern dioceses and this, doubtless, accounts, to some extent at least, for Knox's

1. Ibid, Borsier, Projet de Revision, Historique Introduction XII.
2. In Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book the prayer for the monarch comes much earlier in the Service.
3. Lorimer, John Knox and the Church of England 293.
4. The portion which resembles the Address amounts to about three hundred words. See Knox, III - 73.
In 1556 Knox was in Scotland and celebrated the Communion in quite a number of places, including Findlayston and Dun.

Of the "order of service" used on these occasions we know nothing except that the sacrament was administered after "Doctrine" i.e. preaching, but it is at least probable that he followed the same lines as at Berwick. Of one thing we may be quite certain and that is that the posture used by the communicants was sitting.

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2. Findlayston is in the parish of Kilmacolm and the silver cups said to have been used by Knox on the occasion of communion were long preserved. It has been said that they were originally candlesticks, but this is very unlikely. At Calder House there is a portrait of Knox on the back of which it is stated "The first Sacrament of the Supper given in Scotland after the Reformation was given in this Hall." There seems, however, no authority for the statement.
As to the Version of the Scriptures used in Scotland at this time one cannot speak with any certainty. There is still extant a version of the New Testament in Scots which dates from about 1520. It was made by Murdoch Nisbit of the family of Hardhill in Ayrshire for his own use and has recently been reprinted. The version used was Purvey’s Revision of Wycliffe. In 1527 we find an agent of Cardinal Wolsey informing his master that Scottish merchants were purchasing copies of Tyndale’s New Testament in the Netherlands and sending them to Scotland.

There is ample evidence in the years succeeding as to the presence of copies of the Scriptures in English. Knox, for example, tells of one Forress of Linlithgow who suffered death by fire for no other crime than having a New Testament in English. There is some difficulty about the exact date but Laing makes it 1532. The Earl of Cumberland, writing to the Duke of Norfolk in 1537, informs him that four Scottish refugees had fled from Ayr in order to escape punishment for having the New Testament in English in their possession. The indictment of Sir John Borthwick at the instance of Cardinal Beaton in 1540 specified the offence of having

"NOVUM TESTAMENTUM IN VULGARI ANGLICE IMPRESSUM."

The poem of

Alexander, Earl of Glencairn preserved both by Knox and Calderwood, as well as Lindsay's Satire of the Three Estates show that the English New Testament must have been fairly widely circulated twenty years or so before 1560.

The first complete English Bible to be printed was Coverdale's which was issued probably at Zurich in 1535. Two years later it was reprinted at London, being the first Bible printed in England. The Great Bible followed in 1539 based on Matthew's Bible of 1537 revised by Coverdale. This was the version which, by command of Henry VIII, was set up in the Parish Churches of England. There seems no doubt that it was the policy of Henry to circulate the Bible in Scotland as well as in his own country. We find Lord Lisle writing to Arran in February 1543 in the following terms:

"Also I think it would not be amiss if your Lordship let slip amongst the people at this time the Bible and New Testament in English . . . and if you have none to be got in your own tongue I will help you to get some out of England." Arran was quite pleased to accept the offer for, a little later, he replied "As for the Bible there is none to be got in our vulgar tongue in this realm wherefore it will please you to cause an Englishman to come here with certain of them . . . to sell to the inhabitants of this realm."

In 1547 we find Sir Andrew Duddeley, the Commander of the Fort at Broughty Ferry, reporting "that there was much desire to have . . . Bible and Testaments and other good English Books of Tyndale and Frith's Translation."

1557 - 1562.

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF KING EDWARD VI.

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In 1557 the Protestants of Scotland laid the foundations of a definite organisation and, in December of that year, there was drawn up what is probably the first of these bands or covenants which were to be so much heard of in later days. Those whose signatures were affixed to this "common band," as Knox calls it, were the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn and Morton. John Erskine of Dun and others. In this covenant the writers bound themselves "to maintain, set forward and establish the most blessed word of God and His congregation," and to labour "to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ and every member thereof, at our whole power and waring (risking) of our lives against Satan and all wicked power that does intend trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation we do join ourselves and also do forsake the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof." Shortly after subscribing this bond these Lords of the Congregation, as they began to call themselves, took a further step by

1. Lindsay - History of the Reformation II. 289.

2. In 1556 Knox tells us (Works I. 251) that the gentlemen of the Mearns bound themselves "to maintain the true preaching of the evangell." It is possible they may have subscribed a document to that effect. Dr. Mc Crie was of that opinion. Life of Knox 88. But the probability is that the agreement was simply oral. See D.H.Fleming - Reformation in Scotland. 278.

putting forward the following resolutions which they had drawn up; resolutions which show that, while they were conscious of the strength of their position, they were quite prepared to act with moderation.

"First. It is thought expedient, devised and ordained that, in all the parishes of this realm, the Common Prayers be read weekly, on Sunday and other festival days, publicly in the Parish Church with the lessons of the Old and New Testament conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayers. And if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same and, if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same.

Secondly. It is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching and interpretation of Scripture be had and used privately in quiet houses without great conventions of the people thereto till afterward that God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers."

The Lords were, of course, not in a position to legislate, but the resolution shows that they expected a wide response to their appeal.

The Earl of Argyle carried matters further by taking John Douglas to his home and there getting him to preach publicly to his retainers. To this great objection was

2. Spottiswood states History I - 186 that Douglas was a Carmelite Friar.
taken by the Primate, and Knox has preserved, in his History, the correspondence which took place over the matter. Douglas had been an exile in England during Edward's reign and consequently would be accustomed to the Common Prayers of the Anglican Church.

In accordance with the new policy thus inaugurated the Lords of the Congregation, sometime in 1558, presented a petition to the Regent, in which they asked to be allowed to use the vulgar tongue in their worship, and to have the Lord's Supper dispensed in both kinds.

The presenting of the petition was entrusted to Sir James Sandilands of Calder in whose house, it may be recalled, Knox had taken a Communion Service. After an introduction, in which it is stated that the petitioners can not dissemble in so weighty a matter as a public Reformation in religious and temporal matters, the petition goes on as follows.

"First. Humbly we ask that as we have of the Laws of this realm after long debate obtained to read the Holy Books of the Old and New Testaments in our common tongue, as spiritual food to our souls, so from henceforth it may be lawful that we may convene publicly or privately to our common prayers in our vulgar tongue to the end that we may be induced in fervent and oft prayer

1. There is some doubt as to the exact time. Buchanan puts it in November 1558 (Aikman's Translation - Vol. II. 399.) Hume Brown - History of Scotland. Vol. II - 48 says it was "in the opening of that year." "Historie of the Estate of Scotland" says that the meeting at which the petition was prepared was held in Edinburgh in July, 1558. (Wodrow Miscellany. 53).

to commend to God and the Holy Church universal the Queen Our Sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband the stability of their succession; Your Grace Regent the nobility and whole estate of this realm.

Secondly. If it shall happen in our said Conventions any hard place of Scripture to be read of the which no profit ariseth to the conveners (i.e. those convened) it shall be lawful to any qualified persons in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places to God's Glory and the profit of the auditor. And if any think that this liberty should be the occasion of confusion, debate or heresy, we are content that it be provided that the said interpretation shall underlie the judgment of the most godly and most learned within the realm at this time.

Thirdly. That the Holy Sacrament of Baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue, that the godfathers and witnesses may not only understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant but also that the Church then assembled more gravely may be informed and instructed of their duties which, at all times, they owe to God according to that promise made unto Him when they were received in His household by the laver of spiritual regeneration.

Fourthly. We desire that the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or of His most Blessed Body and Blood may likewise be ministered unto us in the vulgar tongue and in both kinds according to the plain institution of
our Saviour Christ Jesus.

The last part of the petition deals with the "wicked scandalous and detestable life of Prelates and of the State ecclesiastical State "which they ask should be reformed according to the "rules and precepts of the New Testament, the writings of the ancient Fathers and the godly approved laws of Justinian, the Emperor." 1.

This petition was followed by a suggestion on the part of the churchmen that, if the Protestants would allow the Mass to retain its place of honour, acknowledge Purgatory, invocation of Saints and prayers for the dead, and allow them to retain their dignities and possessions, then they would allow the reformers to pray and baptize in the vernacular, so long as they did so in private and not in open assembly. Naturally the Protestant Lords refused such a settlement, so the Queen Regent according to Knox, "tried to make profit of both parties" giving permission to the Protestants to meet as they desired so long as they kept away from Edinburgh and Leith, and promising assistance to their preachers until some uniform order might be established by Parliament. A little later the Lords were also able to demand a suspension of the Laws which gave the Clergy power to punish for heresy. When the

1. Too much stress cannot be laid on the reference to the Ancient Fathers and Justinian for when the champions of the Church proposed a public disputation the Reformers demanded that the "plain and written Scriptures of God should decide all controversy." (Knox I. 306).


Regent declined to allow their petition to come before Parliament; they resolved to go before the Estates directly with another petition in which they protested "that seeing we cannot obtain a just Reformation according to God's word that it be lawful for us to use ourselves, in matters of religion, as we must answer to God." They further stated that they were willing to defend themselves and those of their way of thinking if attacked and that, if any tumults arose in consequence, the blame would be upon those who hindered a just reformation.¹ That others besides the Protestant Lords desired to have services in their mother tongue is shown by another memorial presented to the Queen Regent by some Lords and Barons who favoured the Roman Church, and whose ecclesiastical standpoint is indicated by the fact that they urged that "no one be allowed to dishonour the Divine Service of the Mass or to speak irreverently thereof...... or to make innovations in the beloved ceremonies and rites of Holy Kirk." They, however, desired that certain improvements should be made, notably "that Common Prayers with Litany be said in the vernacular after Mass and the evening prayers in the afternoon...... and that none should be debarred from the sacraments by poverty."² This memorial was actually considered by a Provincial Council, but the members thereof could only state that they had no power

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to allow the vulgar tongue although they graciously allowed the worshipper to say his private prayers in whatever tongue pleased him best.

There was, formerly, some dispute as to what prayer Book the "Common Prayers" were to be read from, but the controversy may be regarded as ended since the evidence is overwhelming that it was the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI. Kirkcaldy of Grange, writing to Sir William Percy in 1559, says of the reformation proceedings that "As to Parish Churches they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry and command that no Mass be said in them, in place thereof the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same Churches." A little later we find Cecil writing to Thockmorton in Paris and stating that the Protestants are at Edinburgh, that they have delivered the Parish Churches of altars and received "The service of the Church of England according to King Edward's Book.

Probably Cecil had no more to go on than Kirkcaldy's letter but, shortly afterwards we have evidence that, in Glasgow, the service was that of King Edward's Book. Writing from that town in January 1559 - 60, Randolph says that the order of Common Prayers used

1. Patrick, Statutes 166.
2. See Mc Crie Appendix D.D.
4. Calendar of State Papers Elizabeth Foreign 1558. 367.
there "Are the very same or differ very little from those of England."

Another, and perhaps more interesting, reference to the Prayer Book is to be found in a summons raised by Sir James Archibald, Vicar of Lintrahen in the Grampian district of Forfarshire, on 27th May, 1560, against the parishioners for payment of his teinds etc., and on the ground that he is "lawfully provided by the laws and practice of the realm of the said vicarage and has been in possession of the same these divers years bygone, and has caused the common prayers and homilies to be read weekly to the parishioners of the said Parish and otherwise in content to abide such reformation as the Lords of our secret council pleases to make thereunto." He concludes by stating that he is "joined to God's congregation and takes part with the said Lords in setting forward the common cause to the glory of God and the commonweal of our realm." Here the union of "Common Prayers" and "Homilies" indicates quite clearly that the English Book is meant. The first volume of Homilies was published at the beginning of King Edward's reign and, as they were composed by Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, they could hardly fail to be approved by the Scottish reformers.

In June 1559, a few weeks after his arrival in Scotland, we find Knox telling his correspondent, Mr. Locke, that the Kirk of Dundee was reformed before his arrival and that public prayers were held in other places. St Johnstone (Perth) had received the Order of Common Prayers. In his History he refers to the Queen Regent coming to Holyrood in 1559 and causing Mass to be said both in her own Chapel and also in the Abbey where the Altar had been cast down some time before. Also "she discharged to Common Prayers" forbidding any portion (payment) to the principal young men who read them. Spottiswood evidently referring to the same occasion, says that it was soldiers from the French Garrison at Leith who forcibly stopped the "Service of the Common Prayers which was ordinarily used" in the Abbey Church.

When one takes into consideration the state of affairs in reformed Religious Circles in the years preceding 1560, it is not difficult to see why the English Prayer Book should have been in demand. The Protestants were depending largely on English aid and the persecutions of the Bloody Mary had driven many sympathisers from England into the Northern Kingdom.

The leading ministers in Scotland at this period

1. Knox VI. 22.
4. Pollen Counter - Reformation in Scotland. 18.
were mostly men who had served the Church in England or who had come under the influence of Anglican Divines. Spottiswood, afterwards Superintendent of Lothian, was ordained to the priesthood by Cranmer who made him one of his chaplains. Willock, afterwards Superintendent of the West, (called by Knox "that notable man") was, for some years, Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk and died Rector of Longborough.

William Harlaw had been ordained in England and had held office as a preacher there before he returned to Edinburgh where he afterwards became Minister of St. Cuthbert's. Paul Methven, who was the chief Reformer in Dundee in the days when that town was taking the lead in Reformation matters, had, when in exile, come under the influence of Miles Coverdale, who was Bishop of Exeter during the reign of Edward VI. John Douglas, as we have seen, also had experience of England. It was "through the zeal of such men who came to be known definitely as the preachers, that the movement spread. There is no reason to believe that these Reformers were other than agreeable to the use of the Anglican Prayer Book. In all probability they would have agreed with John Rough who was in Anglican orders and

2. Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel writing in 1559 to the Archbishop of Glasgow, refers to Willock as being the "Primate of their (viz. the Protestants') Religion." Wodrow Miscellany 267. 12.
3. For the influence of the Scottish Church on that of England see Cowan The Scottish Church in Christendom 64-74.
4. David Lindsay, minister of Leith and one of the few ministers at the first General Assembly was also ordained in England.
5. Macewain History II. 57.
who had been a colleague with Knox in the Castle of St. Andrews. When asked what his opinion was of the Prayer Book of King Edward VI, he replied "That he did approve the same, as agreeing in all points with the word of God." Before the surrender of the Castle, Rough had gone to England where he obtained a benefice in the Church of England. He perished at Smithfield in 1557 in the Marian persecutions.

Knox in 1558 had written to his old congregation at Berwick-on-Tweed advising them to conform to the Prayer Book even on the point of Kneeling at Communion, which he held "to be no convenient gesture" and this was bound to be known in Scotland for the town was almost as much Scottish as English and, at the time of Knox's sojourn, there were many Scots resident therein who had to seek a refuge from the religious troubles in their own land. At Newcastle, we learn from a letter sent by Northumberland to Cecil, in 1552, there was a "family of the Scots" who stayed there chiefly for the fellowship of Knox. These people must have been more or less accustomed to the "Common Prayers" and, when the troubles of Mary's reign drove them North again,

1. Spottiswood History. 87.
3. Hume Brown - Knox I. 108. "As a town half Scotch, half English, it was natural that Berwick should be assigned to the care of a Scotsman."
4. Ibid. 110.
5. McCrie. 471.
it is only natural to suppose that they continued to use them.

1. Dr. Cooper suggests that Spottiswood (who, as
to mentioned above, was in English Orders) had a large
share in the introduction of the Prayer Book, but
that he was any more influential than others does not
seem to be borne out by the information at our disposal.

The first Reformed Prayer Book in England was
published in March, "1549, and came into general use
on the Feast of Whitsunday (June 9th) following. It was
not long in use, however, until exception was taken to
some things in the book which seemed to savour of
superstition and the work of Revision was entered
upon in order that these objections might be removed.
Cranmer called to his assistance Bucer of Strassburg
and Peter Martyr, (an Italian) who had been installed
at Cambridge and Oxford respectively as Divinity
Professor. (Bucer was not well acquainted with the
English Language. He had to work with a Latin
translation which, says Strype, "was done by Alesius."
Alesius was the Scottish Divine, better known as Alesius
who, after being compelled to leave Scotland for his
religious opinions, became, in time, a professor and
Rector of the University of Leipsic).

By the second act of Uniformity passed on April 6th,

1. Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society
1925. "There can be little doubt that it was through
Spottiswood's influence that the Second Prayer Book
of King Edward VI was introduced into Scotland."
4. Mitchell - Scottish Reformation. 271. Alesius' "Ordo

P.T.O.
1552, it was ordered that the revised Prayer Book should come into general use on the feast of All Saints, November 1. This Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI, as it is called, showed many changes from the first book and "marks the furthest point in the Puritan direction ever reached by the Liturgy of the Church of England." It does not appear ever to have received the sanction of Convocation, but was issued by the Privy Council.

"It never," says an Anglican writer, "had the slightest claim to ecclesiastical authority and cannot even plead acceptance by the Church, for it was only in force about eight months, and never was used at all in many parts of England." With the accession of Mary its use in England came to an end though it continued to be used in Scotland and on the Continent. The Book consists, in addition to the Preface, Calendar, etc., of the Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Communion Service, with the Special Collects, Gospels and

\[\text{Distributionis Sacramenti altaris in regno Angliae} \] is dated 1548. For Alesius' great regard for Cranmer see Mitchell - Westminster Assembly. 23.


3. In 1558 it was restored, but only after important alterations had been made which made the Elizabethan Prayer Book very different in effect. Dearmer - Everyman's History of the Prayer Book. 87.
Epistles the Orders for Baptism, Confirmation, (with a Catechism), Matrimony, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, a Thanksgiving for women after childbirth and a Communion against sinners.

(The ordinal, or form and manner of making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, authorised in 1550, was never used in Scotland).

There is little evidence as to what use was made in Scotland of the Orders of Service other than those of Morning and Evening Prayer. It seems to the writer in every way probable that vicars like Sir James Archibald (See Page 52) who read the prayers and homilies, would be likely to use the Services for Baptism, Marriage, the Lord's Supper and Burial as well. There was, as we have seen, a strong desire on the part of the Protestants for such services in their own language, and, where the Prayer Book was used at all, it is probable, at least, that the officiating minister would turn to the orders therein provided when such were required. It might indeed be held that one of the statutes of the Provincial Councils, held in 1559, was directed against those who, like Sir James, were still considered to belong to the unreformed church and who were using formularies other than her own. "The Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Marriage should not be ministered except in accordance with the rites instituted by the Church." 2.

1. Knox exerted a good deal of influence on the church of England at this. See Cowan Scottish Church in Christendom. 68.

It is again quite probable that the book was not used in its entirety but more in the nature of a guide. There were likely to be some then who, like their descendants in later days, objected to such things as signing with the Cross in the Baptismal service, kneeling at Communion, the Responses in the Litany. And again the language, if the petition to the Regent (See Page 47) regarding the prayers to be used indicated that a certain place was to be left for intercessions, not given in the Prayer Book which, although it had three prayers for the King in the Communion Service had none in the "Common Prayers," nor had it there any form of intercession for the sovereigns, successors, not to mention the Queen Regent or the nobility. Dealing with the request of the Lords of the Congregation in 1557 to be allowed to use King Edward's Book, McCrie in His Life of Knox raises a rather strange objection to the effect that a "Great part of the English Liturgy can be read by a priest only," but all that they proposed to use could be performed by the "most qualified in the parish" provided the curate refused or was unqualified. Here one fears that the historian has allowed himself to be led astray by his prejudice against things Anglican. McCrie was a Seceder of an extreme type, one to whom the use of a Prayer Book in public worship was Anathema. No one would judge from the extract given above that the

1. Except the suffrage "O Lord save the King."
3. Knox is a letter sent to him Books i. 359. has a great deal to say against such things. Works vii. 110.
only mention of the word "Priest" in the "Common Prayers" portion of the Anglican Book is at the beginning of the "Order for Evening Prayer" where the first rubric is "The priest shall say" and this is followed by the Lord’s Prayer, the use of which in public worship was never either in England or elsewhere confined to the "Priest." The only portion to which objection could have been taken is the Absolution which is to be pronounced by "The Minister alone," and this only forms a small part of "Morning Service." It is not printed at all in the Evening order although the first rubric in the order for Morning Prayer indicates that it was to be said at both services. At the same time we may recall that Calvin wished something in the nature of an absolution to be used after the Confession of Sins in Public Worship, so that the difficulty might not then be regarded as serious. Indeed it seems, from the evidence we have, that so far from the objections of McCrie being well founded that only the "priest" could use certain parts of the service, the fault really lay in the

1. The corresponding rubric in the order for Morning Prayers reads "Then shall the minister begin the Lord’s Prayer with a loud voice."

2. At the beginning of Morning Prayer and likewise of Evening Prayer the Minister shall read with a loud voice some one of these sentences of the Scriptures that follow. And then shall he say that which is written after the said sentences, (the exhortation, Confession and absolution). In the present book of Common Prayer these are printed in the Evening as well as the Morning order this addition being made in 1661.

3. Knox actually used a form of absolution in his communion service. See page 39. See also for a form of absolution used by the Scottish Reformers page 38.
other direction, and the laymen who were in the habit of reading the Common Prayers took it upon themselves to do much more. Ninian Winzet, that able defender of the Unreformed Church, tells us, in his "Certain Tractates" that Knox and his fellows maintained that "Some Lords and gentlemen had greatly failzet (erred) by ministering the communion in times longpast to their own household servants and tenants. As his book was completed by May, 1562 (It was not published until the following year), we may take it that, by the phrase "In times by past" he is referring to the years before 1560. It has been suggested that Winzet has here mixed up ordinary services with the administration of the Sacraments but the writer is of the opinion that he had good grounds for his statement. In the Book of Discipline which was drawn up about the middle of 1560 there is a section headed "For Punishment of those that profane the Sacraments and do contemn the word of God and dare presume to minister them, not being thereto lawfully called." In the course of this section the writers declare that while in earlier days men had been "ravished" by gazing upon the "Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood "Now some were inclined to treat the ordinances of religion with contempt. "For where," say the compilers, "not long ago men stood in such admiration of that idol of the

2. Hewat - Makers of the Scottish Church. 25.
Mass that none durst presume to have said the Mass but the 

forsworn shaven sort .... some dare now to be so 

bold as without convocation to minister (as they suppose) the 

true sacraments in open assemblies, and some idiots 

(yet more wickedly and more imprudently) dare 

counterfeit in their houses that which the true 

ministers do in the open congregation. They presume 

(we say) to do it in houses without reverence, without 

word preached and without Minister other then of 

companion to companion..... And therefore more 

earnestly require we that strict laws be made against 

the stubborn contemners of Christ Jesus and against 

such as dare presume to minister his Sacraments not 

orderly called to the office.

Ever earlier than the date of the Book of Discipline 

there is a reference in the Kirk Session Book of St. 

Andrews to a man who informed one of the deacons of the 

Church. "I shall buy a pint of wine and a loaf and I 

shall have as good a sacrament as the best of them all 

shall have." In the earlier days of the Reformed 

Church there were those who were only too ready to 

exceed the duties which were allowed to them by the 

General Assembly.

There is another point raised by Mc Crie which may also 

be referred to. He holds that as the Lords ask that 

lessons might be read from the "Old and New Testament."

1. Knox 254. The writers say that they dare not prescribe 
the penalty of such conduct but "they fear not to affirm" 
that the crimes deserve death.

2. Register of St. Andrew's Kirk Session I - 34 - 36 
The date of the entry is 2nd May, 1560.

3. Story Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church. 252.
this indicates that they did not wish to use the Apocrypha. To argue thus is to ascribe 17th or 18th Century ideas to the Lords of the Congregation in the 16th. The Common Prayers were to be read "with the lessons of the Old and New Testaments conform to the Book of Common Prayers." And the natural meaning of the passage is that the chapters were those appointed in the Book mentioned. The rubric in that book refers only to the Old and New Testaments though lessons from the Apocrypha were also read. The Title Page of the Geneva Bible - long the Puritan favourite version - mentions only the Old and New Testaments although the Apocrypha was included in the volume. How long the Second Prayer Book of King Edward remained in use in Scotland is hard to say. Laing states that "If we admit that the English Liturgy was actually adopted it could only have been to a partial extent and of no long continuance." This is much too sweeping and does not give a fair statement of the case. So far from the "English Liturgy" being adopted to a partial extent it appears to have been the only service book in use among the Reformed in Scotland up to the adoption of the Book of Geneva. Cooper may overstate the case for its

1. Numerous references could be quoted to show that in the 16th century the apocrypha was popularly considered part of the Holy Scripture. Thus a "Gude and Godly Balled" mentions among "Examples taken out of the Bible" several from the Apocrypha. S.T.S. 219. See also Rolland Court of Venus S.T.S. 97, Wodrow Miscellany 449. Articles of the Church of England VI.

2. Then shall be read two lessons distinctly. The first of the Old Testament, the second of the New. Like as they be appointed by the Kalendar.

3. Knox VI - 278.
general use when he says that "It was in regular use among the Reformed for twelve years on our side of the Border. There would be a copy in every gentleman's house, the growing congregations would become quite familiar with it and probably there were not a few who continued to prefer it to its Genevan successor," but he seems nearer the truth than Laing. We have to remember that, while in our day a Prayer Book is never seen in by far the greater number of Churches in Scotland it was different in Reformation times, when all the worshippers were acquainted with the use of such, and so far as the evidence goes this was the Prayer Book which was used wherever congregations of the Reformed were to be found. What period of time Laing considered covered by "no long continuance" is not indicated but we have seen that the book was used in Scotland in 1657 and probably earlier. It was used up to 1562 or thereby and in part later. The Book of Discipline proposes that "to the Kirks where no ministers can be had presently must be appointed the most apt men that can distinctly read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures to exercise both themselves and the Kirk." Laing explains that "Common Prayers" here means "the prayers that were usually printed with the Book of Common Order and the Psalms in metre." It may

2. The Reformers had actually to take steps to prevent the people thinking that prayers offered ex tempore were "no prayers" Knox II 238.
4. Ibid. 196. Note.
be so but, at the date when the Book of Discipline was compiled, the Book of Common order (Book of Geneva) was not "usually printed." This book was prepared not for a national church but for a single congregation and the number of copies available must have been small. It had been printed for the first time in 1556 and it was not until 1562 that it was printed in Scotland. It was in use in some Churches in 1560 but only in some, and it seems to the writer to be almost impossible that there could have been anything like sufficient copies to go over the many churches in Scotland which in 1560 and thereafter were being served by readers.

In 1562 after the Book had been printed by Robert Lekprevick the General Assembly ordered its use, but only in part. "It is concluded," runs the Act of Assembly "That a uniform order shall be taken or kept in ministration of the Sacraments and solemnization of Marriages and Burial of the dead according to the Kirk of Geneva." The words "taken or kept" imply that while there were churches where the Genevan Book was used there were others where it was not. The ministers in the one set were to keep to the order they were using, the other were to introduce it so far as the administration of the Sacraments, Marriages and Burial were concerned, all


3. In 1567 the staff of the Church consisted of 5 superintendents, 289 ministers and 715 Readers. Story Apostolic Ministry in the Church of Scotland. 242.

might continue to use whatever order of Common Prayers they wished. It would seem as though the book had not been taken up so widely as the assembly desired for two years later a somewhat stronger ruling of the Assembly was given. "Every minister, exhorter and reader shall have one of the Psalm Books lately printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage and ministration of the Sacraments." Thus so far as the Supreme Court of the Church was concerned the use of King Edward's Book in public worship came to an end in Scotland. Yet we have indications of its use in somewhat later days. Knox for example seems to have followed the Prayer Book in one respect at least, up to the last. As is well known one of the great changes made by the English Reformers was with regard to the use of the Psalter in public worship. In pre-reformation days a few of the Psalms had been said daily being often repeated while the rest were neglected. This was altered and a new arrangement made whereby the Psalter was read through once a month. Knox followed the Prayer Book usage, for his secretary, Bannatyne, tells us that it was the Reformer's daily custom to read several psalms "which psalms he passed through every month once."

1. Calderwood II. 284. No reference to this in the Book of The Universal Kirk.
3. Knox VI. 634.
There are indications of a similar adherence to the Anglican custom in the case of another Scot of the same period but of a very different type. Henry Lord Darnley who having been born and brought up in England must have been more or less acquainted with the Edwardian Book read with his servant one of the "psalms for the day" on the night in which he was done to death in Kirk-o-field. We also find that so late as 1586 the Anglican Prayer Book was on sale in Scotland, for in the inventory of Robert Gourlay who died in that year are included forty-two small prayer books covered in parchment and a considerable quantity of other editions of the Prayer Book. Somewhat earlier, Bassendyne, the Edinburgh Printer, had in stock six Common Prayers of England. In the catalogue of the Library of James VI which was drawn up between 1573 and 1583 there are several references to the Prayer Book. One had been given by the Lord Bishop of Orkney to the King who afterwards parted with it to Madam Tullebardin. Other two were given away, the one to Mistress Nurrish, who had been the King's nurse, and the other to Jane Oliphant, who had been one of his "rockers" (i.e. under nurses). At the same time as the last two gifts were made the Lord of Mar received the Scots Book of Common Order from the Monarch.

1. Prothero's Psalms in Human Life. Chapter VI. See also Kerr Psalms in History. p. 38.
4. Miscellany of the Scottish History Society I. LXIX.
Another instance of the use of part of King Edward's Book in Post-Reformation days is to be found in the "Form and Manner of Burial used in the Church of Montrose." This order of service which has been preserved in the fly leaves of a M.S. Copy of "Regiam Majestatem" transcribed by John Bannatyne in the year 1520 consists of three parts, an exhortation, a prayer and a funeral hymn, the prayer being taken almost verbatim from the Book of Common Prayer. Dr. Laing thinks that it is obviously subsequent to the Reformation and that "from the mention of minister or reader it was no doubt before 1581 when the office of Reader was superseded by an Act of the General Assembly." If by "subsequent to the Reformation" Dr. Laing meant "subsequent to 1580" as he does elsewhere I am not so sure that he is right. The balance of probability points to a somewhat earlier date. The Book of Discipline judges it best that "neither singing nor reading be at the burial" and it seems more likely that the order was drawn up, before that was written, than thereafter. Again the exhortation contains several quotations from the New Testament and these are all taken from Tyndale's version. And while that version was largely used before 1560 it was rapidly superseded after that date by that of Geneva and one feels that if the latter had

1. Wodrow Miscellany. 295.
2. Wodrow Miscellany. 293.
3. Milligan - The English Bible. 86. "The Genevan Bible quickly established its hold as the household copy of the scriptures among Bible students passing in all through more than 130 Editions." The only sermon of Knox which has been preserved to our time dates from 1565 and the text is taken from the Genevan Bible.
been in existence when the exhortation was drawn up the scripture quotations would have been taken from it. Then
the hymn also dates from before 1560. It is in part a translation of a German hymn written by Michael Weiss, a minister of the Bohemian Church, who translated a number of hymns of the Bohemian Brethren into German. Eight of the twelve stanzas (first seven and last) in the Scots translation are in the German original. This translation we know was in print before 1567 for in that year it appeared in an edition - not the first - of the "Gude and Godly Ballads." Dr. Mitchell had no doubt that the four original Scots verses were written by John Wedderburn with reference to the troubles by which the Reformed in Dundee were visited when Wedderburn was resident there. The prayer which forms the second part of this order is substantially that in the service for the Burial of Dead in King Edward's Second Book. "Almighty God with whom do live the Spirits that depart hence in the Lord." That this little Burial Service was used after the Reformation admits of little doubt despite what is said by the Book of Discipline and the Book of Geneva. We should perhaps take into account that both these books left loopholes for a burial service.

In the former there is this significant "addition" to the

1. The eighth verse, (twelfth in the Scots translation) appeared first in the Magdeburg Hymn Book of 1540.
2. Gude and Godly Ballads. XXXVII - XXXVIII.
3. This prayer differs very considerably from the corresponding one in the First Prayer Book of King Edward.
section on Burial. "And yet notwithstanding we are not
so precise but that we are content that particular
kirks use them (singing and reading) in that behalf
(at funerals) with consent of the ministry of the same
as they will answer to God and Assembly of the
Universal Kirk gathered within the realm." 1 which may
suggest that orders of Burial were known to be in use
in "particular kirks" of which Montrose may very well
have been one.

The order as we have it to-day is unfortunately
not complete. At the end of the Manuscript two staves
are drawn for music and the words, "This song to be sung
after this tune" written above them, but the musical notes
have never been added. There is also a blank leaf
in the M.S. just before the end of the exhortation so
that it may have been longer at one time though this is
not quite certain. As there is nothing else to indicate
that there is anything wanting. At the end of the
prayer instead of the "Amen" which appears in the
English version are the words "So be it." These words
are also found at the end of the hymn though in this
case they are preceded by the word "Finis."

In 1584 we have a reference to the case of the
English Prayer Book by Patrick Adamson Titular Archbishop
of St. Andrews. He is said to have married a couple
"after the English ceremonies commanding the persons

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1. Knox II. 250. It is significant I think that this
addition is omitted in the printed edition of the
Book of Discipline in 1621.

2. "Here is reason to believe that the words "To be it" were
said by the congregation at the conclusion of the prayers
offered by the minister. Reference is made to this being
done, i.e., letters of the James Kelpear of late July 17
1607. The stated text was a Scottish custom and consists
of with the "Amen" of "Hands lifting." MS in Advocates library
married to sit down on their knees and receive his blessing." For this Adamson was reproved by George Ramsay of Langraw who went "secretly and admonished" the Archbishop. The latter however, not relishing the rebuke complained to the court with the result that Ramsay had to leave the kingdom for life. Unfortunately there is nothing to indicate whether the book used was that of King Edward or that of Queen Elizabeth but so far as the marriage service is concerned there is no difference between the two books.

1. This information has been preserved in a letter written by James Carmichael minister of Haddington to the Earl of Angus. Carmichael's informant was Ramsay himself. Wodrow Miscellany 417.
THE BOOK OF GENEVA.
On the 24th August, 1560 the Estates of Scotland "statute and ordained that the Bishop of Rome, called the Pope, has no jurisdiction nor authority within this realm in time coming" and from this time onward it may be taken that the Reformed Church was the Church of the nation. As we have seen, even before this date, the Book of Geneva was in use among the Protestants though it was not to come into sole use for some time later. For the origin of this book, which was to be for many years the authorised form of prayer - in so far as any form was authorised - in the Church of Scotland, we have to look to the Continent, but, strangely enough, not to the city whose name is associated with the book, for it was first drawn up, for the use of the English Congregation in Frankfort in the year 1555. This congregation consisted of Exiles from England who had been compelled by the persecution of "Bloody Mary" to seek refuge on the continent. The first party to find an asylum in Frankfort was composed of a congregation of Walloons who, having been driven from their native land, had been settled in Glastonbury Abbey in the reign of Edward VI. After his death they had been forced by circumstances to leave England and after considerable wanderings they at last gained permission to reside in the city on the Main. The pastor of the little band, Pullain by name, was able not only to obtain residence for his flock but also to obtain the Weissfrauenkirche.


2. Their pastor Pullain (Latin - Pollandus) had been pastor at Strassburg and he had brought with him the first Liturgy drawn up by Calvin for use there (circa 1540). This Liturgy was used by the Glastonbury congregation in a revised form. Bersier, Project de revision de la liturgie..., Introduction Historique XIII.

3. The Walloons only numbered twenty four.
or Church of the White Ladies for their use in worship. It
was not long, however, until those exiles from England were
followed by a number of English exiles who in four different
parties, led by Edmund Sutton, William Williams, William
Whittingham and Thomas Hood, found a refuge there with their
co-religionists. These new comers also proffered a request
to the city fathers for the use of a church and, in due time,
that was granted, the French Church being allowed to them
for their service on condition, however, that they should not
dissent from the French in doctrine or ceremonies, but should
follow as far as possible the order of the French Reformed
order of worship. An order of service was therefore drawn up
which provided that the surplice should be dispensed with,
that the litany, responses "and many others things should be
omitted, that in place of the English confession another
confession "of more effect and also framed according to
the state and time of the French Church." A metrical psalm to a plain tune was to
follow and, thereafter, the minister was to "pray for the
assistance of God's Holy Spirit, to proceed to the sermon."
After the sermon there was to be a prayer for all estates
and for "our country of England" which prayer was to be
concluded by the Lord's Prayer and the Creed: "Which ended,
another metrical psalm was to be sung. Then the minister was
to pronounce the blessing and so conclude the service. It
is perhaps worthy of note that the form of blessing suggested
is not a scriptural one, as might have been expected, but is
that taken from the Anglican Communion Service. "The peace of
God which passeth all understanding."

2. The French and the English were to use the Church day
about, On Sundays they were mutually to arrange as to
the hours of service for each party. The whole of the
troubles at Frankfort will be found in the little work
entitled "Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at
Frankfort in the year 1554." It is reprinted (though not
in full) in Laings Knox III 1 - 69, and also separately.
administration of the Sacraments certain things were omitted by common consent as being superstitious and superfluous.

After these arrangements had been made the exiles in Frankfort sent invitations to their fellow Englishmen in various towns, including Zurich, Emden and Strassburg, to come and join them. The English at Zurich in answering this invitation asked whether they would be allowed to use their own form of worship. Apparently they had heard of the changes which had been suggested, for it is significant that no mention of these changes was made in the letter sent from Frankfort. The exiles in Zurich were determined to stand by the Prayer Book and so they finally declined to join with their separated brethren, though not before there had been some correspondence on the matter. To effect an understanding one Master Chambers had come from Zurich to Frankfort, only, however, to find that those of Frankfort would not agree to the use of the Prayer Book, at least in its entirety. By him a letter was sent to the "Students of Zurich" in which those of Frankfort say that while they were willing to use the book "so far as God's word did commend it" they would have nothing to do with the "unprofitable ceremonies." Further, they state that many of the "godly fathers and brethren" of the English Reformation had altered many of the things in the prayer book and that, had it not been for the change of circumstances, they would have altered many more. This letter finished the correspondence with the exiles in the Swiss city who, apparently, would have nothing further to do with their brethren in Frankfort. By the time this last letter was

1. Brief Discourse as in Knox III - 11.
2. "The privileges they had acquired and the central position of Frankfort fully justified them in regarding their Church as the fitting place of assembly for all the English Exiles," Hume Brown. Life of Knox 169.
3. Leing does not print the letter of invitation or the reply in Knox but they will be found in the full edition printed in 1646. VIII-XIII. One of the signatures to the invitation is that of John Macbrair, a native of Galloway. He afterwards became Vicar of St. Nicholas, Newcastle. See also Calderwood History. Vol.1. Page 286 ff.
written (15th Nov., 1554) Knox had become one of the ministers of the Frankfort Church and doubtless had a hand in framing the epistle. The reply from Strassburg was of a somewhat different character from that of Zurich, but the exiles there also wished to use King Edward's book, not that they wanted it so strictly observed, but that certain ceremonies might be omitted so long as they had the "substance and effect thereof." The question as to what was the "substance" of the book led to some difficulty and another letter signed among others by Knox and Macbrair was sent, in which it was stated that in Frankfort there was a "church freely granted to preach God's Word purely, to minister the Sacraments sincerely and to execute Discipline truly. And as touching our Book (The Anglican Prayer Book) we will practise it so far as God's word doth assure it and the state of this country permit." However here again the negotiations for union broke down and the men of Strassburg decided to stay where they were. We see by these troubles the two divisions into which the Protestants of England were divided. From the early days of the Reformation Movement in England there had been those who wished a church order founded on the Model of Calvin's Order of Geneva rather than on that of the English Prayer Books. There was what might be called the radical party in the English Church who wanted to see the "innovations" of religious matters carried to a much greater length than Cranmer and his colleagues were inclined to go. Even the second Prayer Book did not satisfy their desires in that direction, and they looked forward to the time when even that might be discarded in favour of something more.

1. Knox IV. 17. The emissaries from Strassburg were Chambers, who had formerly represented Zurich, and Grindall who afterwards filled the three chief bishoprics in the Church of England, London, York and Canterbury.

puritan still. Whittingham and those with him belonged to
this party and, in setting up the order they did in Frankfort,
they were promoting advancement of their principles which they
expected would, in due time, obtain the victory, not only
among the exiles, but also among the Protestants in England.
And on the other hand those of Zurich and Strassburg were
equally determined to stand by the Prayer Book which had been
that of their church up to the accession of Queen Mary. At the
time of those troubles Cranmer and Ridley were in prison for
their faith and it is easy to see how an attack on the Prayer
Book could be regarded as an attack on those men who had helped
to draft it. Both parties were sincere and the causes which
divided them are still proving causes of division among the
men of today. Having failed to gather in their fellow
exiles, the congregation at Frankfort began to take steps to
have a permanent form of worship brought into use and their
first decision was to adopt the order of the Geneva Church
of which Calvin was minister. Knox, however, declined
to use the order either for the ordinary Lord's Day Service
or for the ministration of the Communion until they had
consulted with their brethren elsewhere. At the same time
he refused to minister the Communion according to the English
Liturgy as there were many things in it "only by warrent of
man's authority" but he also indicated that if he could not be
allowed to administer the sacraments according to his conscience
than some one else might be appointed for that duty, while he
would confine himself to preaching. If that could not be done
then he requested that he might be loosed from his charge, but,
to this, the congregation would not consent. After further
discussion it was resolved that a "platt" or description of the

1. This order had been lately translated into English.
McCrie Knox 71.
"Book of England" should be drawn up and sent to Calvin for his opinion thereon. The description was drawn up by Knox and Whittingham, and though the writer of the "Troubles" says that it "is very favourably put down" that is a matter on which opinions may very well differ. One can only say that if one of the other party had drawn up the "platt" he would have left a somewhat different description of the book. It seems that there were those in Frankfort who thought Calvin was favourably inclined to the Anglican form and that Knox and his fellows were making light of his authority. Calvin took some time to reply and, when he did, he favoured, as might have been expected, the party led by Knox and Whittingham. His letter contained the oft quoted phrase regarding some of the contents of the Book of Common Prayer, "multae tolerabiles ineptiae" (many foolish things which may be tolerated), which might be allowed at the beginning of the Reformation movement, but which now should be put away altogether. Calvin's letter, however, did not put an end to the strife, though, apparently, it was not without some effect, for some, says the writer of the "Troubles," "were not before so stout to maintain all the parts of the Book of England as afterwards they were bent against it." A new order was thereafter drafted by Knox, Whittingham, Gilby Fox and Cole and this is the book which was afterwards used in Scotland under the title of the Book of Geneva or the Book of Common Order. It differed from the order of the Genevan Church which had been drawn up by Calvin, but the differences were

1. Hume Brown, Knox I. 174. "The letter they wrote was expressly calculated to prejudice Calvin on the point submitted to him."
2. Corpus Reformatorum. XLIII. 339.
3. Knox IV - 30. "being the same order of Geneva as is now in print."
4. "being the same order of Geneva as is now in print."
5. McRie Knox 72. Hume Brown, Life of John Knox I. 176 says the service was "practically identical with that of Geneva" but he is in error, as may be seen by comparing the two.
more likely to offend those who wished the English Book than to conciliate them. "This order was well liked of many," says our historian, "but each as were bent on the Book of England could not abide it." The next move was to form a committee of four ministers, two from each party, to draw up an order which would be satisfactory to both sides. This was done and, after Knox had given voice for counsels of moderation, an Order of Worship was drawn up. This was adopted by the congregation for the time being and might have been permanently used, had it not been for the arrival of more exiles who insisted on using the Book of England in Public worship.

Fresh dissentious arose. Knox again took the more generous course, but the final result was that he had to withdraw from Frankfort. He went to Geneva where Calvin was now supreme and apparently he acted as minister to a small English congregation for a few weeks before he left the City for Scotland, in August, 1555. Whittingham and a number of others came to Geneva during the winter and, through the influence of Calvin, the congregation, thus enlarged, was granted the privilege of using the "Temple de Notre Dame la Neuve" for their services. After they had settled down in their place of worship the congregation, in accordance with the laws of Geneva, proceeded to elect two pastors, those chosen being Knox and Goodman, the latter afterwards Minister at St. Andrews. On the 13th September, 1556, Knox returned to Geneva and took up his duties as minister, using the form of worship which had been drawn up by the five ministers at

2. Now the Auditoire de Philosophie.
3. As Knox was in Scotland, Gilby, one of his Frankfort friends, acted as Pastor till his return.
Frankfort. Apparently he must have used this - as was natural - during his few weeks ministry in Geneva in 1555, for it was in the beginning of 1556, while Knox was still in Scotland, that the order had, with the approval of Calvin, been formally adopted. The Book was printed at Geneva in 1556 and bore the title, "The form of prayers and ministrations of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly learned man, John Calvin."

In the same year a Latin edition was issued, doubtless for the benefit of those exiles in Geneva who were other than English. Both these (as also some later editions) contained a preface believed to be written by Whittingham, but that preface appears to have been confined to those printed in Geneva. Another edition (of which only one copy is known to exist) was printed in the same city in 1558 and, three years later, a fourth, if not a fifth, was issued. What may be called the Liturgical portion of this book contains.

(a) "The confession of our Faith which are assembled in the English congregation at Geneva," to which "rubric" was added later "Received and approved by the Church of Scotland." This confession follows the Apostles creed and might indeed be considered an expanded version of it, the corresponding clauses of the Creed, as well as scripture references, being printed in the margin. The Confession finishes with a doxology.

(b) Of the ministers and their election, of the elders as touching their office and election, of the deacons and their office and election. The weekly assembly of the ministers,

2. An edition issued in 1561 without place or name of printer was, in all probability, printed in Geneva. See Cowan, A Bibliography of the Book of Common Order 20.
3. The portion containing the Psalter, etc., will be dealt with later.
4. We shall all know Him (God) from the highest to the lowest. To Whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all praise, honour and glory now and ever. So be it.
elders and deacons. Interpretation of the Scriptures. At the
close of the paragraph, relating to the Deacons, there is a
note on "Teachers and Doctors" and on "Schools and Colleges."
With regard to the election of ministers it has to be done at
an afternoon service (reference having been made to it at the
morning one). The minister who preaches has to exhort the
congregation "with the invocation of God's name directing his
prayer as God shall move his heart." In like manner after the
election the minister giveth thanks to God with request of
such things as shall be necessary for his office. And after
that he is appointed Minister the people sing a psalm and
depart.

(c) The Order of Public Worship. "When the congregation is
assembled at the hour appointed the minister useth one of these
two confessions or like in effect exhorting the people
diligently to examine themselves following in their hearts
the tenor of his words." The two confessions of Sin follow.
"the one framed to our time out of the 9th Chapter of Daniel"
and the other which is shorter "for all states and times"
while there is nothing in the nature of an absolution such
as Calvin inserted in his first Liturgy that of 1542, the
concluding lines of the second confession may have been
meant to serve as such. "For thy Spirit doth assure our
consciences that Thou art our merciful Father and so lovest
us Thy children through Him that nothing is able to remove
Thy Heavenly grace and favour from us. To Thee therefore
Father with the Son and the Holy Ghost be all honour and

1. "Every week once the congregation assemble to hear some part
   of the scripture orderly expounded."
2. The title "Order of Public worship" does not appear in the
   Geneva version. It was added, however, in some of the
   Scottish editions. The Geneva version starts with the rubric
   "When the congregation" etc.
3. Taken from the Liturgy framed by Pullain. This confession was
   dropped when the Book of Geneva was reprinted in Scotland
   in 1562.
4. This second confession is to be found in several of the
   Reformed Liturgies. It has been ascribed to Beza but that
   is simply because he used it at the conference at Poissy
   in 1560. Ebrard attributes it to Johannes Oecolampadius.

F.T.O.
glory world without end. So be it." This done, the people sing a psalm together in a plain tune, which ended, the minister prayeth for the Assistance of God's Holy Spirit as the same shall move his heart, and so proceedeth the Sermon, using after the sermon this prayer following or such like. The prayer "for the whole of Christ's Church" follows being concluded with the Lord's Prayer. There is nothing to suggest that the congregation were to join audibly in the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, but the probability is that they did so. It was the rule of the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI that the Lord's Prayer should be "repeated by the minister, clerks and people" and in the Liturgy of Compromise the same rule was followed. "Then shall the minister begin the Lord's Prayer, all the people saying with him Our Father."

The next item of the service is one which was to vanish almost entirely from the Scottish Service, "the Apostles' Creed." As we have seen, this symbol was made the basis of the Confession of Faith of the Geneva Congregation and it was also introduced into the daily service, being preceded by the following introduction.

"Almighty and ever living God Vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to grant us perfect continuance in Thy lively faith, augmenting the same in us daily till we grow to the full measure of our perfection in Christ, whereof we make our confession, saying. "I believe in God," etc. Here again, if

(Continued from previous page) while Bersier says that it undoubtedly is by Calvin. There is some foundation for Sprott's suggestion that it is in substance a pre-Reformation prayer. It is somewhat remarkable that in the Latin Edition of 1556 there is no mention of the singing of a psalm at this point.
the earlier orders of worship may be taken as guides, we may conclude that the minister and the people recited the creed together, and so laid themselves open to the charge of ignorance which their descendants were to make against them.

A psalm was then to be sung and the minister, having pronounced the Blessing, the people were to depart. Two forms of benediction are given, the Aaronic (Numbers VI. 25-27) and the Apostolic (II Corin. 14). In each case they are given in the scriptural form but when the book was republished in Scotland the "you" was changed to "us" making the forms into prayers instead of Benedictions.

Short though this order of Public worship was, the minister was allowed to shorten it if he so desired, for the concluding rubric states that "it shall not be necessary for the minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned but, beginning with some manner of confession, to proceed to the sermon which ended, he either useth the prayer for all estates, before mentioned, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart." He was also enjoined to use special petitions should there be any special trouble such as plague, famine, pestilence or war when afflicting the people.

(d) The Order of Baptism. The rubric attached to this order forbids the ministration of the sacraments by women or in private places but left to the congregation and necessary

1. Much less a prayer as ignorant people have been apt to make it." Paragraph attached to the Apostles' Creed in the Shorter Catechism.
2. The word used is "Blessing." It may be noted that the Presbyterian Party in later days held firmly to the position that "Blessing" was part of ministerial duty. Gillespie English Popish Ceremonies 73. states that the powers of the Levitical priests have in this matter descended to the Ministers of the Gospel.
3. This is the only form in Galvins Liturgy.
4. Knox was very much against Baptism in private. In a letter from Bishop Ridley to Bishop Grindal, written a little before the former's martyrdom, there are several references to Knox's attitude to the Book of Common Prayer. "As for Private Baptism it is not prescribed in the Book (Liturgy P.T.O."

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annexed to God's word as seals of the same. Therefore the infant which is to be baptised shall be brought to the church on the day appointed to Common prayer and preaching, accompanied with the father and godfather. So that, after the sermon, the child being presented to the Minister, he demandeth this question." It is worthy of note that while women are expressly forbidden either to preach or minister the sacraments, there is no corresponding rule to prohibit these by male members of the congregation. This may be due to the fact that, in the congregation at Frankfort, and also at Geneva, there were a number of clergymen other than the two pastors. So far as the rubric was concerned anyone allowed to preach might also administer this sacrament if necessary, though in ordinary cases, it is left to the minister.

The service of Baptism begins with a question. "Do you present this child to be baptized earnestly desiring that he may be ingrafted in the mystical body of Jesus Christ." The answer being, "Yes we require the same."

The minister then delivers an exhortation regarding the nature and end of this sacrament, and of the obligations resting upon the parents to see that their children are instructed in all "doctrine necessary for true Christian." This exhortation concludes with the words, "Finally to the intent that we may be assured that you, the Father and the surety, consent to the performance hereof declare here, before God and the face of His congregation, the sum of that faith wherein you believe and will instruct this child."

"Then the Father, or, in his absence, the Godfather, shall


(Continued from Previous page) of Compromise) but where solemn Baptism cannot be had what would he (i.e., Knox) in that case should be done. Peradventure he will say it is better then to let them die without Baptism. For this his "better" what word hath he in the scripture? And if he hath none why will he not rather follow that the sentences of the old ancient writers do more allow? From whom to dissent without warrant of God's word I cannot think it any godly wisdom" Knox IV - 61.

1. That is the week day on which a sermon was added to the service of "Common Prayer."
rehearse the articles of his faith which done the minister
exhorting the people to pray, sayeth in this manner or such
like kneeling." The prayer which follows is short (being
indeed a collect). At its conclusion the Lord's Prayer
is said and thereafter the minister, having been told the
child's name, baptizes it "In the name of the Father and
of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." The rubric directs the
minister "as he speaketh these words" to take water in his
hand and lay it on the child's forehead. A short prayer of
thanksgiving and of supplication for the infant baptized
concludes the service.

There is one point which may be specially alluded to and
that is the mention of Godfathers. Both the Anglican books
mention Godfathers and Godmothers though neither book
mentions the number there should be. The Baptismal register
of the English Church at Geneva has been preserved and shows
that on each occasion of a baptism there was a Godfather
present. No mention, however, is made of Godmothers and,
in four cases, the name "Witnes" is substituted for that of
Godfather. The first Godfather mentioned is no other than
John Calvin while Knox filled the office for two children,
John Hollingham and Naomi Willis. In the case of Knox's
own children William Whittingham and Miles Coverdale were
the Godfathers.

(e) The Manner of the Lord's Supper. This service was
commonly held once a month "or as often as the congregation

1. This is the only reference to posture in prayer throughout
the whole book.
2. The Lord's Prayer was said after the Baptism in King
Edward's Second Book as in the present Book of Common
Prayer. In King Edward's First Book, however, it was said
before the baptism.
3. Is this a relic of the Mediaeval belief that, in order to
have a valid baptism the water had to be poured on the
child simultaneously with the saying of the baptismal
formula?
4. The present Book limits the God Parents to three, Two
Godfathers and one Godmother for a boy, and one Godfather
and two Godmothers for a girl. This was added at the
Revision of 1661 but is in accordance with English Statutes
of the 13th Century.
5. In this case Coverdale is termed "witnes" See Livre de
Anglois, p. 73. (6) This has been read by some as meaning
"as seldom."
shall think expedient" and apparently followed the ordinary morning sermon, being commenced after the recital of the Creed.

It begins with the reading of the "warrant" from the 11th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians and then the "minister proceedeth to the exhortation." This exhortation is really an invitation to the feast though grievous offenders are warned not to approach until they repented of their iniquity. Like other exhortations in the book this one ends with a doxology and, when it is ended, the minister is directed to come down from the pulpit and sit at the table every man and woman taking their place as occasion best serveth. "Then the minister taketh bread and giveth thanks either in these words following or like in effect." Then comes the prayer of thanksgiving in which thanks are given for the manifold mercies of God and especially on the incarnation, death and resurrection of our Lord. "We present ourselves to this His table which He hath left to be used in remembrance of His death until his coming again, to declare and witness before the world that by Him alone we have received liberty and life, that by him alone Thou dost acknowledge us Thy children and heirs, that by Him alone we have entrance to the Throne of Thy Grace, that by Him alone we are possessed in our spiritual kingdom to eat and drink at His table."

This done the minister breaks the bread and delivers it to the people who are directed to distribute and divide it

1. The opening paragraphs of this exhortation are taken almost verbatim from the corresponding exhortation in the Anglican Books.
2. These are the only references in the Book to the furniture in the Church.
3. Here we have an example of the Scottish custom of the minister holding a portion of the bread in his hands while offering the prayer of thanksgiving.
4. i.e., enter into possession of.
5. There is no mention of the "seniors" or elders having any special part in the administration of the Sacrament.
among themselves according to "our Saviour Christ's commandment and likewise giveth the Cup." During the time the elements are being passed round some part of Scripture is to be read setting forth the death of Christ that, while the eyes behold the outward symbols of bread and wine "which are called the visible word" the hearts and minds of the worshippers may be fixed on the contemplation of the Lord's death which is represented by "this Holy Sacrament." After the "action" is done, the minister is to give thanks. A short prayer of two sentences follows and then the direction is given that "the action thus ended, the people sing the 103rd Psalm, 'My soul, give laud' etc or some other of thanksgiving which ended, one of the blessings before mentioned is recited, and so they rise from the table and depart." The 103rd Psalm, it need hardly be mentioned, still retains its place as the communion thanksgiving psalm in the Scottish traditional liturgy.

At the close of the Communion Service there is printed a paragraph "to the Reader" in which it is stated that, by this order, "their own substance" is restored to the sacraments and that without Christ's word and warrant nothing is attempted in this holy action.

(f). The Form of Marriage. The opening rubric requires that the "banns or contract" be published three several days in the congregation and the marriage shall take place at "the beginning of the Sermon." The exhortation which follows is taken, in part, from the Anglican Prayer Book and, in part,

1. It is not said by whom the scripture has to be read. Calvin's Liturgy has a rubric of similar import, but it allowed "some psalms to be sung" as well as portions to be read.
2. The name still survives as the designation of the sermon preached at the Communion Service.
3. No mention is made of the "tune" to which it was to be sung though the Latin version says "acquin aut ab universo coetu modestissimo conantu."
4. This may indicate that the posture in which the congregation received the benediction was sitting or kneeling.
5. This note was probably suggested by a similar one in Calvin's Genevan Liturgy.
from Calvin's Genevan Liturgy. Indeed the whole service is taken from those two sources especially from the latter which, in turn, borrowed from the Liturgy drawn up by Farel at Neuchatel in 1533. Each of these had, however, a prayer at the close which is entirely wanting in this form. It is somewhat remarkable that, for a Christian Marriage service, there is nothing - with the exception of the final blessing - of prayer in it. Doubtless this is at part accounted for by the fact that marriage was usually celebrated at an ordinary service when, prayer suitable to the occasion would be offered. After the exhortation the minister speaking to those about to be married requires them to state whether they know any impediment why they should not be joined together. This charge is taken, word for word, from the English Book. Thereafter the minister, requires the man to state whether he takes the woman for his wife, the man being directed to return the answer. "Even so I take her before God and in the presence of this congregation." After a similar question has been put to, and a similar reply received from, the woman the minister reads over to them part of the Gospel of St. Matthew (XIX). And then goes on to state, "If ye believe assuredly these words which our Lord and Saviour did speak then may ye be certain that God hath even so knit you together in this holy state of wedlock." The minister then commends them to God "in this or such like sort." "The Lord sanctify and bless you, the Lord pour the riches of His grace upon you that ye may please Him and live together in Holy love until your lives end."

Then is sung the 128th Psalm, "Blessed are they that fear the Lord," or some other appertaining to the same purpose.

What must strike every reader of this order - in
addition to the absence of prayer - is the fact that there is no declaration by the minister that the parties are now husband and wife. Apparently the underlying idea is that "consent makes marriage" and that once that consent has been publicly announced the marriage is complete. This was quite in accordance with the law and practice of the Medieaval Church and it need hardly be said, is still the law in Scotland.

The next three sections merely require mention.

2 Visitation of the Sick wherein the minister is directed, not only to pray for the sick person, but also, if necessary, to commend him "in the public prayers of the congregation."

(h) Of Burial. The Liturgy of Compromise had kept to the Anglican form, but, in the Book of Geneva, all that is said is that the corpse is to be brought reverently to the grave, accompanied by the congregation without any farther ceremonies and, after it has been interred the minister is to go to the Church, if it is not far off, and make some comfortable exhortation regarding death and resurrection.

(k) The Order of the Ecclesiastical Discipline does not forbid the person excommunicated from hearing the sermons, though he is forbidden the sacraments. This closes what may be called the Liturgical part of the Book of Geneva. The second part consists of the Psalms of David in metre, while that is followed by a third part containing Calvin's Catechism. At the end of this are two prayers for use in private houses in the morning and evening respectively, the former of which is concluded with the Lord's Prayer. There is also a "prayer

2. Taken more or less from Calvin's Genevan Liturgy.
3. This may mean that the comfortable exhortation might be given at the grave if the Church was a considerable distance away.
to be said before meals" and a "thanksgiving after meals" of which it may be enough to say that they are somewhat longer than those used now-a-days. The concluding prayer is that which was "made at the first Assembly of the Congregation when the Confession of our Faith and whole orders of the Church were read and approved." One wonders why this prayer was printed, for it could hardly have been in regular use. It may have been kept for sentimental reasons, though one hesitates to think that such were likely to move the men who composed the English Church at Geneva. The prayer does not appear in any of the Scottish books.

Such then is the Book of Geneva as it was used in that city and as it was used in Scotland up to 1562. (In that year a new edition was printed in Edinburgh.) Founded more or less on Calvin's Liturgy of Geneva it contained parts taken from the English Books of Common Prayer and from other reformed prayer books. How much of it was due to Knox (the only Scot among the Compilers) we cannot tell but, doubtless, he would have his due share in the work of its compilation. Its future, however, was to lie, not among the English Puritans for whom and by whom it was framed, but among the Scots. For a little time it seemed as though it might have found a place among the company of it was first drawn up. After 1566 there was a Puritan party in England who maintained an secret a Presbyterian organisation as well as an order of worship framed according to this book.

1. Both these are taken from Calvin's Genevan Liturgy, as is also the Evening Prayer. Four additional Graces and two prayers were added in an edition of 1558 of which it may be noted only one copy is known to exist.
2. Cowan Scottish Church in Christendom 71.
The Book Of Geneva probably came into use after Knox's return to Scotland in 1559. It is mentioned in the Book of Discipline as being then in use and is there styled the Book of our Common Order.

The first General Assembly of the Reformed church of Scotland met on 20th December 1560 (several months after the Estates had abolished the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in Scotland) but it was not until two years had passed that we find any reference in its records to the Book of Geneva. On the last day of 1562 the Assembly decided that the ministration of the sacraments solemnization of marriages and burial of the dead were to be conducted according to the Book.

Apparently some time in the same year the Assembly had lent Lekprevik the Edinburgh printer "to help to buy iron and paper and to fee craftsmen for printing of the Psalms." As for many years the usual name for the Book of Common Order was the psalm book there is no doubt that it is that book which is here referred to.

In the year mentioned Lekprevik did publish "The form of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments &c used in the English church at Geneva and approved by the famous and godly man John Calvin whereunto are also added the prayers which they use there in the French church with the confession of faith which all they make that are

1. Knox II 186
2. Ibid 210
3. B.U.K. (Peterkin) 13. It is of course possible that there may have been earlier references in the records which have been lost.
5. Copy in the Advocates Library.
received into the university of Geneva. 1.

This edition is specially interesting as it shows the transition from the Order of Geneva to that adopted by the Church of Scotland. As mentioned it contains extra prayers in addition to the orders already mentioned. Of those which are mentioned as being used in the French church the first is a prayer of intercession "which serveth for Sunday after the sermon." It concludes with a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, the several petitions of the latter being inserted on the margin. The other is a prayer of confession which it is noted is to be said "upon Wednesday which is the day of common prayer."

The Lord's Prayer is inserted near the centre of this prayer. The outstanding feature of both these prayers is their length. The prayers used in the original book were all more or less short 2. The confession of sind for example contains some three hundred words while the French confession runs to nearly two thousand. There were other three new prayers added but of those, two were dropped at the revision of the book two years later and the third much altered. Beyond these there was no change in the Book.

Two years later Lefreviak issued a new edition

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1. This confession though mentioned in the title is not contained in the volume. It contains however the Confession of Faith found in the Geneva book.
2. The prayer for the visitation of the sick is an exception but it was for use in private.
which it has been stated was the first formally authorised by the church. It is certainly the first to bear on its title page "Approved and received by the Church of Scotland." The new material in this edition consisted of five prayers all of which had apparently been in use for some time previously.

There is a "Confession and Prayer commonly used in the church of Edinburgh on the day of common prayers" which may have been used as an addition to the service of King Edward's Book. In its opening sentences it is the same as the new confession in the 1562 edition but otherwise is quite different. Then there is a "Confession of Sins and Petitions made unto God in the time of our extreme trouble and yet commonly used in the churches of Scotland before the sermon." Both these confessions are of moderate length. The same cannot be said of the third additional prayer which was "used in the churches of Scotland in the time of their persecution by the Frenchmen but principally when the Lord's Table was to be ministered."

This and the "Thanksgiving unto God after our deliverance from the tyranny of the Frenchmen with prayers made for the continuance of the peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland" though not


2. This confession was never printed again except in a book of 1599.
published until 1564 date from the troublous years 1559-1560. Both were probably written by Knox.

The other additional prayer in this edition is one "used in the assemblies of the church as well particular as general." This also bears marks of the days when the question of Roman or Reformed hung in the balance and may be dated from the years before 1560. So far as one can judge it is a purely Scottish prayer and may also be from the pen of the great Reformer.

Three other editions may be briefly noticed. That of 1571 was printed abroad, probably at Geneva. It is especially noteworthy in that it contains three orders of service not found in earlier editions. These are the "Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentance used in the Church of Scotland."

"The Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent which may serve in election of all other ministers" and "The Election of Elders and Deacons in the Church of Edinburgh." All these new orders belong to an earlier date than 1571 and indeed were published separately at least two years earlier.

The next edition is that of 1575 which was printed by Banantyne and which contains four new prayers including for the first time a prayer for

1. A marginal note to the first reads "These prayers following were first used when both the Kings of France were living." The prayers must have been compiled before 1559 when Henry VI died.
2. The prayer of Thanksgiving was used in a somewhat different form at the thanksgiving service for deliverance from the Frenchmen held in St Giles 15th July 1560. Knox II. 85
3. No place is given but several errors in printing indicate that it was printed by French workmen.
4. Only one copy is known to exist. See Dickson & Edmond's Annals of Scottish Printing 239. This copy is at Lambeth.
the king. This last mentions by name "our most gracious Sovereign Lord King James the Sixth." The prayer is taken from a Primer of King Edward VI which was published as early as 1553, but in substance it may be traced to the reign of King Henry VIII.

Of more interest however than either is that which was printed by Lepevik in 1567 and which is in the Gaelic language. The translator was Carswell who had been Bishop of the Isles in the unreformed church and afterwards superintendent of Argyle and the Isles in the reformed. The translation is the first known book to be printed in the Gaelic language. The title page is of more than usual interest and bears the following.

"Forms of Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and Catechism of the Christian Faith here below. According as they are practised in the churches of Scotland which have loved and accepted the faithful gospel of God on having put away the false faith turned from the Latin and English into Gaelic by Mr John Carswell minister of the church of God in the bounds of Argyle whose other name is Bishop of the Isles. No other foundation can any man lay save that which is laid even Jesus Christ 1 Cor 3. Printed in Edinburgh whose other name is DUNLOPNY the 24th day of April 1567. By Robert Leprevik.

1. Later editions have "Charles by Thy grace our King's Majesty together with his queen and their happy offspring." 2. The prayer "for the King's Majesty" in the Order for Morning Prayer in the Anglican Prayer Book is a somewhat altered version of the same.
The most noteworthy part of the book is the following form of service for blessing a ship when going to sea. It is the only form of a service with responses native to the Scottish Reformed Church and shows that there were parts of Scotland where the views held regarding such matters were not identical with those of John Knox.

"Let one of the crew say thus 'The Steersman Bless our ship. The rest respond 'May God the Father bless the Steersman. Bless our ship. Response May Jesus Christ bless her. The Steersman Bless our ship. Response May the Holy Spirit bless her. The Steersman 'What do ye fear and (seeing) that God the Father is with you? Response We fear nothing.' The steersman 'What do ye fear and (seeing) God the Son is with you.' Response 'We fear nothing.' The Steersman 'What do you fear and (seeing) that God the Holy Ghost is with you?' Response 'We fear nothing.' The steersman 'May the Almighty God for the sake of His Son Jesus Christ through the comfort of the Holy Ghost the one God who brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea miraculously and brought Jonah to land out of the whale's belly and brought the Apostle Paul and his ship with the crew out of the great tempest and out of the fierce storm save us

1. Knox was no lover of responses (see Warne.) Calderwood also objected to them, his objections being founded partly on a "high" view of the ministry. "The Prelate ... would divide the prayer between pastor and people and by many idle repetitions would bring both pastor and people under the guiltiness of vain babbling and Popish superstition." The Pastor and the Prelate 4. Presbyterian Armoury. Vol II.
and sanctify us and bless us and carry us on with quiet and favouring winds and comfort over the sea and unto the harbour according to His own goodwill which thing we desire from Him saying Our Father which art in Heaven etc. " Let all the rest say 'So be it."

The probability is that this form is the work of the Bishop himself as there is nothing corresponding to it in any known prayer book. The same probably may be said of another form termed "A short prayer after the Psalm before the sermon," which appears among the Common Prayers. It concludes with the Lord's Prayer which may indicate the part of the service at which the Bishop was accustomed to use that Divine Form.

THE USE OF THE BOOK

Turning now to the use of the book we notice that while forms of prayer are given the minister is not tied down to the form as in the corresponding Anglican Book of Common Prayer. The first rubric for example in the "Order for Public worship" states that "the minister useth this confession or like in effect" while the rubric relating to the prayer after sermon refers to "this prayer following or like in effect." Then as to the prayer immediately before sermon no form is given at all, the direction simply being "The Minister prayeth for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit as the same shall move his heart." Similarly with the prayer
of thanksgiving is the "Order for the administration of the Lord's Supper." "The minister giveth thanks either in these words following or like in effect.

On the other hand it is worthy of note that there are no such rubrics attached to the additional prayers which from time to time were added to the order of Public Worship. Indeed one of the directions given may be taken to imply that the prayer was not to be altered. "This prayer following is used to be said after the sermon on the day which is appointed for common Prayer and it is very proper for our estate and time to move us to true repentance and to turn back God's sharp rods which still threaten us." In the "Order of the General Fast" it is said "The sermon ended the common prayer shall be used that is contained in the Psalm book, beginning "God Almighty and Heavenly Father" this prayer being that to which the preceding rubric is attached. Much more attention has been given to the permissive nature of some of the directions by certain writers e.g. Laing and McCrie than seems altogether warranted. There does not appear to be much foundation for the statement of McCrie that while the readers and exhorters used the forms given "even they were encouraged to perform the service in a different manner" (apparently so far as ministers were concerned.

1. Psalm Book was the usual name for the Book of Common Order.
2. McCrie Knox Note D.D. He gives as his authority the rubric to the order of the General Fast "Then certain psalms and certain histories to be distinctly read exhortation to be conceived thereupon and prayers likewise as God shall instruct and inspire the minister or reader." As a matter of fact the order contains the chapters P.T.O.
he thought they might ignore the book altogether.)

In 1814 the Kirk Session of St Andrews interfered with Thomas Wod the reader there and ordered him to read only the prayer in the psalm book and the chapters "Alanerlie• of the New and Old Testament" without any "addition of his own brain note or otherwise except it be given him by writing from the session."¹. Three years later we find Wod again in trouble for a similar offence. About forty years later the Synod of Fife had to deal with the same matter and made a rule that ordinary readers shall be tied to read in the public audience of the people only "such prayers as are printed in the Psalm Book, and ordained by the Kirk of Scotland to be read publicly."². Nor was it only in Fife that the Readers had to kept in order. The Presbytery of Glasgow in 1595.6 ordered that "nothing be read or sung in the new Kirk by John Buchan reader but what is contained in the word of God." Such extracts show that there was not much liberty allowed as some writers have held. The forms were put into the hand of the officiating person minister or reader and while the use of every word was not enforced still the forms were not to be neglected altogether. It is difficult to understand why so many additional forms should have been added from time to time if the Book of Common Order was to be no more than a book of

and psalms to be used every forenoon and afternoon of the week of the fast and no hint is given that these might be departed from.

1. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 529
2. Ibid
3. Records of Synod of Fife (Abbotsford Club) 103
4. Miscellany of Maitland Club I 79.
of suggestions. It is significant I think that where the Geneva Liturgy or its descendants (if such an expression be allowed) is still used e.g. among the reformed churches on the continent it is used more as a Prayer Book than a Directory.

The name which the reformers gave to their book "The Book of Common Order" shows that they expected it was something more than a mere guide for an order can not be called "Common" when every one pleases himself as to whether he uses it or not. The name we may believe owes at least something to Knox who was quite well acquainted with its meaning. Calderwood tells us that in 1553 Knox was malled before the Council in England to answer certain questions one of which referred to the prayer book. The members of the Council including Cranmer said that they were sorry to know he was of "a contrary mind to the Common Order. He answered that he was more sorry that the Common Order should be contrary to Christ's Institution."

In this connection the words of Alexander Henderson have great weight. "The forms of prayer administration of the sacraments admission of ministers excommunication solemnizing of marriage visitation of the sick etc which are set down before in the Psalm book and to which the ministers are to conform themselves is a sufficient witness (against the accusation that) they

2. History I. 261
3. Government and Order of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh 1641 Epistle to the Reader. The book was published anonymously but there is no doubt that Henderson was the author. Baillie mentions (Letters I 376) that the Assembly asked Henderson to write such a book and a pamphlet published at Edinburgh in 1659 "A Review and examination of a pamphlet lately published bearing the P.T.O.
had no certain rule or direction for their public worship but that every man following his own extemporary fancy did preach and pray what was good in his eyes .... for although they be not tied to set forms and words yet they are not left at random but for testifying their consent and keeping unity they have their directory and prescribed order." Perhaps no better summing up of the case could be given.  

According to McCrie the Book of Common Order was intended as a help to the ignorant not as a restraint upon those who could pray without a set form."

But when it is remembered that the Book was first of all prepared for the congregations at Frankfort and Geneva such a view cannot for a moment be entertained. Mew like Knox, Foxe, Gilby, Cowerdale, Whittingham were not ignorant nor can the congregation of which they formed a part be called by such a name. The little flock at Geneva probably contained as many men of talent and learning as any congregation of its size among the Reformed at that time. If a prayer book or even a directory were only of use in congregations of simple and unlettered people served by ministers of similar type then there would have been no need whatever for Knox and his colleagues to draw out an order for Divine service at all for doubtless all could pray without a set form. But the fact that they followed the example of title of "Protesters no Subverters and Presbytery no Papacy &c" by some lovers of the interests of Christ in Scotland mentions the Book as that of "worthy Mr Henderson of precious memory". It is written as though by an English Puritan.  

1. When in 1641 the General Assembly was minded to draw up a Directory for England and Scotland Henderson who was Moderator was asked to undertake the work. He started it but did not continue giving among other reasons that he could not take it upon him ... to set down other forms of prayer than we have in our Psalm book penned by our great and Divine Reformers " Letter to Baillie. See Baillie's Letters II. 2 (2) Knox Note D.D.
Calvin whom they regarded as their master in things ecclesiastical and framed an order for united worship in their opinion shows that such a method was better than leaving everything to the officiating minister no matter how able to pray without a set form he might be.

That the laymen of those days had not the objections to "read prayers" which their descendants afterwards developed may be seen by the action of the Members of the Convention of Royal Burghs who in 1593 decided that as their meetings were opened and closed with prayer forms should be drawn up for that purpose. This was done apparently by a committee appointed for the purpose and on the form for opening the convention being presented "they approved and allowed the same and therefore have statute and ordained that in the beginning of all their conventions in time coming and daily during the time of their convention at their meeting the said prayer be read and used which they ordain to be inserted and registered in the convention book of the which the tenor runs." The prayer follows and is one which no minister need scruple to use today. Simple and short it is yet comprehensive as may be seen from its conclusion.

"Fill us with Thy Good Spirit that in this whole action we may seek nothing but Thy glory the common weill of our estate and the quietness of this poor country. Vouchsafe Lord these things and all other things, Thy Majesty thinks needful at this time to the accomplishment
of this work for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all praise and glory for ever." The form for closing was also approved and ordained to be registered in the convention book and used at the closing of their meetings. It ends: "Finally Lord give us grace to pass the course of our pilgrimage here in Thy fear that hereafter we may dwell with Thee for ever in that glory that Christ has purchased to us by His precious death to whom therefore with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all praise honour and glory, for ever and ever Amen. Nor can the suggestion be accepted that the use was meant simply to be provisional until the day of fully trained ministers should come. Ten years after the Reformation had been notified the Kirk Session of St Andrews testified of their minister Robert Hamilton that "both in the preaching of the word and doctrine form and manner of prayer external conversation of life to have behaved himself as becometh a true minister and servant of God so that as yet by his travail the purity of the evangel, form of ministration of sacraments and order of discipline offered to us by the Mercies of God by His notable and excellent instruments is yet kept among us".

James Melville preaching at the opening of the General Assembly of 1590 maintained that unless "the word and sacraments were kept in sincerity and rightly used and practised by direction of the discipline they would soon be corrupted."

1. Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs I. 395
2. Ibid. I. 418
3. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session. 339,
The numerous editions published in the latter half of the 16th century and the earlier part of the 17th (one of them as late as 1635) afford evidence that the use of the book was meant to be permanent. We find during the stormy period round about the time of the Perth Assembly that both Prelatist and Presbyterian appealed to it. When that Assembly allowed communion to be given to the sick it nevertheless ordered that the service was to be according to the "order prescribed in the church" and this of course was the only order which the church had. Calderwood mentions two cases bearing on the subject (a) that of Hog of Dysart who on being accused by Archbishop Spottiswood of having referred in his prayer after sermon to the Bishops as "hirelins and bellygods" defended himself by stating that "his prayer was conform to the common prayer contained in the Book of Discipline which was published for the use of the kirk of Scotland," (b) that of Scrymgeour of Kinghorn who on being charged with disregarding the Perth articles made the statement "neither is there any warrantable form directed nor approved by the church beside that which is in print before the Psalm book according to which like as I have always done so now I minister that sacrament." Bishop Sage writing in 1693 remarks that there were many

1. History VII 368.9.
2. Ibid VII 422.
old people still "alive who remember well to have seen it used indifferently both by Presbyterians and Prelatists". Anderson the great opponent of Sage and his party bears testimony to the same effect. "Nobody denies that our Scottish Liturgy commonly called Knox's or the Genevan Liturgy was universally used for well nigh fourscore years after the year 1564." This would bring its use down to the Glasgow Assembly at any rate. On the other hand there seems little doubt that towards the end of the period we are considering the use of the book was much reduced. James VI could not be referring to the Book of Common Order when on his accession to the throne of England he declared that the prayers of Scottish Ministers were plain libels girding at Sovereignty and Authority, and his words indicate that many of the Ministers had ceased to use it in its entirety. Though Calderwood in 1631 gives as one of the reasons why King James' version of the Metrical Psalter should not be introduced, that if the Reformation Psalter were taken from them the common prayers and orders for the sacraments &c might also be taken away, yet he states that so far as his own practice

1. Fundamental Charter 351
2. Country man's letter to the Curate 62. This was an answer to Sage's book.
3. Lang History of Scotland 81
4. Bannatyne Club Miscellany I 234. Papers of Reasons against the Reception of King James "Metaphrase". No name is attached but they are believed to be the work of Calderwood.
and that of many others was concerned he did not use
the "exhortations or prayers which are extant in our
agenda."

Elsewhere he says "Mone are tied to the prayers
of that book but the prayers are set down as samplers;"
The Assembly of 1638 appealed to the Book of Common
Order as the authorised standard of worship in the
Church of Scotland and by it condemned the acts of the
Perth Assembly. In the "Declaration" written by the
Dean of Durham Dr Balcanquhal and published in the name
of King Charles it is stated that in Scotland there is
no form of public prayer but preachers readers and
ignorant schoolmasters pray so ignorantly as to be
"a shame to all religion." The Assembly of 1639
warmly repudiated such accusations but when we
remember that the Dean was himself a Scotsman and not
unacquainted with the practice in Scottish churches
we cannot dismiss his evidence as altogether lacking
in truth.

Row in his "Historie" under date 1636 though
acknowledging that there is already a form of liturgy
established by the law of the land and long practised
yet declares himself to be very much opposed to a
"prescript and stinted form of words and prayers and
exhortation."

1. Altare Damascenum 613
2. History(Folio Edition) 25. The word "Sampler" is
still used in the South of Scotland to indicate a pattern
to be copied.
2a Records of the Kirk 33.
4. Records of the Kirk 266
5. Historie 404 -6
Similar ground is taken in the "Reasons for which the Service Book urged upon Scotland should be refused" published in 1637, in which the writers show that they had little sympathy with imposed forms of service. "Though a prescript form of Liturgy were lawful ... there is one in the country already ... But now if a new one ought to be imposed it ought to come in by a lawful manner by a General Assembly and men chosen to make it who are known to have the gift of prayer themselves."

For this disuse of the book several reasons might be assigned. Probably the optional nature of the rubrics attached to the prayers in the daily service had something to do with it. The liberty allowed to vary the form led in time to the form being entirely neglected in certain quarters. There also grew up about the time of the Glasgow Assembly a feeling against read prayers altogether. To some extent this was due to the Brownist influence which as we will see was against several of the cherished customs of the Scottish Church. A number of Scots who in the troublous years before 1638 had gone to Ulster began to return and they brought with them customs which led to much

1. Knox VI 284. See also "HISTORIA NOTUUM" published anonymously but believed to be by William Spang. Minister of the Scots Kirk Rotterdam Cousin and Correspondent of Robert Baillie 204 ... "LEGITAM ET LONGO USU RECEPTAM CULTUS DIVINI EXTERIAM FORIAM PRORSUS ABOLET AC IN EJUS LOCUM SUBSTITUIT ALIAM A PONTIFICIIS MUTUATAM."
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1. Knox VI 284. See also "HISTORIA MOTUUM" published anonymously but believed to be by William Spang. Minister of the Scots Kirk Rotterdam Cousin and Correspondent of Robert Baillie 204 ... "LEGITAM ET LONGO USU RECEPTAM CULTUS DIVINI EXTERNAM FORALAM PRORCUS ABEDET AQ IN EJUS LOCUM SUBSTITUIT ALIAM A PONTIFICIS MUTUATAM."
heart burning among the leaders of the church. Among those was "discountenancing read prayers", and the Assembly of 1640 passed an act declaring that read prayers were not unlawful. Dickson Minister of Irvine who was a Puritan if ever there was one thought the language of the draft too weak and wished to have it read "that it should be lawful to read prayers both in private and public."

In spite of this we find Samuel Rutherford emphatically condemning "read prayers" stating in a letter to Lady Boyd that he "could never see precept promise or practice for them in God's Word," and further that "Our church never allowed them but men took them up at their own choice." One can only marvel that a man of Rutherford's standing allowed himself to make such a misstatement.

Among the English Puritans such views were not uncommon as may be seen from the preface to the Westminster Directory, and among the Reformed on the Continent we find a similar departure from the prayer books of the first reformers. This was more especially the case in Holland where the Ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church allowed the original forms (so far as far as the ordinary Lord's Day services were concerned)

1. Baillie Letters I. 249. Henderson seems to have been especially opposed to their innovating ways.
2. Baillie Ibid. 362
3. Ibid 253. The controversy however still went on. As late as 1650 two men declared before the Presbytery of Dalkeith the one that he considered set forms of prayer ought be used by "weak Christians" the other that he was "scarcely satisfied" that they were lawful. Sprott "Worship of the church during the Covenanting period" 37.
5. The compilers however nowhere declare read prayers to be unlawful.
to go out of use altogether in the seventeenth century.

This was bound to affect the Scottish Church the Ministers of which were in close contact with their Dutch brethren. In some cases however the Scots went further than their Continental neighbours. When John Welsh the son in law of Knox was in charge of the French church at St Jean d'Angely his method of conducting the services led to the National Synod commanding him both "in preaching and in the exercise of discipline to conform unto that order and manner used in the churches of this kingdom."  

What gave the final blow to the Book of Common Order was the attempt of Charles I to supersede it by the Book of Common Prayer. Anderson declares that the Common Order "fell into disuse more owing to the obtruding a liturgy after the English form in an arbitrary way, without shadow of law than to anything else."  

The action of the king raised a prejudice against prayer books of all kinds a prejudice which it need hardly be said has lasted to our own day.  Still we have rather interesting evidence that many of those who heartily disliked that book were quite willing to keep

1. Baird Chapter on Liturgies 211. The use of the forms for Baptism Communion and Ordination however continues to this day.
2. Quick quoted by Sprott Introduction to Book of Common Order LX.
3. Anderson Countryman's letter to the Curate 87.
4. According to Stevenson the use of the Book of Common Order continued to 1643 in Dunfermline. See Communion in Dunfermline 23.
the "form of prayer" they already had. A great number of petitions were sent in against Laud's Liturgy by Burghs, Presbyteries Parishes and Individuals. In not one of them is there any objection offered to "read" prayers or "forms of worship" as such. On the contrary Dumbarton states that the new book derogates from "the form of religious worship .... followed since the happy Reformation." Kirkoswald understands that the new book is not only different "from the form and order we have used hitherto " but is also popishly included. Ayr refers to the book as containing a "form of worship dangerously swerving from the form of worship ... which we have followed universally since our happy reformation."

Cupar represents that to the "former form of worship as settled at the happy reformation and established by the laws and acts of Assembly" they were all bound by oath. There seems no doubt therefore that among the laity there were many who desired to keep to the old form.

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1. Records of Privy Council Vol VI 699-716. It will be noticed that both the new book and the old are termed "forms". More of the petitions might be quoted to the same effect.
THE PSALTER.
The nucleus of the Scottish Reformation Psalter is to be found in the "One and Fifty Psalms in English Metre" which were published along with the first edition of the Book of Geneva in 1556. The psalms formed the second part of the book, coming between the various orders of Service and the Catechism. Of the fifty-one psalms thirty-seven had been put in metre by Thomas Sternhold, seven by John Hopkins and seven by William Whittingham. A second edition, published two years later, contained eleven more psalms of which nine were by Whittingham and two by Pullain. Three years later the collection numbered eighty-seven, and of the twenty-five new psalms twenty-four are attributed to William Kethe. It is certain, however, that the remaining extra psalm - the best known in the Psalter. "All people that on earth do dwell" - is also by Kethe, though it is attributed to Sternhold. All three editions mentioned were printed in Geneva, the first complete edition of the metrical psalter being that printed in England and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in 1563. The Scottish Church did not, as might have been expected, take over the English version. The General Assembly appointed a Committee to prepare a Psalter for themselves and lent Robert Lekprevik the sum of

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1. It is very unlikely that the exiles had access to any psalms of Sternhold's which had remained unprinted. In none of Sternhold's Psalms do we get the first and third line rhyming. In another edition published in 1561 in which some misprints in the edition above-mentioned are corrected the 100th Psalm is ascribed to Kethe.
two hundred pounds for the printing of it in 1562.

The Scottish version contained 109 psalms which were the same as those contained in the English edition. Of the forty-one psalms in the Scottish version which were not in the English one, fifteen were by Kethe, four by Whittingham, one by Pullain, and six by Robert Pont, who appears for the first time as a versifier. The remaining fifteen bear the initials I.C. which are believed to be those of John Craig, for long Minister of the King's household in Scotland. One outstanding difference between the English and Scots books is the greater number of "peculiars" in the latter. Thus while the former has 132 psalms in common metre, the latter has only

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2. Minor variations were made on many of them by the Scottish Revisers.
3. A Scotsman, one of the exiles at Geneva, afterwards a minister of the Church of England.
4. One of the English exiles at Geneva. Succeeded Knox in the pastorate there, afterwards became Dean of Durham.
6. A native of Culross and a member of the First General Assembly.
7. Born 1512. Was a teacher of the Dominicans at Bologna. When he returned to Scotland he had almost forgotten his mother tongue and for a time preached in Latin.
8. i.e. Psalms versified in metres other than "long" "short" or "common."
99 and there seems no doubt that the Scottish compilers deliberately altered some of the English common metre versions into others. There are only fifteen different metres in the English Book and no less than thirty-eight in the Scottish. There is another difference with regard to the contents of the Psalter. The English Book contained a number of pieces other than metrical psalms but our first Scottish Psalter contains the psalms and nothing more. The reason for this can hardly be that the reformers objected to "human hymns" for a metrical composition by Whittingham on the ten commandments is included in the first edition of the Genevan Book. In an edition published in England in 1560 there appears in addition to the metrical version of the commandments mentioned above, poetical versions of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Benedictus, the Nunc Dimittis and a "Prayer after commandments." In the Scots Psalter printed by Bassandyne in 1575 there are five metrical compositions other than the psalms, viz.: 1. The Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, a Prayer, (addressed to our Lord) the Lamentation of a Sinner and the Veni Creator. As new editions were issued more hymns were added until in the edition of 1635 there were fourteen, of which one, the Song of Moses (by James Melville) was again

1. The second form in the Anglican Order of Ordination is substantially the same as that in the Scots Book. The "Veni Creator" was sung at the coronation of Charles I at Holy rood possibly in the Scots version. Cooper Four Scottish Coronations 27.

2. A metrical version of Deuteronomy XXXII.
divided into six parts. All the hymns are rather diffuse and not one can be said to be of any great literary merit.

It has been suggested by Dr. N. Livingstone that these hymns or rather paraphrases were not meant to be sung except in private. The reasons he gives for this view are three. (1) That only psalms are mentioned in the Book of Common Order. (2) That neither Calderwood nor any other historian mentions the singing of hymns. (3) That three of the pieces are evidently intended for the instruction of the young. With regard to these, one may say (1) That the Book of Common Order leaves considerable freedom to the individual minister, and this liberty would apply as much to the materials used in praise as to the words used in prayer. (2) That the "Historie of the Estate of Scotland," which is believed to be a contemporary document distinctly mentions the "Singing of Psalms and Spiritual Songs" by the Protestants in 1559. Bishop Sage, who was born in 1652, just two years after the old psalter had been discontinued, and who must have been in touch with many who used it, states that the Reformers used beside the psalms several other hymns in metre. Calderwood himself may also be cited as a

1. Scottish Psalter 4. Dr Wauchope Stewart is of a similar opinion. See "Music in the Church." 149.
2. Wodrow Miscellany. 59.
3. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery. 357 - 8. (See also page 116.)
witness against the view that the hymns might be used in private but not in public for arguing against the suggestion that King James' version might be used in private, he says that to use one version in private and another in public is a most unprofitable work, because in time the one might displace the other.  

(3) The third objection does not seem to have much substance in it. Although there are pieces which might be used for the instruction of children, that is no reason why they should not have been sung at services where children were present as they seem always to have been in the days with which we are dealing. Even at the height of the Covenanting fervour in Scotland there was not the same objection to paraphrases which arose in later days. In 1647 the General Assembly, when considering the revisal and publication of the New Psalter, urged Zachary Boyd "to translate the other scripture songs in metre" so that they might be used with the new version.

In the first Scottish edition of the metrical Psalms there appeared a "Sonnet" addressed by William Stewart to the Church of Scotland. It

1. Bannatyne Miscellany I. 229. The work is anonymous but there is good reason for ascribing it to the church historian.

2. Even infants in arms were sometimes brought to Public worship. (Extracts Kirk Session Records, Kinghorn. 24.) At Glasgow children under eight were not supposed to attend.

3. Records of the Kirk. 475.
disappeared from the subsequent issues. Stewart was Ross Herald and as such was employed on a mission to Denmark. On his return home he was knighted and created Lyon King of Arms, being installed into that office in St. Giles in presence of the Regent, Officers of State, and Nobility. He only held office some six months when he fell into disgrace and he finished his career at St. Andrews, where he was burned for witchcraft.

The Sonnet praises the little book:

"All David's Psalms set forth in pleasant verse"
And the user would find his joy therein
"For here thou hast for every accident.
That may occur a doctrine pertinent."

Just three years later the Assembly was much exercised over a psalm book issued by Bassandyne in which it was alleged that he had printed. "Ane bawdie song called 'Welcome Fortune'" Naturally the ministers were much annoyed and the publisher was ordered to call in the copies he had issued and to cancel the page containing the offending song.

Up to comparatively recently this song could not be traced, but on the discovery of the earliest known copy of the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" (See Page 28) the missing song was found. It is a secular song but does not deserve the epithet applied to it, for whatever objection might have been taken to it as part

1. Lyon was crowned in State, the crown being of the same form as the King's but with enamels in place of gems. Stevenson Heraldry in Scotland, 42.
of a psalm book none could be taken on the score of morality, it "being a love song of very considerable merit and unimpeachable decency.". In the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" there is a hymn which was undoubtedly founded on the offending song and it may have been that the one was printed where it was intended to print the other.

The duty of possessing a Bible and Psalm Book was enforced by Act of Parliament. By an Act of the Scottish Estates in 1579 every householder worth 300 merks of yearly rent and every yeoman or burger worth £500 stock was to have these books in the vulgar tongue under penalty of a fine of Ten Pounds. Following on this Act the Town Council of Edinburgh ordered all the citizens to obtain the books for themselves under the penalties contained in the Act of Parliament. A little after this edict had been issued we find the Council taking proceedings against all those who had not obeyed the statute, Kirk Sessions also insisted on all who could read having psalm books.

With regard to the tunes to which those psalms were sung. We find that in the original Genevan Psalter there were fifty-one tunes printed, one for each psalm, but when the number of psalms increased, the practice commenced of referring some psalms to the tunes of others, a method which was continued in the first

1. Millar - Literary History of Scotland. 177.
4. Records of Elgin II. 17 The date is 1591.
5. A tune was indicated for each of the hymns.
Scottish psalter. In that book there were 110 tunes, of which only ten can be traced to Scottish composers, and of those ten I have failed to trace a single one in use to-day. No harmonies are given of these tunes and it may be remarked that the Church part (as it was called) or the melody was given on the Tenor Clef C and not as now on the Treble Clef G.

Apparently the intention was if harmonies were to be used that they should be supplied by the members of the congregation themselves. That harmonies were used is indicated by the account of the return of John Durie given in the Appendix to Calderwood's History. A large number of the citizens of Edinburgh went to meet him as he came up from Leith. "At the Wetherbow they took up the 124th Psalm "Now Israel may say, etc." and sung in such a pleasant tune in four parts known to the most part of the people that were coming up the street all bareheaded till they entered in the Kirk with such great sound and majesty that it moved both themselves and all the huge multitude of the beholders looking out at the slots and over stairs with admiration and astonishment."

James Melville also tells us that, as a student in 1574 he learned not only the plain song (melody) of the tunes but also many of "the trebles of the

1. Several of the others are still in use. e.g. the old 100th, old 124th, old 44th, etc.

2. "This mode of arrangement was derived from the Roman Church where the "Canto-fermo" or plain song is to this day sung by men's voices. Rembault Introduction to Este's Psalter.

psalms whereof some I could well sing in the kirk."¹

There is still extant in manuscript a collection
(which dates from 1566) of harmonies for the tunes of
the Scottish Psalter. There seems to have been:
originally five volumes containing the tenor, treble,
contra-tenor and bassus respectively, together with
a supplementary volume. Of these the book containing
the contra-tenor part has been lost but the other
four are all preserved. These tunes had been
harmonised by one David Peebles at the desire of Lord
James Stuart, better known by his later title as
the Regent Moray. The extant copies have been made by
Thomas Wod, Vicar, and also Reader, at St. Andrews,
who gives some interesting notes regarding the
musicians who had assisted in the work. In addition
to the psalms, Wod gives a list of hymns which
appear to have been more or less in use in his day.
Some of these he mentions afterwards found their way
into the Scots Psalter. He gives the names of the
writers and these include John Angus, an ex-monk of
Dunfermline who, among other paraphrases, had written
metrical versions of the "Magnificat," "Nunc Dimittis,"
"Benedictus" and the "Simboll or Creide of Athanasius."

¹ Autobiography 29. Calderwood states that "sundry
musicians of the best skill... have set down common
and proper tunes of the whole psalms." Bannatyne
Miscellany I. 233.

² This supplementary volume dates from 1569.

³ i.e. he drew the stipend attached to the vicarage.

⁴ Laing Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.
Vol. VII. 425.
He also gives the Te Deum "in Prose written by Andro Kemp, 1566," and two "voluntaries" each in five parts written by Andrew Blakhall who, after having been a Canon of Holyrood, became minister of Inveresk. In addition there is given a list of Latin pieces which, though banished from the sanctuary, may still have been used in private houses. Altogether Wod's volumes show that the State of musical culture in Scotland must have been much higher than is usually believed, and that there were still, in some quarters, of the Reformed Church, liberal ideas as to the words and music to be used in the service of God.

In 1635 a complete psalter with harmonies for all the tunes was issued at Edinburgh by the heirs of Andrew Hart. This is the earliest Scottish Psalter in which complete tunes were given. This book was edited by a person whose initials are given as E.M. Laing was able to identify the editor as Edward Millar A.M. a teacher of music in Edinburgh and one of the Prebendaries of the Chapel Royal. This was probably the most important edition of all those issued of the old Scottish Psalter. It contains thirty-one common metre tunes, including "Noble Elgin," Dundee, Dunfermline, eight tunes in reports and a  

1. Kemp was Master of the "Sang Schule" at Aberdeen.  
2. This Psalter was reprinted in 1864 by Dr. N. Livingstone.  
3. These tunes mentioned are however all older than 1635.
large number of "Peculiars." All these have the four parts while some of them have a fifth part "quintus" added.

The Reformers did not perhaps lay the same stress upon Psalm singing as they did upon other parts of worship. The Book of Discipline mentions certain things as being so necessary that without them there could be no face of a visible church at all. There were other things which were profitable but not so necessary and it is in this category that they put the singing of Psalms. "In some churches the Psalms may conveniently be sung, in others perchance they cannot." On the other hand the people were exhorted to exercise themselves in the psalms, and this exhortation is applied to all men, women and children, so that they might be all the more able with "common heart and voice to praise God."

The Book of Common Order contains prayers suitable for Family Worship and from the earliest days the metrical psalms appear to have been used then also. Doubtless it was in part at least, due to those family exercises that the people were so able as they were to join in the praise both inside and outside the churches.

1. Knox II. 238.
2. Ibid. 239.
3. Ibid. 241.
The knowledge of Sacred Music was evidently more prevalent in the period we are considering than it was in later times. (There are few crowds of to-day who could take up a psalm in four parts). We may trace this knowledge to the "Sang Schules" which were to be found in all the principal towns at that time. Some of these were Pre-Reformation institutions which were continued after 1560 and in many cases the master became the "Uptaker of the psalms" in the Kirk. In St. Giles, Edinburgh, the Master was one of the Pre-Reformation clergy who conformed to Protestant ways, Sir Edward Henderson by Name. He became Precentor in the High Kirk, lived to a ripe old age, and received a pension two years before his death.

In other places the Sang Schules had either been instituted or restored after the Reformation. In 1579 an act was passed by the Scottish Parliament "For instruction of the youth in the art of music and singing which is almost decayed and shall shortly decay without timeous remedy be provided our Sovereign Lord with advice of his three Estates of this present Parliament requests the Provosts, Baillies, Council and Community of the most special burghs of this realm and of the patrons and Provosts of the Colleges where Sang Schools are founded to erect and set up

1. Cameron Lees St Giles 130.
one Sang School with one master sufficient and able for instruction of the youth in the said science of music as they will answer to his highness, upon the peril of their foundations and in performing of his highness' request do unto His Majesty acceptable and good pleasure." The Master of the Sang School was also Precentor in Stirling, St. Andrews, Dunfermline, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Ayr, doubtless other places as well. These Sang Schools continued through out the greater part of the 17th Century, but, as far as known to the writer, the only town which now possesses a Master of the Sang School is Dunfermline where the office is held by the organist of the Abbey Church. In some places the scholars of the

2. Records of the Burgh of Stirling. 100 - 1 (Date 1626).
3. Register of St. Andrews' Kirk Session. 908. (Date 1599).
5. Woodrow - Life of Weems. 22. (Date 1597).
7. Ayr Burgh Records under date Nov. 1559.
8. The Sang Schule at Dunfermline was revived by Queen Anne (wife of James VI. and Lady of Dunfermline in 1610). The office is now a sinecure, its holder being usually designated "Master of the Song."
Sang School sat in church near their master and assisted him in leading the praise. In Glasgow, in 1587, four men were appointed to sit beside the Precentor evidently to act as a choir. The minister, Reader, or Precentor read over the part of the Psalm to be sung first of all "Reading the line" being a later innovation. The people, as we learn from Calderwood, and Stewart, of Pardovan could either read or had the Psalms by heart.

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1. Wodrow - Life of Weems. 23.
2. Bannatyne Club Miscellany.
There is no doubt that, at one time, it was customary to sing the doxology at the end of the metrical psalms. This had been done in the Pre-Reformation church with the Latin psalms and was continued in the Anglican church in the case of their prose psalter. Winzet refers to the reformers' practice in his "Four-score and three questions." One of these, the sixty-seventh, runs thus: "Of the form Glory to the Father, etc., at the end of every psalm. Why use you to sing with us Catholics at the end of every psalm, Glory to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, as it was, is, etc., since that Godly form was only commanded to be sung in that place by Pope Damasus in the rebuke of heretics."¹

The reference to singing puts it beyond all reasonable doubt that the doxology was associated with the metrical psalms from 1560 at any rate. Winzet's statement has, however, been called in question by Dr. D. Hay Fleming.²

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2. Winzet's book was published in 1563 but was written a year or two earlier.
who thinks that Winzet could not have known enough about Protestant services to be able to state what was done there. He further states that if Knox had replied to Winzet and admitted the truth of the charge, then it might have been held to be established, but the "bare word of one who probably never attended a protestant service in his life" cannot be taken as authoritative. Here Dr. Fleming, it seems to the writer, has allowed considerations other than historical to weigh with him. Winzet was as likely to attend Protestant services as any Roman Catholic of his time and it is quite well known that many such did so. His "Tractates" and "Questions" show that he knew a great deal about the doings of the Reformers and it may well be that Knox was too wary to reply to charges which he might have found it difficult to disprove.

Doxologies were certainly used by the Reformed in the days preceding 1560. Several of Wedderburn's songs end with such. A hymn with the title "Christe qui lux (es)" finishes thus.

"Glor be to God, Father of Might
And to Christ Jesu, His Son so bright
The Holy Ghost that is so fair
Keep us this night and evermore." 2

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1. Knox I. 321 - 389, 392, etc.,

Another - a conclusion to a Christmas Hymn runs thus:

"To God the Father mot (must) be gloir
And also to Christ for evermore
The Holy Ghost most blessed be
Worker of this nativity."

For the period immediately after 1560 we have the evidence of a title page of a Psalter dating from 1567 which had been bound up with the earliest known copy of the "Gude and Godlie Ballads." Dr. Mitchell was of the opinion that the Psalter "The Haill Hundreth and Fyftie Psalmes of David in Inglis Meter" had originally been bound up with the "Ballads" but that after the condemnation of the last of the songs by the General Assembly of 1568 (See Page 1/5) the two were separated and, as the title page formed the fourth folio of the last half sheet it was allowed to remain and a new title page provided for the psalter. On the back of the 1567 title page there is this direction, "Sing these four verses (lines) after every psalm as follows."

"O Lord Thou art the ready help
Of all that trust in Thee
Save and defend Thy chosen flock
That now in danger be."

1. Gude and Godlie Ballads. 77. See also pp. 21 - 51, 53. etc.

2. Gude and Godlie Ballads. LXXX - 1. Hay Fleming "Reformation in Scotland" 306. thinks that the psalter was never printed and that the title page was merely an

P.T.O.
This verse kept its place in the psalter right down to the version published in 1635.

It is followed by another verse headed thus: "And gif ye please to sing this Gloria Patri.

"Gloir to the Father heich abuve
Gloir to the Son for our behufe
Gloir to the Holy Spirite of luve

In Trinfald unitie

As is was ay salbe but rufe
Ay thre in Thie and ane to prufe
Quhais Godheid never sail remufe
Lord God deliver me."

This is followed by another separate verse.

"O Lord that hes the hartis haill
O Princes: in Thy hands
Return myndis whair they faill
Contrair to Thy commandis."

This seems to put the matter beyond doubt that more was sung than the words of the psalms and that the "Gloria" if not commanded was certainly allowed.

The edition of the Psalter issued in 1575 contains one "conclusion" of eight lines which appears again in the advertisement. He further states that it is improbable that if Ballads and Psalms were printed together the latter would not have the first place in the Book. This argument would have more weight if the Psalms printed in the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" had occupied that place of honour, but as has been stated they did not.

1. Jameson makes "Rufe" = to rest to live in quietness But = without.

2. See Lithographic reproduction in the Gude and Godlie Ballads. S.T.S (The page is not numbered).
1. In the 1595 edition published at London. In 1595 no less than thirty-four doxologies appear, being one for every form of verse found in the Psalm Book. Strangely enough they do not appear in the 1611 and 1615 editions but they are to be found in those of 1633 and 1635. It has been said that it is uncertain whether these doxologies were ever authorised by the General Assembly but considering the scanty records of the period in question that is not to be wondered at.

It has, however, to be remembered that the Assembly claimed - and exercised - the right of over-seeing "Any work touching religion or doctrine" before it was printed and they were not likely to allow anything in the Psalm Book of which they disapproved. It has been also suggested that the presence of the "conclusions" in the Psalter was due to Episcopalian tendencies but that theory can hardly be accepted in face of Calderwood's express statement that in 1596 the year after the full series was printed that "The Kirk of Scotland was now come to her perfection and the greatest

1. In the 1595 edition it is given for the 136th Psalm which is in the same metre.
4. In 1568 Bassandyne, the Edinburgh printer, had to call in all copies of an edition of the Psalm book because he had printed in it one of the Sode and Godlie Ballads which the Assembly (without much reason as has been said) ane bawdy song. B.U.K. 125 - 6.
5. Livingstone Psalter of 1635. 37.
purity that ever she attained." The historian could not have written as he did had he held that the use of the doxology was incompatible with Presbyterian usage.

Towards the middle of the 17th Century there were some who objected to its use in public worship. In Baillie's account of the Assembly of 1641 he mentions as one of the innovations which were then troubling the church the omission of the "Gloria." The same writer has left an undated paper, containing what he calls "The sum of my conference yesterday with three or four yeomen of my flock who refused to sing the doxology." In this paper he traces the views of the yeomen to the Brownists, and holds that the objections put forward by them to the "conclusions" were but the thin end of the wedge. "As you would loath to give over your prayers," he says, "Sacraments, preaching. As you would not forsake wholly your church and your sworn covenant and drink down all the errors of Brownism, take heed to your spirit which you find so ready to learn the first lessons of those seducers.... As for the putting of that matter in the end

1. Calderwood History. 387.
2. Johnston of Wariston, remarks how much he was impressed by the singing of the Doxology at the end of the Psalms. Diary 50. etc.
3. The date must be earlier than 1642 when he became a professor in Glasgow. The full paper will be found in Livingstone Psalter of 1635 - 36. The M S is in the General Assembly Library.
5. This indicates that Baillie used the Book of Common Order.
of a psalm, the church which hath power to order the parts of God's worships (1st Cor. XIV - 40) hath good reason for it, for Christ in that pattern of all prayers and praises teaches us to conclude for Thine is glory for ever.... We grant it is part of the Liturgy and Mass Book too, but this proves it not to be any worse than the Lord's Prayer and the Belief.... True the Brownist will teach you to scunner at both." But it was soon evident that the yeomen were not alone in their opposition. Writing in 1643, Baillie mentions that a paper had been drawn up by seven ministers in Ayrshire "In a very bitter and arrogant strain against the three Innocent ceremonies, Pater Noster, Gloria Patri, and kneeling in the pulpit, proving by a great rabble of arguments... the unlawfulness of our Church practices." These seven soon had more on their side, for mention is made of "Twice so many" in the Synod of Galloway, who held similar sentiments. Baillie goes on to state the great anxiety he had been caused by the action of the Brethren and that he had got the promise from the leading ministers in the Church - including Henderson, Rutherford and Calderwood - to write answers to their papers and so help towards the "quenching of the fire."

The subject came up in the General Assembly of 1643 but all that was done was to pass an act forbidding disputation and "all have been universally received and by perpetual custom practised by the most faithful


2. Records of the Kirk. 349.
ministers of the gospel and opposers of corruptions of this kirk since the beginning of Reformation to these times."

It would appear that the question of the continuance of the Doxology was considered by the Westminster Divines when they drew up the Directory for Public Worship. Baillie, in a letter of 25th April, 1645 writes "About the conclusion of the psalm we had no debate with them (The English Divines). Without scruple Independents and all sang it so far as I know where it was printed at the end of two or three psalms. But in the new translation of the psalms resolving to keep punctually to the original text without any addition we and they were content to omit, that whereon we saw the Popish and Prelatical party did so much dote as to put it at the end of most of their lessons and all their psalms." 2.

"Gloria Patri" is one of the "customs or rites? mentioned in a paper drawn up by Gillespie which "though not condemned in this Directory.... will be occasions of divisions.... so we judge it most expedient that the use of them be not continued." 3.

In the General Assembly of 1645 the matter was again debated and at the end it was resolved to make no act

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1. Brownism appears to have made considerable strides in the fifth decade of the 17th Century. The Presbytery of Edinburgh issued a warning against its errors in 1641 causing this to be read from all the pulpits within its bounds. Baillie Letters II. 54.

2. Letters and Journals. II. 257.

3. The paper was found among the Woodrow M.S.S. and will be found in Gillespie's "Notes of the Debates and Proceedings. Presbyterian Armoury. Vol. II. 108."
regarding it but to "let disuetude abolish it." Among those who defended its use in public worship was David Calderwood who was so firmly attached to it that he declared he hoped to sing it in Heaven. He brought forward arguments from the ancient fathers and early councils to prove that it had been in use from the days of the Apostles.

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1. Gillespie Notes of the Debates and Proceedings, 120, Presbyterian Armoury II.
2. Edward - The Doxology approven 1683. The exact words given there are "Moderator I entreat that the doxology be not laid aside for I hope to sing it in Glory."
The Psalter of 1569 (printed by Henry Charteris at Edinburgh) is unique among early Scottish Psalm-books in that it contains a "Prayer after every psalm agreeing with the meaning thereof." (There are in all 149 of these, those attached to the 107th and 108th psalms being the same).

In an Anglican Psalter issued by Archbishop Parker (circa 1565) there is also a collect for each psalm but these collects are altogether different from those in the Scottish book. The Scots Collects are really translations from the French as was discovered by Dr. Bannerman in 1885 when consulting some books in the old Library of Innerpeffray, on the banks of the Earn. There he found an edition of Marot's and Beza's French Psalter, published as usual with Calvin's Liturgy and Catechism. To each psalm was affixed "UN ORAISON......PAR M AUGUSTIN MARLORAT" and, on examining these, he saw that they were the originals from which the Scottish Collects had been translated. "Here they were, sentence for sentence, word for word, beyond all question. A more minute examination showed indeed that the Scottish Translator had inserted a word or two, whether to bring out the full meaning of a pregnant phrase in the original or for the sake of
rhymical effect or to avoid a possible ambiguity."

Marlorat, who was a native of Lorraine, became a
friend and fellow worker of Calvin and Beza in the
Swiss Reformation and was put to death by the Roman
Catholics on the Capture of Rouen in 1562. His
"oraisons" were printed in French Psalters as late as
1674. M. Bovet, the historian of the Psalter of the
Reformed Churches, thinks that Marlorat was the
original and only author "LE PRIMITIF ET LE SEUL AUTEUR"
of the prayers, but Bannerman is inclined to think that
some of them may be traced to Pre-Reformation sources.

It is interesting to find this other link of the
Reformed Church of our "auld Ally." We have no
evidence as to when they were translated into Scots but
it is likely that the "Prayers upon the Psalms" Which
were included in the inventory of Bassendyne, the
Edinburgh Printer, in 1578 may have been the same
prayers published apart from the Psalter. It is
probable that, as they only appear in one edition of
Psalms Book, they were meant for private use, although
there was no rule of the Scottish Church then - or now -
which would prohibit their use by the minister in the
pulpit.

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1. Bannerman Article in Presbyterian Review. VII. 151 - 5
2. HISTOIRE DU PSAUTIER DES EGLISES REFORMES. (Neuchatel
1872) 263.
3. Article ut supra.
4. 1280 Copies were included in the stock. 2,000 of the
same book were included in the Inventory of Robert
The Old Scots Reformation Psalter has not disappeared entirely, for several of the old psalms are to be found in the version used at the present day. Chief of these is, of course, the "Old Hundred" of William Kethe which has been preserved with only two small alterations, one of which — the substitution of "mirth" for "fear" is rather surprising considering the time at which the change was made. The "old 124" of Whittingham has also a place as have three of the renderings of John Craig, the 136th, the 143rd and 145th. All these were retained in 1650 as second versions, the first version in each case being in common metre, while these are all in others. The 25th Psalm in the Modern Psalter reproduces the metre used by Hopkins in the corresponding psalm in the Reformation Book, but that is all there is to connect the two versions. The same may be said of the second versions of the 102nd Psalm and the 148th in the modern book. These reproduce the old metres, but little more. There are in addition, however, quite a number of renderings in the present book which have undoubtedly been suggested by those of the older one. This is not to be wondered at when we remember that the men who revised Rous' version

1. The other alteration is "Know that the Lord God indeed" for "The Lord ye know is God indeed." It may be mentioned that the second version of the 100th Psalm is from the pen of Zachary Boyd.

2. All these have been more or less altered.

3. e.g. Ps. I. verse 6, Ps. 19 verse 9, Ps. 96 verse 12, Ps. 118 verse 4, etc.
for Scottish use had from their childhood been familiar with the old Scots Psalter.

This Reformation Psalter held the field until 1650 when it was displaced by what is called Rous' Version. One determined effort was made to have it supplanted by the King. James had been present at the General Assembly held at Burntisland in 1601, when sundry of the brethren alleged errors in the psalms in metre and it was agreed that Mr Robert Pont should revise them, and that his efforts should be examined at the next Assembly. That the Monarch had anything to do with the raising of the question is not stated by Calderwood but we learn from Spottiswood that, at this very assembly, James had much to say against the version in common use. "When he came to speak of the psalms" says the historian "He did recite whole verses of the same showing both the faults of the metre and the discrepancy from the text." But he was not content with showing the deficiencies of the version in use. He set himself to make a new version and in due time a new psalter entitled the "Psalms of King David, translated by King James" made its appearance in 1631, five years after the monarch's death. Some of the work of versifying was done by the King, but by far the

1. Though called by his name Rous was not the only person who had to do with it.
2. Calderwood History VI. 124.
3. Spottiswood History III. 98.
greater part was the work of Sir William Alexander of
Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling. Prefixed to the
book when it was first published was the following
authorisation by King Charles. "Having caused this
translation of the Psalms (whereof our late dear
father was author) to be perused and it being found to be
exactly and truely done we do hereby authorize this same
to be imprinted according to the patent granted thereupon
and do allow them to be sung in all the churches of our
dominions recommending them to all our good subjects for
that effect." From this we see that the work was meant
to help on that uniformity of worship in all the
British dominions which Charles (like the Covenanters)
desired to bring about. Copies of the King's work were
sent out to Presbyteries but the reception these
received was anything but cordial.

Among the Calderwood M.S.S. were found papers
giving "Reasons against the reception of King James' Metaphase of the psalms." The writer is believed to have
been the historian himself and he does not hesitate to
state that the royal version contained "heathenish liberty and poetical conceits" and so many unknown
words that it needed a dictionary at the end of it.
Neither in public nor in private could it be tolerated.
Yet from the "Reasons" we learn that the "Metaphase" had
found an entrance in some places for the writer complains

Scottish Metrical Psalms. 17. 
that in some churches there were those who insisted in singing the new version while others were singing the old. King James' version was republished along with the new service book in 1637 and shared the latter's fate. It was not, however, entirely lost sight of for there are many lines in the present version which seem to have been suggested to the revisers by those of

1. the royal translator.

1. Rous' version was revised by a band of Scottish Divines before being authorised by the Assembly.
In some of the editions of the Scottish Psalter, the prose version of the psalms will be found in the margin. The Latin prose version is found in the margin of a Dutch Psalter of date 1540 and it is worthy of note that the earliest known Scottish book, containing both metrical and prose psalms, was also published in Holland. In the Register of the Privy Seal under date 31st July, 1599, there is a license granted by the King to John Gibson to import a Psalm Book which he had "caused imprint within Middelburg in Flanders... containing both the psalms in verse as likewise the same in prose upon the margin thereof in one form never practised nor devised in any heretofore." Another edition containing "The CL Psalms of David in Prose and Metre," for the use of the Kirk of Scotland, was published at Dort in 1601. After this the practice seems to have been continued by most of the printers. The version used is in every case, except one, that of the Geneva Bible.

1. Lee Memorial for the Bible Societies, 17 - 18.

2. It is probably this edition which Robert Charteris, Bookseller in Edinburgh had in stock in 1603 when his wife died. "Three hundred psalm books with the prose on the margin at VI shillings the piece" Annuals of Scottish Printing, 491. This edition seems to have vanished entirely with the possible exception of a damaged copy in Aberdeen University Library.
though in some instances slight alterations have been made. The exception is the Psalter printed by Raban at Aberdeen in 1635, where the authorised version "translated" says the title page "by the special commandment of King James the Sixth" is used. There is no reason to believe that the prose version was ever used in praise in Scotland except for a time in the Chapel Royal. It is possible, however, that it was used at the close of the General Assembly of 1610 of which Calderwood says: "So the Assembly was dissolved, no new assembly appointed and the 133rd Psalm chanted," but this is unlikely. The probability is that the prose on the margin was meant to assist in the understanding of the metrical form and to show the relation of the latter to the true text.

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1. History VII - 99. It is more likely, that "chanted" here simply another word for "sung." cf. Burn's Cottar's Saturday Night. "They chant their artless notes in simple guise."
PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN THE SCOTTISH SERVICE.
In 1601 as has been noted an attempt was made to alter some of the prayers in the Book of Common Order and also to have a new psalter in place of the old. So far as the alteration of the psalter was concerned the leading spirit seems to have been the King himself and it is quite probable that he had something to do with the suggestion concerning the prayers also. After he had taken up his residence in England he succeeded in getting the Scottish Parliament to pass several acts whereby his power over the Church was increased and provision made for the Stipends of Bishops. Not however until 1614 was any step taken with regard to the Church's worship when a royal proclamation was made ordering all ministers to celebrate the Communion at Easter of that year.

In 1615 another proclamation made that practice perpetual and a start was made with regard to a new edition of the Book of Common Order. Spottiswood - the son it may be mentioned of the Reformer - was in London in May of that year and in a paper written there, probably in consultation with the king he had put on record, what he thought the Church of Scotland needed.

According to this paper there was lacking in the Church of Scotland "a form of Divine Service and while every minister is left to the framing of public prayer by himself both the people are neglected and their prayers prove often impertinent." This cannot be accepted literally for the Book

1. See Page 206.
of Common Order was in regular use though the Archbishop's words afford evidence that there were those who used the liberty allowed by the rubrics so far as the ordinary services were concerned to neglect the book altogether. With regard to the forms for Baptism Marriage, Lord's Supper the Archbishop was of opinion that these in the Book of Common Order should be improved. The following year the assembly met at Aberdeen the King summoning it by public proclamation. The Earl of Montrose was the Royal Commissioner and among the instructions brought by him to be "proponit" to the Assembly was the following "that a liturgy be made and form of Divine Service which shall be read in every church in common prayer and before preaching every Sabbath by the reader where there is one and where there is not by the Minister before he conceive his own prayer, that the common people may learn it and by custom serve God rightly." This article along with others was duly considered by the Assembly and carried unanimously those who were not in favour having departed before the final steps were taken.

It was statute and ordained that "a uniform order of Liturgy or Divine Service be set down to be read in all kirk's on the ordinary days of prayer and every Sabbath day before Sermon."

In order to carry out this work the Assembly appointed Patrick Galloway Peter Hewat, John Adamson and William Erskine to "revise the Book of Common Prayers contained in the Psalm book and to set down a common form of ordinary

1. Original Letters (Bannatyne Club) II 446.
2. According to Calderwood it was held in that city by the King's Party in order to "get numbers of Northland Ministers to vote with them in the things that were to be propounded" VII - 221.
3. Calderwood VII - 229. Other matter "proponit" related to the Lord's Supper Baptism and ordination. These matters dealt with in this thesis in the sections relating to these subjects.
service to be used in all times hereafter which shall be used in time of Common Prayers in all k Irrs where there is exercise of Common Prayers. As likewise by the Minister before the Sermon where there is no Reader.” (It will be noticed that nothing is said about forms for baptism Communion etc. The intention apparently was to allow these to remain as they were.)

This small committee of four was not however to have the final word in the matter for another committee was appointed to take steps with regard to the delapidations of benefices and was also given powers to "receive the books of the Liturgy or Divine Service and the Catechism and allow or disallow thereof as they shall think expedient, and the same being allowed to cause publish the same in print for the service within the kirks of all the kingdom”.

This committee was drawn from both parties in the church there being a number of stalwart defenders of Presbytery included as well as the Prelates. Scot of Cupar himself a follower of the older ways and a member of the Committee says that it never met but he implies that he himself would have been willing to see a revision made of the "Book of our Common Prayers” as he terms it.

The small committee seems to have set to work immediately after the Assembly and the result of their labours was an interesting order of service entitled "Hewatts form of Prayer” which after lying unnoticed for many years among the Wodrow Manuscripts was published by Dr Sprott in 1871.

This form deals only with Public Worship for as has been

--- Reference Notes ---
2. VIII. 110-1.
3. Apologetical Narration. 245.
4. This is the Title written on the MS, though it is in a different hand from the original.
5. Scottish Liturgies of the reign of James VI. The Church Service Society Reprint was published in 1901.
noted this was all that the Assembly required. The service begins with the recitation of the fourth commandment, followed by the concluding verse of the 19th Psalm.

An exhortation comes next (as in the Anglican Order) made up entirely of extracts from "Hebrews" and a prayer of confession which ends with an doxology. "This prayer ended" says the rubric "let be read or sung the fourscore and twelfth psalm "This psalm or song for the Sabbath days" is printed in full and like the rest of the scripture quotations differs but slightly from the authorised version. Another prayer follows the psalm concluding with the Lord's Prayer. Thereafter a chapter of the Gospels and another of the Epistle are to be read as "they shall be by course." After the Lessons come another prayer another psalm and the recitation of the apostle's creed. The "last prayer" follows being by far the longest in the service. It is probable however that it was not meant to be used in full as it is divided into a number of sections headed "For the King" "For the Queen" "For the Clergy" "In seed time" etc., The likelihood is that all the prayers were written by the compiler himself and these will compare favourably with The many of those in the Book of Common Order. Some of the prayers in that Book are retained as alternative forms.

Howat was one of those who were opposed to the arbitrary dealings of King James with the church. He was one of the leaders of the signatories to the protest for the liberties of the Kirk presented in 1617 and for his action at that time he "was deprived and confined in Dundee." It was

1. "Let the words of our mouths and the meditations of our hearts be acceptable unto Thee our Strength and our Redeemer."
probably after his deprivation that Howat's form was laid aside and another form based more on the Anglican liturgy drawn up.

This latter form seems to have been largely the work of Cowper, Bishop of Galloway who was assisted by some of the most learned and grave "ministers." As Cowper died in 1619 the work must have been finished before then and in that year a license dated June 30th was granted to Gilbert Dick a bookseller in Edinburgh to print the new prayer book for the space of 19 years. It was doubtless this book that the Archbishop had in mind when he informed Hog of Dysart that in "a short time the Book of Discipline would be discharged and ministers tied to set forms." This "Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments with other rites and ceremonies of the Church of Scotland" is founded on the corresponding Anglican Book though there are some striking differences. In the morning prayer the order follows the English Book except that part of a Psalm is to be sung between the lessons instead of the Te Deum or Benedictus and the Ten Commandments are to be read after the Creed upon Sundays. The Versicles and Lord's Prayer are here omitted. Alternative prayers for the "whole estate of Christ's Church" are given. The one resembles a corresponding prayer with the same title in the Book of Common Order, the other in the prayer for the Church Militant in the English Book. The order of Evening Prayer is somewhat different. The Confession is taken from the Book of Common Order and ends with the Lord's Prayer there being no absolution. The "Magnificat" is to be sung after the first lesson and the "Song of Simeon" after the second. Thereafter the Belief was to be rehearsed.

1. Life of Spottiswood. Prefixed to his History.
2. Lee Memorial for the Bible Society Appendix 33.
4. Throughout this THESIS it is quoted as "COWPER'S DRAFT."
and the next prayer (which consists of two Anglican collects and a few lines from Calvin's Evening prayer) offered. Short prayers are given for the commemoration of the five great festivals with the direction that these are to be used after the ordinary prayers and read before the Blessing. In addition to the services, for Morning and Evening Prayer, there is a Sunday Service given in which the confession is taken verbatim from the Book of Common Order. An alternative confession is given. It appeared first of all in an edition of the Book of Common Order published in 1575. A prayer of thanksgiving to be "used at the end of the public service" is also taken from that book. A rather interesting note is appended to the Sunday Service (which except in the particulars mentioned followed the order for Morning Prayer) to the effect that it was the ancient custom of the Scottish Church to sing the 119th Psalm upon the Sunday afternoons which custom it was thought should be "still retained in use". Another note refers to the saying of "Amen" by the congregation at the end of the prayers "as well to declare their attention as to witness the affection and consent of their hearts unto all the service." The "Amen" seems to have been the only response which the Reformers favoured but its use never seems to have been general in Scotland.

This order like Howat's seems to have been lost sight of during the troubles which followed the Perth Assembly of 1618. It was sent up to London in 1629 and apparently when there came under the inspection of Archbishop Laud. The copy from which Dr. Sprott printed his work has some amendments made on it, some with an English and some with a Scots bias and the learned editor was of opinion that the former were the work of the Archbishop.

1. Sprott Liturgies of reign of James VI. LIV, LV.

2. Here is reason to believe that the words to be it were used as a response in Scotland in the year 1638.
It seems however that Laud was not in favour of it being issued at all, preferring to have the Anglican Liturgy used without alteration by the Scottish Church believing that it would be better that Divine Service in all His Majesty's dominions should be conducted according to one form. Laud came North with his royal master in 1633 when he was in consultation with the Scottish Bishops. After his return to London Charles sent word to Spottiswood that he had decided that a Scottish Liturgy was to be framed as near as possible to that of England. It would seem as though the order drawn up by Cowper and his friends was entirely disregarded. At anyrate no trace of its influence can be seen on the Prayer Book commonly though perhaps not altogether correctly known as Laud's Liturgy. The two Scottish Bishops who took the chief part in the compilation of the New Book were Maxwell Bishop of Ross and Wedderburn Bishop of Drumblane the former a native of Mitchell the latter a descendant of the authors of the "Gude and Godlie Ballads." The Majority of the Scottish Bishops would probably have preferred that any alterations in the Book of Common Prayer to make it more acceptable to the Scots should have been in a puritan direction, on the lines of Cowper's Draft. But it may be taken for granted that Laud would not have agreed to any such course and as Maxwell and Wedderburn were both of his way of thinking the alterations were in the opposite direction. Certain changes were made e.g. the substitution of Presbyter for Priest throughout the book, the introduction of the new

1. Works: III, 356. In this at any rate Laud agreed with the Covenanters.
2. Cooper Introduction XVI-XVII.
5. Dean Stanley held that with one exception (the words with which the Sacramental Elements were administered) the Scottish Book was in all essential points more Protestant and less Roman than the English. The Church of Scotland 43.
version of the Scriptures, the alternative of the 23rd psalm for the "Benedictus" which may have been meant to conciliate the Scots. The majority of the alterations were however such as were likely to excite keen opposition and so it turned out. Row described the book as this "Popish, English Scottish Mass Service Book," and it was regarded by the Scots generally as an attempt to bring back popery among them. "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland" was issued from the press of Robert Young Edinburgh early in 1637 the intention being that it should be used at the Easter Services in that year. The book follows the order of the Anglican Prayer book with the exception of the Ordinal which was omitted. With it was bound King James' metrical version of the psalms the intention being that the Reformation Psalter and Prayer book should both go out of use together. The use of the book was ordered by Royal proclamation all subjects being charged to conform themselves to it, as the only form "which we having taken the counsel of our clergy think fit to be used in God's public worship in our kingdom."

There is no need to record what happened when first Laud's Liturgy was read in St Giles Edinburgh. Every Scotsman has heard of Jenny Geddes and her stool and of the movement which had its start on that famous 23rd of July 1637. Fewer perhaps know that the use of the Book did not

2. See Edition edited by the late Professor Cooper in Church Service Society Series. 1904.
3. Proclamation printed after the Table of contents. Hill Barton says. Surely it may be safely said that the history of Christianity cannot show another instance of a book of devotions announced in such a fashion to its devotees. History of Scotland VI. 144-5. (Second Edition). The proclamations issued by Queen Elizabeth and King James in the Anglican Books seem to the writer quite as offensive if not more so.
come to an end so far as the Scottish Church was concerned on that day for in September of that year Charles wrote to Bishops charging each of them to read the service book in his own diocese as the Bishops of Ross and Dimblane had done. Cooper states that it was used up to March 1638 in the Cathedral of Ross (at Portrose) but its use in Scotland came to an end with the Assembly of 1638. If Rothes is to be believed it was read at Dingwall by a minister who did so in order to obtain remission for some offences of which he had been convicted. The same authority mentions that it was partly used at St Andrews and Dimblane though the Minister who did so at the latter place afterwards signed the supplication against the book. At Brechin the Minister refused to read it whereupon the Bishop (Whiteford) determined to read it himself. He was threatened with personal violence and could only carry out the purpose by taking a pair of pistols with him into the pulpit surrounding himself with armed servants and closing the doors of the Cathedral against the people. William Ainslie Minister of Ayr who preached a sermon in favour of the Service Book in Glasgow Cathedral raised a storm of opposition that he was in danger of his life ere he left the city. There is ample evidence that the Anglican Liturgy was used in the Chapel Royal from 1617 onwards. It was also used at least in part at St Andrews and probably also at Portrose

1. Cooper Introduction XVII-XVIII. Rev. A.M. Philip states that the use of the Service Book in Portrose came to an end through the boys of the grammar school taking away the new prayer books and throwing them into the sea. Transactions Scottish Ecclesiastical Society 1904. Page 90. Baillie says the boys burned the books. Letters I. 65.  X
2. This seems to indicate that he ran some risk in doing so.
3. Rothes Relation. 5.
4. Cooper Kindness to the Dead. 39.
7. Ibid 569.

X. Both statements are correct. As first would not burn together and so the books were thrown into the sea. William Ainslie. 55
and in several of the other Cathedrals.

Previous to the publication of the Prayer Book of 1637 a book of Canons for the Government and Order of the Church had been issued by the King in 1636. This bore on the title page that it had been "ratified and approved by His Majesty's Royal Warrant and ordained to be observed by the clergy and all others whom they (the canons) concern." These rules forbade among other things Ministers praying extempore and the holding of private meetings by presbyters or others for expounding scripture. Absurd though it may seem these canons required the clergy to assent to the Scots Book of Common prayer under pain of excommunication although that book had not then been printed. The Book of Canons was condemned by the Assembly of 1638 and never seems to have had much influence either in ecclesiastical circles or in any others.

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2. The Book was issued by Raban of Aberdeen.
3. A Presbyterian view of those canons will be found in Row's Historic 392-4. The Canons (abridged) may be seen in Taylor's Pictorial History of Scotland II, 514-5.
INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

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INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

It is somewhat remarkable that in our Reformation documents there is no reference to instrumental music. While many Roman practices are condemned in the first Book of Discipline and the Confession of Faith, nothing whatever is said against the use of organs or other instruments of music in the worship of God, and what is perhaps still more remarkable is that our great Reformer Knox nowhere in his History, Pamphlets, or Letters, has a word to say on the matter. While dealing heavy blows at much of the ritual of the Church of Rome and not sparing some of the works of the Church of England, he nevertheless passes by the question of the use of instruments in the Church in silence. He must have known that such were used. Indeed it is not too much to say that when he was an itinerating preacher in the Southern Kingdom it was in every way probable that he would officiate in Churches where organs or other instruments were used. There must too, have been a number of organs in Scotland at the time of the Reformation. Dunfermline possessed one as early as 1247 (1). The bull erecting St. Giles into a Collegiate

1. In 1565 Queen Mary kept Easter at Stirling and at the Mass in the Chapel Royal, we learn from Randolph, "Organs were wont to be the common music. She wanted now neither trumpet, drum nor pipe, bag-pipe nor tabor." Bain Cal. Scot Papers III. 138.

Church 1467 states among the duties of the Sacriston "to cause the organs and bells to be played." There is still preserved at Holyrood a picture showing James and his Queen Margaret of Denmark, which dates from about 1570, on which is an organ being played by St. Cecilia while an Angel blows the bellows. There is said to have been a particularly fine organ in Kirkwall while we find references to others in pre-reformation days in Ayr, Stirling, Aberdeen, and Holyrood. Doubtless there were also organs elsewhere. With the spoiling of the Church properties the organs did not escape. In Edinburgh in 1560-1 the Dean of Guild sold three "bellices of the organs" for six pounds which went to enrich the city finances. In 1574 the Session of Aberdeen decreed that the "organs with all expedition be removed out of the Kirk and made profit of to the use and support of the poor." This might be held to prove that the reformers had no use for instrumental music in their worship but on the same ground the destruction of so much communion plate at the Reformation might be held to prove that the Reformers did not observe the Lord's Supper. Wood's M.S. Psalter which dates from 1566 contains two coloured drawings

1. Lee's St Giles 42.
2. This picture was originally part of an altar painting, executed in all probability for Trinity College Chapel, Edinburgh.
4. Burgh Records 1559 George Cochrane delivered to James Kennedy Dean of Guild the key of the organ Loft.
6. Register of Privy Council 391.
7. "One pair of organs" were erected in 1557-8 but there were organs and an organist years before, Lord High Treasurer's accounts 133-230.
8. Dean of Guild accounts (1558-67) 117.
9. Selections from Ecc. Records (Spalding Club) 19. apparently the session had been forced to take this course by the Regent Morton (see note 6).
10. See pages -183 ff.
drawings of Musicians. The one on the title page of the "Treble" part is a young man holding a book in his right hand while his left is raised as if beating time. The other which is on the corresponding page of the "Tenor" part is an elderly man playing a wind instrument like a clarionet which he holds with his right hand, supporting his book of music with the left. On several of the other pages there are illuminated borders which contain small drawings of musical instruments, organs, trumpets, harps and viola. This indicates that in certain circles at any rate Reformation of Religion was not held to mean cessation of the use of instrumental music. This is borne out by what happened at Dumfries at Yule 1574. There the minister and reader declined to read the prayers in Church, so the people got another reader to come with tabron and whistle and caused him read the prayers which exercise they used all the days of Yule." The fact that it was the Reader who brought the whistle—probably some kind of reed instrument—would point to its having been used in the Church service. In the Chapel Royal at Stirling if not elsewhere there was a chief "Voilar" in 1586 and six years later we find an Act of Parliament being passed in favour of the Musicians of that Institution to secure to them the fruits

2. B.U.K. .. 334.
3. Rogers History of the Chapel Royal XCVIII.
4. Ibid .. C.
some of the Chapel Royal lands. "The organs and ornaments" says Rogers "of the Chapel Royal were preserved when those in cathedrals and other Churches were wrecked and ruined. But what the multitude had spared the Earl of Mar as Captain of the Castle caused to be swept away". Unfortunately Rogers does not quote any authority for this statement or rather the authority he does quote does not bear out what he says. The Scottish Parliament passed an act indemnifying the Captain of the Castle for his action in purging the Chapel of all monuments of idolatry and other things dedicated to superstition. But there is no mention whatever of organs or musical instruments of any kind in the act although other things which had been destroyed are referred to. This purgation took place in 1571 and the Chapel does not appear to have been much used for some years thereafter. When next we read of services being held there we find that musical instruments were again in use.

1. History of the Chapel Royal LXXV.

When Prince Henry the eldest son of King James was baptized in 1594 the 21st Psalm was sung "according to the art of musique" by the "Musicians" while after the banquet "thanks being given to God there was sung the 126th Psalm with divers voices and tunes and musical instruments playing". It is possible that the last item does not refer to psalm singing in the Chapel but in the Banqueting Hall. That musical instruments were used outside the churches for accompanying the singing of psalms in the period we are considering admits of no doubt when Queen Mary arrived in Scotland in 1561 from France. "a company" says Knox "of the most honest with instruments of music and with musicians gave their salutation at her chamber window." Bransome in his account of the Queen's arrival mentions that the instruments were "mechants violins et petit rebecs" and that Psalms were sung very badly. When King James made his state entry into Edinburgh in 1579 he was received by the Magistrates with great display and rejoicing "a company of musicians" says the historian "sang the 20th Psalm others playing upon the viols". That organs were still in use after 1560 is evidenced from the

1. Rogers History of Chapel Royal LXXXIV-V Calderwood History V 344-5 Calderwood Notes that Ministers were enjoined to withstand "the ministration of the baptism by Mr David Cunningham, styled Bishop of Aberdeen" who had given the assembly considerable trouble but he is silent as to any objections being raised to the Music.

2. Knox 11. 270.

3. Ibid. The Editor in a note gives the quotation from Bransome.

lines relating to the entry of Queen Anne to the Metropolis in May 1590.

Organs and regals there did carp;
With their gay glittering golden strings,
There were the hautboy and the harp
Playing maist sweet and pleasant springs,
And some on lutes did play and sing
Of instruments the only king.¹

The Queen was presented with a Bible and Psalm Book on her coming to the West Port which may indicate that some of the pieces sung were from the latter. Alexander Hume, Minister of Logie (1597-1609) published in 1599 a little book of "Hymns or Sacred Songs" in one of which we find the following verse.

"Even on my jolie lute by night,
And trembling treble string,
I shall with all my mind and might,
Thy Glory gladly sing."³

Though Hume could "praise God upon the lute" he did not approve altogether of instrumental music in the service of the sanctuary, for among the corruptions of the Church of England he mentions organs.⁴

1. Burrels "Description of the Queen's entry" quoted Chambers Domestic Annals of Scotland 1. 199.
2. Calderwood V-96.
3. Alexander Hume's Poems (Edited by Prof. Lawson) ST. S 16.
4. Ibid 177.
In 1617 the King had an organ placed in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood and arrangements made for choristers. On the day following his arrival, a fully choral service was held in the Chapel and before he left Scotland he gave orders that the Musical Service should be held daily. This however was not acted on, for writing in September to the King, Bishop Cowper who was Dean of the Chapel Royal says that the only service held since his Majesty's departure had been a baptismal one "where the organs and musicians, four in every part, men and boys agreed in pleasant harmony". In 1631 King Charles sent an order to the Archbishop regarding the setting up of organs in Cathedral Churches but there is little indication that the order was ever carried into effect, though five years later we find the Town Council of Edinburgh sending Dean Ramsay to Durham in order to inspect the Cathedral that he might superintend the building of an organ in St. Giles. It would appear that previous to 1631 there had been some slackness regarding instrumentalists in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood for in that year Edward Kellie who had been appointed by the King "for the ordering of our Chapel Royal" reported that he had deposed several of the musicians for inefficiency and that he had brought

1. Calderwood VII - 244.
2. Original Letters. II. 509. He also mentions that the organs had been somewhat damaged by ignorant people using them unskillfully.
3. Stevenson History 123.
4. So says Dr Sprott in his Introduction to the Book of Common Order LVIII. An examination of the Town Council Minute however shows that while the Dean went to Durham at the Council's Expense and set down "ane plot of the quair to be repaired within Sanct Geilles" nothing whatever is said about an organ. Minute 10th Feb. 1636.
an organist, two men for playing on cornets and sackbats and
two boys for singing divisions in the versus from England.
He also stated that he had received a "testificate" from the
Lords of His Majesty's Council that the service had never
before been so well rendered. After 1638 we hear no more
of instrumental music though it may be worthy of note that
nowhere in the records of the Assembly is there any mention
of it either good or bad. On the other hand Caldeewood shows
that he was against the use of organs or other musical
instruments of worship for in his work "The Pastor and the
Prelate" he says "The pastor loveth no music in the House
of God but such as edifieth and stoppeth his ear at
instrumental music as serving the pedagogy of the untoward
Jews under the law and being figurative of that spiritual
joy whereunto our hearts should be opened under the Gospel.
The Prelate loveth carnal and curious singing, to the ear
more than the spiritual melody of the Gospel and therefore
would have antiphony and organs in the Cathedral kirks upon
no greater reason than other shadows of the law of Moses,
or lesser instruments as lutes, citherus or pipes might be
used in other kirks". Rutherford too, was a zealous opponent
of such things. He includes organs in a list of "badges
of Jewish and popish religion" a list which includes altars,
surplices etc.  

1. Rogers History of the Chapel Royal CLXVI. Kellie states
that he had set up an organ, two flutes and two pandores
with viol and other instruments in a chamber in the
palace so that the Musicians could practice there.
2. Pastor and Prelate (Presbyterian Armoury 1).
3. Divine Right of Church Government 143.
He also asks "Who can say that the grace of Joy in the Holy Ghost wrought by the droning of organs......is a work of the Spirit merited by Christ." That Calderwood and Rutherford express the opinions of many of the Ministers of that period seems to be borne out by the Letter of the Assembly of 1644 to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, wherein the latter are congratulated because the "organs at Pauls and Peters have been taken down." This information had been conveyed to the Scottish Assembly by their Commissioners at London, whose letter shows that they were quite enthusiastic about the destruction of the instruments. Some years earlier the organ in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood had been destroyed by the people of Edinburgh during the troubles which arose over the introduction of 'Laud's Liturgy.' The "glorious organs of the Chapel Royal were masterfully broken down nor no service used there, but the whole chaplains, choristers and musicians discharged and the costly organs altogether destroyed and unusable." For a considerable time after the Reformation there does not appear to have been any great objection to Sunday Music, even when it was of a secular type. When

2. Peterkin Records 403. The Churches mentioned are St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, the official name of the latter being St. Peters, Westminster.
James VI went to worship at Dalkeith Parish Church in June, 1581, there were two pipers who 'played him,' from the church door to the palace. Piping on the Lord's Day would appear to have been quite allowable for not until nine years after the above date, do we find any reference to violation of the Sabbath by pipers at St. Andrews, when three of them were admonished to keep holy the Sabbath day, and not to use any 'piping in the night time in the streets.' In the West the authorities were not even so strict for when the Presbytery of Glasgow dealt with the matter in 1594 they only forebade playing on the pipes on the Sunday from the sun rising to the sun going down. At Elgin, they seem to have been somewhat more strict in what they allowed on the Sabbath. In 1592 a piper was charged with playing upon his great pipe 'on Sunday afternoon at time of preaching in contempt of God, His Word and Kirk.' He had to do penance standing in 'hairclayth.' The following year another piper got into trouble for going through the town

1. Lord High Treasurers Accounts 11th June, 1581. 'Item to one piper and one young boy, his son that played in Dalkeith upon Sunday 11th Day of June, frae the kirk to the castle before His Highness X X S.

2. Register 792.

3. Records Maitland Club Miscellany I. 67. It was then customary - as it was up to recent days - for the Burgh Piper to march the length of the Burgh morning and evening playing his instrument.

4. Records II. 26.27.
with "pipe and swesche" certain "raskell" being in his company on the evening before the fast. He was much more leniently dealt with than his fellow delinquent.¹ In 1584 the magistrates of Kirkcaldy prohibited "piping through the town on Sunday the time of preaching or prayers" showing that so far as the rest of the day was concerned there was no objection to Sunday Music.²

One instrument which the Church pressed into service is not now used in Scotland by any religious body except the Salvation Army. That is the Drum which was used in Elgin on a communion Sunday to "pass before the Bell rang" apparently to awaken the people. As the first bell rang at 2.30 a.m. one can well believe that there would be need for something of the kind.³ The use of a drum in the intimation of the hours of Sabbath service was customary in Glasgow at the beginning of the 17th Century.⁴

1. Records II. 31.
3. Records II 142. The Date is E15.
PUBLIC WORSHIP

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I. Daily Service

II. Lord's Day Service
   (a) Order of Service
   (b) Taking up the Book
   (c) The offering.

III. Postures etc
    (a) of the congregation
    (b) Bowing in the Pulpit
    (c) Private Devotions.

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PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Daily Service.

The order of Service given in the Book of Common
order consists of an exhortation followed by a prayer of
confession a psalm a prayer offered extempore sermon prayer
of intercession concluding with the Lord's Prayer, the
Apostles creed psalm and benediction. It will be noticed
at once that nothing is said as to the reading of scriptures
but that had already been provided for (so far as Scotland
was concerned) by the Book of Discipline which stated that
it was a thing most expedient and necessary for every church
to have a Bible in English and that the people should be
commanded to hear the plain reading or interpretation of the
scriptures as the church shall appoint. It also directed
that where no ministers could be had the "most apt men" that
could read the common prayers and scriptures distinctly were
were appointed for that purpose. Reading of the scriptures
was not considered to be so important as preaching for under
the ninth head of the Book of Discipline we find that the
things "utterly necessary" are that the word be truly
preached sacraments rightly administered common prayers
publicly made, children and rude persons instructed and the

1. An opening exhortation is still found and the Anglican
Prayer Book being a relic of King Edward's second prayer Book
which as has been noted was revised by the more extreme
of the reformers including Knox.
2. Nothing is said of the Version which should be used.
4. Ibid 196.
5. We must remember that the Book of Discipline was very
hurriedly drawn up and was never adopted as far as we know
either by the General Assembly or by Parliament. "It is of
no authority whatever and has never been of any authority"
Wotherspoon Doctrine and Law of the Church as to Ordination 18.
faith and offences corrected and punished. These are declared to be so necessary that "without the same there is no face of a visible kirk". Other things profitable but not necessary are singing of psalms and reading of scriptures when there is no preaching. In the same section of the book it is stated that while some churches might convene every day of the week others might not be able to do so more than twice or thrice a week others perhaps only once. Such matters were to be left to the individual churches. "In great towns" continue the writers "we think it expedient that every day there be either sermon or else common prayers with some exercise of reading of scriptures". There is some doubt as to whether the prayers were read on a week day when sermon was given for they go on to state "What day the public sermon is, we can neither require nor greatly approve that the common prayers be publicly used". The reason given being the fear of fostering superstition in the people who might come to the common prayers as they had formerly gone to mass or else give them occasion to think that the prayers made before and after sermon (probably these were offered extempore) were no prayers at all. The next paragraph it is true speaks of one day beside the Sunday in every notable town "being appointed to the sermon and prayers" but probably "prayers" here is not the same thing as "common prayers" and the preceding paragraph but refers to those offered by the minister who preached.

In 1580 Thomas Wod Reader at St. Andrews is directed "to read the prayers each Friday before and afternoon until God provide for the Friday's preaching" which

1. Knox II. 238.
2. Ibid.
indicates that the Book of Common order was not used when there was preaching on a week day. Seventeen years later there is another entry in the Register which may point to a change in the custom. "It is concluded by the Session that the sermon in time coming begin at eight hours on Wednesday and Friday and be ended by nine hours prayers and all or thereabout. It is probable however that both methods were followed some places having both common prayers and sermon others contenting themselves with one or the other. As is well known there were not nearly enough ministers to go over the churches requiring them in the early days of the reformed movement and consequently "readers" were appointed whose duty it was as has been said to read the common prayer and the scriptures. Many of these readers were ex-priests and in some cases simply remained in the parishes where they had formerly officiated. By 1574 most of the parishes had been provided with readers although there was only about one minister for every four churches. After regular incumbents had been appointed the office of reader still continued in spite of the fact that the Assembly of 1581 (April) declared that "the office of reader was no ordinary office in the Kirk of God!" and that in no time coming any reader be admitted to the office of reader by any having power within the kirk". This Act must have been more or less

1. Ibid. 828. The sermons then would appear to have been much shorter than they afterwards became. Burnet says of Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh "He preached with a zeal and vehemency that made him often forget all the measures of time; two or three hours was not extraordinary thing for him." Wodrow Biographical Collections 286. (new Spalding Club)

2. Wodrow has preserved a petition of date 1584 which a number of ministers whose names he gives refused to sign "with divers readers who were old priests before". Biographical Collections 38. see also, Scotts Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticae II. 98. 316. 324. III. 350 etc.

3. Readers formed one of the minor orders before the Reformation. As early as the 13th Century a papal decree had required each "presbyter qui plebem regit", to have an assistant who could sing and read at Divine service and also teach the young. Rashdall Universities II. 601. See also Ditchfield The Parish Clerk 20.

a dead letter for the office continued for many years afterwards. An overture presented to the Assembly of 1642 and by the members recommended to Parliament begins "Every Parish would have a reader", the intention being that he should also be schoolmaster. Often the reader was likewise the schoolmaster and in at least one case the offices of beadle, presentor and reader were held by one and the same person. The Reader conducted the prayers on weekdays usually leading the praise as well. As to reading the Scriptures, the rules laid down, in the Book of Discipline, did not allow like full liberty of choice as to what portions he should read. In that work it was stated that the Scriptures should be read in order "that is some one book of the Old and of the New Testament be begun and read orderly to the end." The same rule was to apply to preaching for "this skipping and divagation from place to place of the Scripture be it in reading or be it in preaching we judge not so profitable to edify the church as the continual following of one text." One is somewhat surprised to learn that the choice of the texts for preaching was not always left to the officiating minister for in 1598 the session of St. Andrews passed the following resolution "It is thought good by the brethren that Mr George Gladstone proceed in preaching of the Second Book of Samuel and the Books of the Kings.

1. Is it possible that the act means no more than that there should be no admission ceremony when a reader is appointed? Readers speedily began to usurp the function of the ministry and this act may have been meant to emphasise the distinction between Reader and Minister.
2. Records of the Kirk 327.
3. Records of the Burgh of Mainburgh IV. 94. The church was the East Kirk and the date Feb. 1584.
following, upon the Sabbath day. "In Aberdeen some twenty years later, (in 1620) we find the following minute of the session. "Doctor Forbes having ended the Epistle to the Hebrews......he is appointed to teach next, God willing, the Epistle of Paul to the Romans" The authority for this action came from the Book of Discipline where the matter of "what books of the scriptures shall be most profitable to be read" is referred to the wisdom of the ministers and elders.

As the minister went through the book prescribed he was said to be preaching his "ordinary." Wodrow speaks of Patrick Simpson of Stirling preaching his "ordinary" from the 28th Chapter of St. Matthew, and giving some offence to Lord Dunbar by his references to bribery. The sessions sometimes instructed the ministers as to their prayers. We find the Session of St. Andrews in 1587 ordering the reader and minister to pray for Queen Mary then imprisoned at Fotheringham. The request that such prayers be offered came from King James through Patrick Adamson Archbishop of St. Andrews, but the day on which the request was made was the day of the Queen's execution though this was of course not known till some time afterwards. One finds in the documents of the period quite a number of references to the Daily prayers offered in the church. In 1583 the "Blue gowns" as the Kings Bedesmen

1. Register of St. Andrew Kirk Session II. 856.
2. Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen. 87. It may be noticed that the title Saint is not given to St Paul although these were the days of the first Episcopacy.
4. Knox II. 245. ( )
5. Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session 583.4 "The Session has concluded that the Minister at each sermon and the reader, at each time when he says the prayers, pray publicly for the Kings Grace's Mother as is desired."
were called had "to keep the prayersilk day and the sermon every preaching day sitting altogether in the parish kirk." In 1595 the Kirk Session of Glasgow ordered "Prayers to be read in the High Kirk at seven in the morning and at five in the evening in the New Kirk." Writing of his experiences as a student in St. Andrews in 1572 James Melville speaks of the prayers in the Kirk every morning with which was combined "doctrine." Six years later, when he was a Regent in Glasgow he speaks of the Students going to the Kirk hard adjacent where the people convened and the Regent read the common prayers with a chapter or two. He adds that when it came his turn he added some "notes of doctrine with exhortation." The year 1584 is reckoned among the disastrous years in the annals of the Scottish Presbytery.... "says Hume Brown. "By the close of August almost all the leading Ministers (as well as many others) had to seek refuge in England." Melville has preserved to us the rules approved for worship among those stalwarts who would not give way to the King and who were in consequence in exile in England. From these rules we learn that "common prayers" were to be read twice a day at ten in the forenoon and four in the afternoon. A psalm was to be "read and handled" but the whole time occupied was not to exceed half-an-hour. For the exercise of doctrine and prayer everyone who could read was to have a Bible and a Psalm Book.

1 Ibid 504. A similar rule was enforced in 1638 in at Elgin with the "bedesmen" Records 11. 233.
2 Wodrow Life of Weems 22.
3 Autobiography 27.
4 Ibid 55. 6.
5 History of Scotland 11. 196.
6 Autobiography 131. 3.
Sermons were to be preached on Wednesday and Friday, and we may take it that these Scots were following as far as possible the custom of their own land. In Elgin Morning prayers were at nine o'clock and evening prayers at four. No person was allowed to sell fish there in the Market until Morning prayers were over. Catechising was sometimes carried through at Evening Prayers. Apparently the practice of singing psalms at prayers in Elgin had been dropped for the custom was revived in 1600. It was not until 1640 that the singing of Psalms at Evening Prayers was instituted at Aberdeen though they seem always to have been sung in the morning. In that year the Master of the Grammar School with his scholars was required to attend Evening Prayers both Summer and Winter and after "reading of the prayers to praise the Lord by singing of psalms with the congregation in all time coming." A favourite time for the Session meeting seems to have been "after the evening prayers." Calderwood speaks of Robert Bruce who was banished from Edinburgh to Inverness in 1605 how to be taught "every Sabbath before noon and every Wednesday and read the prayers every other night at even."  

1. Records of Elgin 11. 71. 85. 175. etc.  
2. Extracts from Records (3.R.S.) 198. It will be noticed that despite the date prayers are still being read.  
3. History VI. 291. 2.
Many other instances might be given. One may suffice. Rothes who it may be recalled took a leading part in the preparation of the National Covenant mentions with regard to the suppression of the Daily Service after the Jenny Geddes riot "The Bishops.... did inhibit the ordinary morning and evening prayers customable in Edinburgh since the Reformation."4

Preaching on week days was also common at least in the towns. Henderson writing a little after the time of the Glasgow Assembly says that week day sermons "in cities and towns used to be at least two days every week."5

One may add that it was not only in the towns that daily service was held for writing circa 1628 the Minister of the rural parish of Channelkirk mentions that he had parishioners of Lauder among his "daylie auditouris" they being nearer his church than their own.6

Allan History of Channelkirk 145.

5. Government and order of the Church of Scotland 16.
It will be noticed that these daily services were never too long, an hour being the maximum allowed.

Some preachers evidently liked to give more than their sessions desired and at Elgin in 1622 the preacher was threatened with a fine of six and eightpence if he exceeded his "glass." (At that time as for many years before and after the length of service was measured by the hour glass). A different spirit animated the next generation for in 1651 the Session of the Barony of Glasgow remonstrated with their pastor the wellknown Zachary Boyd about "the soon skailing of the Barony kirk on Sunday afternoon." At Dumbarton the Minister seems to have read the prayers himself and to have added an exposition of the chapters read. He stopped giving the exposition and the Town Council showed their appreciation of their Minister by passing the following resolution urging him to recommence the exposition at least on preaching days. " In respect that he (the Minister) has left off his exposition of the ordinary chapters daily at prayers morning and evening and hearing by misreport that the town loathed the Word on preaching days, the council requested the said Minister - in token and to

1. See Page./* 5
2. Records II. 167.
3. In 1554 the treasurer of Edinburgh paid 4/- for an hour glass for the "Friar in the pulpit" Records II.335.
to testify their gude affection to the Word of God -
to supply and help that want and give exposition of the
Chapters (the lack of ) which is a grief unto them, to
preach unto them as God will assist him on Thursday
in the morning between eight and nine."

In the earlier days of the Reformed Church Wednesday
and Friday were the days usually devoted to "preaching"
but in 1600 King James ordered that every Tuesday
should be the day ordinarily given to this exercise.
This was meant to commemorate His Majesty's deliverance
from the Ruthvens 2 The change seems to have been
aissced in though in some cases not for a year or so.
In 1602 in Elgin the preaching day was still Wednesday
but in the following year it was Tuesday there being
however no reference to the change in the deliberations
of the Session.

1. Irving Dumbartonshire 299.
2. Calderwood V.76. Register of St Andrews 935 - 6.
3. Records II. 101 - 118.
As has been noted Common Prayers were read by the readers on the week days when there was no sermon by the minister. On Sundays the two services seem to have been combined, the minister beginning where the reader left off. The Church bell having been rung half an hour or so earlier to warn the people to prepare for worship the "second bell" marked the beginning of the readers service. In many places the bell is still rung as for that diet of worship although the reason for it is altogether forgotten. The reader read the prayers with portions of Scripture and the congregation joined together in singing metrical psalms. This part of the service lasted about ten hours and at its close the bell rang again, the minister entered the pulpit and after a "conceived" prayer began his sermon. After having preached he offered prayer either extempore or as given in the prayer book concluding with a psalm and the benediction. Sometimes he had two prayers before his sermon with a psalm between.

We have several interesting accounts of the Services in the first half of the 17th Century written by contemporaries. Among the writings of William Cowper Bishop of Galloway there is preserved a little work entitled "Seven days conference between a Catholic Christian and a Catholic Roman." The former takes the latter to church on Sunday and the following dialogue ensues.

1. In 1597 the session of St. Andrews ordered the two readers to be present in the Kirk hereafter at the second bell to Sermon each Sunday before and afternoon that Chapters of the word of God be read and psalms be sung continually, until the minister be in (the) pulpit$. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session. 833.
R. What is the people going to do.

C. They bow themselves before the Lord to make a humble confession of their sins and supplications for mercy which you will hear openly read by the public reader. Now when it is done what think ye of the prayer.

R. Truly I think there is nothing in it but that whereunto every good Christian should say Amen, and it hath done me much good to see the people with humble reverence sighing and groaning accompanying the prayer up to God. But what are they now to do?

C. Every one is preparing (as you see) their Psalm book that all of them with one heart and mouth may sing unto the Lord. There is the Psalm which the reader hath proclaimed if you please you may sing with them or if you cannot follow them in your heart.

R. So I will what doth the reader now. Is he making another prayer.

C. No yonder book which now he opens is the Bible. You will hear him read some portion of Holy Scripture. Understand you what he sayeth.

R. Yes forsooth well enough for he reads very distinctly.

C. These are the three exercises which are used in all our congregations every Sabbath one hour before the preacher comes in first prayer then psalms then reading of Holy Scripture and by these the hearts of the people are prepared the more reverently to hear the word and you see all is done with great quietness devotion and reverence.

R. But what are they doing now.

C. You hear the third bell ring and in this shall the reading ceaseth and at the end of the bell ringing the preacher will come.
R. ..... There comes the preacher and now (I pray you) tell me how I should behave myself.

C. Trouble you not, do as you see others beside you for first he will conceive a prayer at the which the people humble themselves; thereafter he reads his text of holy scripture. This the people hear with reverence; then he falls to the preaching which some hear with their heads covered some otherwise in that you may do as your health requires. The preaching being ended he concludes all with a thanksgiving after which there is a psalm sung by the whole congregation and then the minister blesseth the people in the name of the Lord and so dimits them. We do not know the exact date at which the service was supposed to be held but as Cowper died in 1619 it must have been some years before then.

Some years later we have another description this time by an English gentleman Sir William Brereton of the County of Chester. He was a Puritan in religion and visited Scotland in 1635. He appears to have taken considerable interest in ecclesiastical matters for we find quite a number of reference to such in the account he left of his visit. On his first Sunday in Scotland he went to the College church Edinburgh and this is what he says of the service "The order that is observed in the worship of God is this; upon the Lords day they do assemble twixt eight and nine hours in the morning and spend the time in singing psalms and reading chapters in the Old Testament until about ten hours, then the preacher comes into the pulpit and the psalm being ended he reads a printed and prescribed prayer which is an excellent prayer; this being ended another psalm is sung and then he prays before sermon and concludes his sermon betwixt eleven and twelve hours and during the intermission until

1 Cowper's Works 639.
the afternoon's exercise which begins soon after one, and is performed in the same manner as in the morning save the chapters then read out of the New Testament and they conclude about four hours." Alexander Henderson the famous covenanting divine has left us a third account which agrees in the main with the two already given. It is contained in a small book entitled "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland" which was published anonymously at Edinburgh in 1641 but which is known now to have been from Henderson's pen. Writing of Divine Service on the Lord's day he says "Notice is given of the time by the sound of a bell. When so many of all sorts Men and Women, Masters and Servants young and old as shall meet together are assembled the public worship beginneth with prayer and reading some portion of Holy Scripture both of the Old and New Testament which the people hear with attention and reverence and after reading the whole congregation joineth in singing some psalm. This reading and singing continue to the preaching begin at which time the minister having prefaced a little for quickening and lifting up the hearts of the people first maketh a prayer for remission of sin, sanctification and all things needful joining also confession of sins and thanksgiving with special relation to the hearers after which is another psalm and after the psalm a prayer for a blessing upon the preaching of the word ...... After sermon he praiseth God and prayeth again for a blessing joining

2. This indicates where the readers service finished. Henderson's Spok was republished in 1690 and the editor of that edition puts as a marginal note "This form is little altered ...... Now the reading of scripture is performed by the minister."
3. It will be noticed that both Brereton and Henderson speak of two prayers before Sermon. Baillie mentions this as being the regular Scots practice Letters II 123
earnest petition for the Church universal and for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ for all the afflicted Churches, for the Churches in His Majesty's dominions, for the Church of Scotland ministry and people for the King the Queen the Prince and their whole royal progeny for all the members of that particular congregation as well absent on their lawful affairs as present for all that are afflicted among them in body mind or means. The prayer ended a psalm is sung and the people dismissed with the blessing." Henderson deals more briefly with the second service which he says is either the same as the morning one "or some part of the catechism is expounded and thereafter so much time as may be spared is bestowed on catechising some part of the parish warned particularly to attend." We find in the Kinghorn Session Records a parishioner being debarred from the Lord's Table for interrupting "Gods Public Worship" by interfering with the minister when he was "employed in catechizing". The catechisms used were (a) Calvin's catechism which was bound up with practically every edition of the Book of Common Order up to 1611. This is divided into 55 portions for successive Sundays, (b) The Heidelberg Catechism which like Calvin's was of great authority among the Reformed. It was printed by Waldegrave in 1591 and authorised by the Kings Majesty in Scotland."

1. Government and Order of the church of Scotland - 17
Sometimes the second diet is called "the catechisme"
(Register of St. Andrews Kirk session 793. The date in 1594.)
See also Life of Weems 7. In 1580 the Assembly ordered the ministers - especially out of Burghs - to have a diet of Catechising in the Sabbath afternoons. Calderwood History. III. 472
2. Extracts from Minutes of Kirk Session of Kinghorn 62.
3. Dickson and Edmond Annals of Scottish Printing 416. Wodrow Biographical Collections 54, says it was approved by the Assembly.
It is also bound up with the 1615 edition of the Book of Common Order. It is sometimes called the Palatinate Catechism and is divided into 52 Sunday parts (e). The little catechism of the manner to examine children before they be admitted to the supper of the Lord. This was in use from 1564 when it was subjoined to Calvins catechism. The General Assembly of 1592 thought good to have it superseded by (d) "Form of Examination before the Communion" which had been drawn up by John Craig. (e) Short sum of the whole catechism also by Craig somewhat fuller than (d) It dates from 1581. Private catechisms were also used in many places. Apparently the method employed was for the children to repeat the catechism in the presence of the congregation and thereafter the minister expounded the doctrine contained therein. James Melville states that as he had a clear voice the minister of Montrose got him to rehearse a part of Calvins catechism on "the Sabbaths at afternoon." It did not always happen that the catechism used by the children was the same as that expounded by the Minister for on "Sunday the 9th April 1598 the brethren (of St Andrews Session) ordinans Mr. David Lindsay minister to teach upon Master Calvins Catechism, and the bairns to answer him conform to the Common Catechise In Elgin catechising seems always to have been on a week day. In 1601 two scholars are appointed to read the.

1. E.J.U.K. II, 79. The Little catechism was however in use in 1595 however later. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 810.
2. All these with the exception of (d) will be found in Bonars Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation.
3. E.g. at Kilrenny where James Melville used his own Autobiography 12. A catechism named Nicholsons Catechism was in use at Elgin in 1597. Records of Elgin II, 53. In later days private catechism became very numerous so that Dr Forbes preaching before Charles I. in 1633 complains that almost every minister uses one of his own manufacture. Gilroy Doctrine of the Church. The Church of Scotland IV, 206.
4. Autobiography 22. The date is 1570.
5. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 848. It is not clear what "the Common Catechise" was. It may have been a privat one.
catechism, the one apparently stating the question and the other giving the answer. This was also the custom at Aberdeen in 1604 where the catechising took place between the second and third bells at the afternoon service. Cowpar and Brereton both mention that the preacher came into the church after the Reader's service was finished but this though general was not universal. Writing to an unknown ministerial correspondent in 1640 Samuel Rutherford states that for the minister to engage in private devotion when "the people are praising or hearing the word read" is wrong and can no more be defended than private reading or praying on the part of the members while the minister in addressing them.

Henderson does not mention the reader by name but his statement that "reading and singing do continue until the preaching begin" shows that with him worship was conducted as it was elsewhere. Henderson judging from the prayers which he offered at the Glasgow Assembly and at the swearing of the Covenant used the Lord's Prayer at the conclusion of the "prayer before sermon". Though neither Cowper nor Brereton mention the Lord's Prayer there is little doubt as to its use. Andrew Ramsay Moderator of the Aberdeen Assembly in 1640 writing some years later mentions that among the innovations which had been introduced since 1638 was the leaving off the Lord's Prayer at the end of public prayer as had

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1. Records II. 95.
2. Selections from Ecclesiastical Records 38.
been usual formerly. Burnet in his "Vindication of the Church of Scotland" writing of the period immediately after 1638 speaks of the disuse of the Lord's Prayer in worship and states that the General Assembly took this in very ill part. Baillie blames the Brownists for much of this as they taught the people to "scunner at both" the Lord's Prayer and the Belief. Calderwood had no sympathy with such and was as much opposed to the ways of the "sectaries" as to those of the Prelates. He held that all prayer should be modelled on the Lord's Prayer and on the Prayers of the godly in divers part of Scripture. There is likewise no mention of the use of the creed in public worship. It was sometimes transferred to the Reader's Service and was read on week days as well as on Sundays. The Ten Commandments were similarly used. A knowledge of these as well as of "chief articles of our Belief" was required of all who were admitted to the Lord's table.

1. Wodrow M.S. Life of Ramsay. See Spratt Introduction to Book of Common Order XXXI.
5. Selections from Session Records of Aberdeen (Spalding Club) 38 the date of the entry is 1604. At Elgin in 1604 a worshipper was ordered to "keep the evening prayers till he learned his belief." Records 129.
Henderson in his description of the Scottish Service mentions that it was the custom for the Ministers to "preface a little for the quickening and uplifting up of the hearts of the people." This preface was a short address on something like the lines of the Exhortation before the confession in the Anglican Liturgy though it would appear that the custom was for each minister to prepare his own. After the dropping of the Reader's service, the "preface" was removed to another point of the order of worship and it became customary to "preface" the first psalm which was sung. The custom prevailed up to our own day. When rightly performed it was well qualified both to delight and edify the worshippers though one fears that there were many "prefaces" which did neither being simply pious remarks offered on the spur of the moment. One of the most interesting examples of "prefacing" is that mentioned by Wodrow in his Analecta of Patrick Simpson of Renfrew one of the "Antedeluvians" who at a Communion in 1710 wished "to testify his Communion with the whole Christian Church by the Public using of the Lord's Prayer." He prefaced the prayer with a short address saying that there were three things which bore Christ name. The Lord's day. The Lord's Supper and the Lord's Prayer."After he had spoken a while on the former two he spoke a little upon the use of the Lord's Prayer and first repeated and then prayed over the different petitions with pretty large enlargements upon each of them."

1. See Page.
2. The writer has never heard it done but he has known Ministers who were in the habit of doing it.
3. The "Devotional Psalter" of Dr Smith of Biggar was largely made up of "Prefaces" used in Worship.
Baillie mentions that this question of Prefacing was discussed by the Divines at Westminster and that after a long debate on the expediency of it.

We learn in a somewhat curious way that exposition of the chapters read in Public Worship was practised in some parts of Scotland. In the Scots Kirk at Rotterdam in 1643 the minister added an exposition to the chapter he had read much to the surprise of his congregation who objected to his action as savouring of "Brownism or Popery" a somewhat strange combination. In defence of his action however the minister quoted a letter which he had received from the Scots Ministers in London (Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly) to the effect that exposition was "not only lawful but since the Reformation has been always practised in some of the kirks of Scotland." It was allowed by the Directory and from this permission there arose the Lecture which was for so long a prominent feature of the Scottish service.

1. Letters II. 123
2. Steven History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam 8-11
Another part of the service which a number of those who were "sectarianly" inclined took to omitting was the General Confession of Knox's book. This as has been said was common Confession of the Reformed Liturgies and formed a link between the Church of Scotland and the Reformed Churches abroad. This however would not appeal to those who were bent on throwing away so much of what left the church had inherited from the Reformers.

The matter came before the Assembly of 1640 when it was stated that there were Ministers - who seem mostly to have hailed from the South West - who would not read the Common Confession of sins and condemned the reading of it or of any set prayer at all. When they came to a Kirk they would stay outside rather than go in until the Common Confession of sins was read if they "understand that the Minister is wont to read it." Those who thus troubled the church seem according to Baillie to have come under the influence of English and Irish Puritans for there seems to have been little if any native opposition to these Scottish usages. The extract shows how even after Knox's book continued to be used even by Ministers (Bremeton indicates that the reading of the Confession by the Minister was still in use at the time of his visit 1635)

1. Account of Assembly of 1640 Wodrow M.S.S. Advocates Library Quoted Sprott. Worship during the Covenanting Period - 11.
3. See Page.
One of the most characteristic examples of Scottish Ritual is the carrying of the Bible and Psalter into the pulpit by the Beadle previous the entrance of the Minister. This custom once universal has begun to decline in some places but it is still maintained in many churches. It has been suggested that the custom is not of any great age in the Kirk of Scotland but came into vogue with written sermons, and if that were so it would not date beyond the middle of the 18th century. The practice is however much older than that though so far I have only seen one early reference to it. In 1593 among the duties assigned to the Beadle by the Kirk Session of Glasgow are the following "to ring the bell to sermon and prayers open the kirk door and bring in the readers book". It may not be out of place to notice that there is a somewhat similar custom in the Greek Church where the procession of the clergy into the church is headed by one carrying a book of the Gospels. It is just possible that the custom in Scotland arose from the similar practice in civil life of a mace being carried before some of the officers of state as a emblem of authority.

1. Wodrow Life of Weems 60.
THE OFFERING.

No mention is made either in the Book of Common Order or the Book of Discipline as to how the alms of the people were to be collected. In the latter it is stated to be the duty of every several church to provide for the poor within itself and that the office of the Deacons was to receive the rents, gather the alms of the church and distribute the same as the Ministers and elders directed. As is well known very few of the "rents of the church" came to the poor who accordingly were dependent upon what was collected by the various congregations. The methods of gathering the alms varied in the different congregations. In Aberdeen in 1575 there is a reference to the "almous collectit at the kirk dure" indicating that the method so long employed in Scotland was then in use. In Glasgow in 1587 there is mention of "Buttock mail for poor householders" which appears to have been a silver collection made in the church for the poor. In some places the offering was made not at the church door but at the church yard gate a method still employed in some country parishes. In St. Andrews in 1595 the Session passed a number of "statutes" relating to the well being of the church there. The 13th head runs thus. "It is statute and ordained

2. Ibid 236.
4. Wodrow Life of Weems 43. It may have been a charge for sitting accommodation in the church. The ordinary collection was taken at the "Kirk dores", collectors being appointed to gather the same. Weems 44.
that whosoever be warned to pass with the poor folks boards to collect the poor folks alms Sunday, Wednesday and Friday and refuses, shall pay as muckle for that day as his neighbour that day collects who goes with the other board, unforgiven unless he have some reasonable excuse verified and known to the Session." This indicates that the offering was collected within the church on Sundays and preaching days. A somewhat similar rule was in operation at Elgin in 1591. In later days (1636) it was the custom there to take the offering at the Communion in basons at the table.

In 1611 it seems to have been the practice in some parts of the Synod of Fife to gather the alms during the singing of the Psalm. In Laud's Liturgy the offering at communion after the Nicene Creed and before the prayer for the "Church militant here in earth". And while it is being uplifted by a "Deacon" or Churchwarden the Presbyter is directed to read one or more Scripture sentences. When all have given their collection the basin containing them was to be laid on the Communion Table. There is nothing whatever corresponding to this in Cowper's Draft and it is very questionable whether this method was ever employed outside of some of the Cathedrals.

1. Register 810
2. Records 20.
3. Ibid 232.236.
4. Records of the Synod (Abbotsford Club) 32
5. Deacon here does not mean the Scottish but the Anglican Deacon.
6. The method is that of the contemporary English Book but the sentences read by the Presbyter differ, and there was no direction in the other that the offerings were to be placed on the Holy Table.
That the practice of taking the offerings during Divine Service was continued during the 17th Century is proved by the Act of the Assembly of 1648 which "inhibited and discharged" the same as "being a very great and unseemly disturbance of Divine Worship." 1

The Westminster Assembly a few years earlier had made a regulation with regard to the Communion Service which may have had a similar meaning. "The collection for the Poor is so to be ordered that no part of the public worship be thereby hindered." 2 In spite of such acts however the practice still continued. In the covenanting Parish of Balmaghie the practice of lifting the offering by "ladle" has existed for many generations and is mentioned incidentally in a minute of 1701 though these the ladles are termed "boxes" 3.

It seems to have been the custom there to lift the collection just before the "blessing" and somewhat later than the date mentioned there is recorded the case of an elder putting his hand into the "box" during the blessing.

1. Records of the Kirk 515.
2. See Directory.
4. Reid The Kirk above Dee Water 90.
The usual posture in prayer was kneeling which Cowper mentions under the name "humbled". This is enjoined in the Book of Geneva in the rubric before the first prayer in the Order of Baptism. In the order for the General Fast it is noted that "the minister himself with the people shall prostrate themselves and remain in private meditation a reasonable space." When Randolph's young French gentleman went to Service in Glasgow in 1560 he attracted attention by "standing while other men kneeled upon their knees". Seventeen years later the Kirk Session of that city enjoined "all persons in time of prayer to bend their knee to the ground" and the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1597 made a similar injunction. Kneeling seems to have been the posture in which penitents "made their humiliation" before the congregation. Calderwood notes that at the Synod of Perth in 1607 Lord Scone got into a great rage because the brethren insisted on choosing their own moderator (these were the days when King James was trying to enforce constant moderators on the church). The Moderator Henry Livingstone having been elected said "Brethren let us begin at God and be humbled in the name of Jesus Christ" whereupon they all knelt. Calderwood also mentions in his treatise on the worship of the

2. Wodrow Life of Weems 22.
4. Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session 590.
5. History VI. - 651.
church that it was the custom to kneel in prayer though they were not obliged to do so. With regard to the posture at praise it is not so easy to speak. Standing at praise was the custom of the Roman Church and Dr. Lee was of opinion that the Reformers followed this custom. It may have been so; but the matter is doubtful. After the Westminster Assembly the custom was to sit and it is difficult to say whether this was an innovation. It is quite possible that the custom came in with the long prayers which began to be used as the Book of Common Order was being discontinued. It is said that in the Orkney Islands standing to sing has been the practice from the Reformation and it may be that the congregations there have maintained what was the original custom among the Reformed in Scotland. There is no doubt that in Orkney standing to sing has been the practice for a very long time for it existed in the 18th century and even then was regarded as ancient. (The reading of the line another 'innovation' never seems to have been in use there at all). On the other hand Melville mentions in his Autobiography the case of William Cranstow (Minister of Falkland?) Moderator of the Synod of Fife who went into the church at Dysart previous to the opening of the Synod, during the Reader's service and sat in the pulpit while the people were singing Psalms. The Reader's service ended the Minister gave

1. Altare Damascus 785.
2. Reform of the Church of Scotland 91.
3. Dr. Livingstone was of another opinion. "Sitting," he says "must have been the only posture at Præise" Scottish Psalter 58.
4. The bells of Kirkwall Cathedral are still rung at the hours of the old Masses.
out a Psalm to be sung and a bailie of the town came to him and told him that he was to give way to another "and I" said the minister "command you in the name of God to sit down in your place and hear what the Lord will say unto you by me". The arrangement of the tunes in the old psalm book shows that one book was used by two persons who faced each other. Dr. Sprott thought that this indicated that the posture while singing was standing. Dr. Wauchope Stewart 3 appears to have no doubt that it showed that the posture was sitting and there the matter may be left.

Two other customs may be referred to. The one relates to covering the head in time of preaching. Penitents had to appear in church "bare headed in time of sermon" which shows that other members must have kept their heads covered. 4 Knox too mentions that Lord Huntly pulled down his bonnet over his eyes when the preacher rebuked idolatry and other vices. 5 Cowper remarks that the hearer might wear his hat if he cared or if the state of his health required it. 6 We find Lord Dunbar "pulling down his hat in time of sermon", while listening to the Minister of Stirling, Patrick Simpson in 1610. Gillespie mentions when dealing with Ceremonies that if a man came into the church and saw the hearers with their heads covered he would know by this "customable

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1. Melville Autobiography 717. The date of the incident was 1607.
2. Introduction to Book of Common Order LVI.
3. Music in the Church 146.
6. See page.
7. Life and death of Mr. Patrick Simpson, Wodrow Select Biographies I. 18.
sign that sermon is begun". Nor was it only the listeners who were thus covered. At the opening of the Perth Assembly of 1618 Archbishop Spottiswood who 2.

presided wore his hat all the time he was preaching. The practice was forbidden by the Canons of 1636 but these were never regarded by the church as a whole as in any way binding. While the men sat covered during the sermon the same privilege was not allowed to women who were forbidden to have their plaids about their heads in Church. If they dared to disobey the beadle 4.

had orders to pull their plaids down. The church it may be noted did not stand alone in forbidding the wearing of plaids over the head. The Town Council of Edinburgh did so in 1630 and again in 1636. The reason given for the act was that "matrons could not be discerned from loose living women". Women were also forbidden to lie down in church in time of prayer. When they did this they were apt to fall asleep and a similar reason was alleged for the prohibition of the plaid.

The other custom was that of the separation of the sexes in the church as is still the custom in the East. It is sometimes said that for many years after the Reformation parish churches had no seats and the worshippers had either to stand or bring stools. This

1. English Popish Ceremonies 114. (Presbyterian Armoury I.)
2. Peterkin Records of the Kirk 162.
3. The custom survived in the Scots Kirk Rotterdam till the 19th century. The Bishop of Moray made a similar rule in Elgin in 1624.
5. Chambers Domestic Annals II. 54-5 Aberdeen House of Commons resolution in 1630.
6. Kirk Session Records Kinghorn considering the indecency of plaids about women's heads in church on the Sabbath and that it is a means to provoke sleep appoints it to be discharged and a fine exacted of the contraversers. "Extracts 44. John Row of Carnock made a similar rule See Row's Historie XXIII."
however is not altogether correct. There were, "dams", in the church of Linlithgow in Pre Reformation days and doubtless in other churches as well, After 1560 seats were continued in at least some of the churches of which the records of that early period are still extent. But as has been said separate seats were allocated to the different sexes. In 1598 the Session of St. Andrews ordained that "the whole women's seats fixed within the church be removed with expedition for eschewing of troubles among women in the Kirk." In 1586 in Glasgow where there do not seem to have been fixed seats, the session caused the old pulpit stores to be laid in "for the women to sit upon". In 1598 at Elgin the elders ordered "that all the fixed stools for the women be raised and put forth out of the kirk." The reason for so doing does not appear and the order was not immediately carried out. Two years later however the session settled that all the fixed women's stools in the kirk be removed incontinent after our dissolving furth of this session.

In Aberdeen the Town Council insisted on church attendance by the burgesses their wives and families and in 1598 drew up a tariff of fines for the punishment of those who disobeyed the husband being responsible for his wife and the master for his servant.

1. Pitscotties History S.T.S. I. 258.
2. Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session 864.
4. Records of Elgin II. 63.
5. Ibid 79.
From the minute recording this we learn that the custom of separation of the sexes in worship prevailed at Aberdeen as well as elsewhere. "Likewise following the example of other well reformed congregations of this realm, (the council) statutes and ordains that the wives of all burgesses of guild and of the most honest substantions craftsmen of this burgh shall sit in the midst and body of the kirk in time of sermon and not in the side aisles nor behind pillars to the effect that they may more easily see and hear the deliverer and preacher of the word and siclike ordains that the women of the ranks aforesaid shall repair to the kirk every one of them having a cloak as the most comely and decent outer garment and not with plaids as has been frequently used and that every one of them likewise shall have stools so many as may commodiously have the same according to the decent form observed in all reformed burghs and congregations of this realm." It is possible that the ladies may have had a service for themselves. At least the wording of a minute of 1596 of the Glasgow Session to the effect that "all women servants be in the kirk by seven in the morning to hear the word of God preached" might bear that meaning. Three years later the session ordered that "no woman sit upon or occupy the forms men should sit upon but either 'sit laigh' or else bring stools with them." This order was revived in a somewhat different form in 1604 when all women were made to sit together in the New Kirk.

2. Wodrow Life of Weems 17.
It would be interesting to know when this old custom came to an end. It may still have been in use up to 1636 for in that year the Glasgow Session gave leave to Dr Strong to build a seat for his wife.

The extract given above from the St. Andrews Register shows that the behaviour of the worshippers left something to be desired. No one can read the old session records without finding that quarrels and squabbles were only too frequent in time of public worship.

Speaking at a meeting of the Estates in 1616 Sir Thomas Hamilton Lord Binning (better known perhaps as 'Tam o' the Cowgate) said "that the parish churches and churchyards were more frequented upon the Sunday for advantage of neighbourly malice and mischief than for God's Service". This is perhaps hardly justifiable as it stands, but there is at least a certain amount of justification for the statement. At Perth two magistrates were regularly on duty at Communion sessions in the 16th century "to prevent indecency and any tumult". At Stirling in 1597 we have reference to "spelling of the wine, thrusting and shouting" at the Lord's Table, the people being admonished "to use themselves more reverently" Baillie referring to the conduct of the people at the time of the Glasgow Assembly remarks "they might learn from Canterbury yea from the Pope from the Turks or pagans - modesty and manners"

1. Ibid. 12. That it was still in use in 1619 may be inferred from a ruling of the Session that "honest men rather than boys and servants" be allowed to sit in one of the lofts. The Session had seats for themselves both at Glasgow (supra) and St Andrews (Register 942), Elgin, (Records 107)
2. In 1608 the session of Kinghorn put one of the worshippers into the "gouge" for striking his neighbour upon the haffet in time of preaching.
"Our rascals" he continues, "make such din and clamour in the House of the true God that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber I could not be content till they were down the stairs." Nor was irreverence confined to the laity. Among the charges laid against Thomas Forrester minister of Melrose at the Glasgow Assembly were those of sitting at preaching and prayer, and making a way through the church for his kine and sheep. One special form of irreverence was rushing out of church before the blessing had been given. As early as 1587 the session of Glasgow had to deal with this matter and to order contraveners to be censured. In 1608 and again in 1625 the Session of Kinghorn had to do the same. In 1593 the Session of St Andrews dealt with a man "for playing on the Sabbath, extraordinary drinking, ding of his wife and passing furth of the Kirk before the blessing be given". One is somewhat surprised to find that all that was done to him was that he was admonished to abstain from these vices, of all of which apparently he was found guilty. In 1596 the Session of Elgin passed an act imposing a fine of 6/8 on such as "removed furth of the Kirk... before the giving of the blessing." but the act does not seem to have been effective in stopping the practice.

2. Ibid. 166. We must remember that Forrester was an upholder of the Service book and in such a case we cannot put too much reliance on the charges made. Gillespie, (English Topish Ceremonies 72) had no objection to a church being used for business purposes.
3. Life of Weems 18.
5. Register 771.
6. Records II 40. In some places English Topish the collection was also open to the blessing could the same anything to do with the Council complained 2. 116 page 186.
BOWING IN THE PULPIT.

One of the early customs in the Reformed Church of Scotland was for the Minister to kneel in prayer for a few minutes before starting his part of the Sermon. One of the Earliest references to this occurs in the pages of Row who writing of the Year 1586 mentions that Bishop of St Andrews (Adamson) on going to the pulpit in St Giles "began to beck in a low courtesy to the king whereas the custom of this Kirk was first to salute God, to do God's work and then after sermon and Divine worship closed to give reverence......to the king." This Custom seems to have been practised universally in Scotland though from its nature it is not one which has been particularly noted in session or presbytery records. We do however learn a good deal about it owing to the attempts of those who "scunnered the Lord's Prayer" to get rid of this custom also. "The Ministers (who belonged to that set) coming into the kirk to pray do not humble themselves first privately and they forbid others or readers to use the least invocation of God by themselves." They

1. Row Historie - 115.
2. M.S. Account of Assembly of 1640 Quoted Sprott. Worship in Covenanting Period. 11.
had the support of the Puritans of England for there "bowing in the pulpit, whether by custom or because of the late consequent abuse of it by the prelatical party to bow to the east and altar, it was so universally disused," that the Scots Commissioners could not get the Westminster Divines to agree to it. However they did succeed in keeping the Directory free from any reference to it. In the Act of Assembly of 1645 ratifying the Directory it is mentioned as a "lawful custom in the Church to be hereafter laid aside for satisfaction of the desires of the Reverend Divines in the Synod of England." Thus another ancient Scottish custom which helped to link up the Scottish Church with Catholic Christendom passed away. There is little doubt that it had its origin in the "secret" prayer of the priest before he commenced Mass. (This bowing is not to be confused with that which long prevailed in the church viz the custom of the Minister bowing to the principal heritor. This continued up to the middle of the 19th Century. The best known story regarding it is that told of the Minister of Kirkmahoe circa 1800 who omitted to pay the usual complement one day when the occupants of the "chief seat" were three young ladies. On being challenged for the lack of gallantry the Minister explained that Angel Worship was forbidden by the Kirk of Scotland.)

2. Records of the Kirk 422.
Although Baillie has much to say about the irreverence of people in church we learn from him that all were not alike and that it was customary for many to engage in private devotion before and after the reception of the Lord's Supper. In a paper drawn up for his colleagues at Westminster Baillie refers to a proposal to discharge all private prayer at the Lord's Supper and he protests vigorously against it. He speaks of their custom of private prayer in church as being that of Scottish worshippers. The matter was left open by the Westminster Assembly while these Divines prohibited worshippers from bowing to one place or another, the only reference they made to private devotion was that those who were not present at the opening of the service were not to betake themselves to their "private Devotions but reverently to compose themselves to join with the Assembly in that ordinance of God which is then in hand."

1. Baillie's "Paper to my Colleagues" will be found in the appendix to Dr Leishman's Westminster Directory, 188-191.
ORDER OF SERVICE.
THE LORDS SUPPER

I. (a) Order of Service
    (b) Elders at Communion
    (c) Offering at Communion
    (d) Hours and Seasons of Communion.

II Communion of the Sick

III Communion Elements

IV (a) Communion Table
    (b) Communion Plate.

V. Services in connection with the Lord's Supp

VI. Admission to the Lord's Table.
"The manner of the administration of the Lord's Supper" in the Book of Common order begins with the reading of the warrant "according as St Paul maketh rehearsal in the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corintheans". The words of the warrant are printed in full and are not taken as might have been expected from the Geneva version of the Scriptures but seem to be a translation direct from the original. The "exhortation" which follows is very much like that which appeared in the Book of Geneva - the Scots book substituting a few sentences from Calvin's Geneva Liturgy for some which the compilers of the Book of Geneva had taken from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. This exhortation is really an invitation to the Lord's Supper and while the minister "in the name and authority of the Eternal God and of His Lord Jesus Christ" excommunicates (sic) from the Table "all blasphemers idolators murderers and adulterers" "all that be in envy or malice all disobedient

1. As has been noted Knox did not object to giving the Apostles the title of Saint. It was Gillespie who in the Westminster Assembly of Divines moved that the title "St" be omitted in the printing of the Bible. The title is omitted in the Communion Service of the Westminster Directory, Minutes of Westminster Assembly 181.
2. Dr Kilgour of the B & F. Bible Society kindly consulted eleven different English versions printed before 1565 but failed to find any one corresponding to the passage as printed.
persons to Father or Mother, Princes or Magistrates, Pastors or Preachers all thieves and deceivers of their neighbours and finally all such as live a life directly fighting against the will of God. Yet this is not to exclude any penitent person however grievous his sins may have been but only those who continue in sin without repentance.

The invitatory part is much more prominent than the prohibitive and exhibits a much more Christian spirit than many of the "Table addresses" of later days. The "exhortation" finishes with a doxology and thereafter the rubric directs the minister to come down from the pulpit "every man and woman likewise taking their place as occasion best serveth." "Then" the rubric goes on "he (the minister) taketh bread and giveth thanks either in these words following or like in effect." The words "taketh bread" point to a custom which was long common in Scotland and which indeed was to be made in time a matter of principle with a body of Seceders. In some cases the custom was as in the Anglican service for the officiating person to lay his hands on the elements to be consecrated, in others to lift them up a little off the table before beginning the consecration prayer while in some cases the minister kept a piece of the bread in his hands during the thanksgiving. All three customs still exist.

1. See for some examples of the denunciations hurled at intending communicants Grey Graham, Social Life in Eighteenth Century 309-310.

2. See Rubrics in the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper.
Boston mentions that he was always careful about this action as were many of the older Divines.

The prayer of thanksgiving follows. It is entirely eucharistic thanks being given for our creation but chiefly for our redemption through Jesus Christ our Lord "whom of very love Thou didst give to be made man like unto us in all things sin except .... by His death to make satisfaction to Thy justice and by His Resurrection to destroy Him that was the author of Death and so to bring again life to the world .... O Lord the blind dullness of our corrupt nature will not suffer us sufficiently to weigh those Thy most ample benefits yet nevertheless at the commandment of Jesus Christ our Lord we present ourselves to this, His Table which He hath left to be used in remembrance of His death until His coming again to declare and witness before the world that by Him we have received liberty and life .... that by Him alone we are possessed in our spiritual kingdom to eat and drink at His Table with whom we have our conversation presently to Heaven."

This prayer also ends with a doxology. It is taken from the Book of Geneva and must have been written by the compilers as there is no corresponding prayer in Calvin's book.

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1. e.g. Dr Webster leader of the Evangelical party in the latter half of the 18th century. Sprott Worship and Offices of the church of Scotland 115-6. When the practice was falling into disuse among the Burghers a party headed by "Father" Smeaton (as Robert Burns called him) seceded from the Burgher ranks rather than have fellowship with those whom they termed "Anti lifters". This "lifting" is not to be confused with the "elevation" of the elements after consecration. One of the charges brought against Bishop Lindsay in 1638 was that he was an "elevator" of the elements at consecration. Baillie Letters I.161.
It will be noticed that like all catholic liturgies it contains a commemoration of the original institution of the Sacrament, of the Passion, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, of the work of the Holy Spirit. This is all the more interesting when we remember that this commemoration had a place in the consecration prayer in King Edward's first Prayer Book but was removed in the second (that which Knox helped to compile).

After the prayer of thanksgiving the minister is directed to break the bread and deliver it to the people "who distribute and divide the same among themselves according to our Saviour Christ's Commandment." The cup is likewise given apparently after all had been served with the bread - though this is not altogether certain. During the distribution of the elements "some place of scripture is read which doth lively set forth the death of Christ".

This was in accordance with what is said in the Book

1. Frere Some Principles of Liturgical Reform, 186.
2. Such I take it is the meaning of the phrase "So to bring Life again to the world." The Reformers must have known the phrase in the Nicene Creed applied to the Holy Spirit "The Lord and Giver of Life."
3. The Present Anglican Book omits this commemoration but in the proposals for Revision set forth by the Prayer Book Revision Committee it again appears. See Booklet N.A.60 page 63.
4. This was the custom in Henderson's time. Government and Order - 22.
of Discipline where the choice of the passage to be read is left to the ministers. In Calvin's Geneva Liturgy an alternative to the reading of scripture is given viz singing of psalms and in a way this became usual in Scotland though at a different part of the service. Calderwood mentions that in his day nothing was read or sung while the elements were being distributed but that when one company had been served and were making room for another the whole congregation joined in singing or the Reader read the history of the Passion. Henderson mentions the singing while the tables were being filled and states that the psalms sung were the 22nd and the 103rd but he indicates that while the bread and wine were being handed round the minister either by his own words stirred up the communicants to spiritual meditations or caused "be read the history of the Passion". After all had received the rubric in the Book of Common order says "The Minister giveth thanks". The prayer given at this point of the service is short consisting only of two sentences the one being a thanksgiving for God's goodness in

1. Knox II. 187. "During which action we think it necessary that some comfortable places of the scripture be read which may bring in mind the death of Christ Jesus and the benefit of the same."
2. This may be because the passages read at ordinary services were chosen by the ministers and elders Knox II. 285.
3. Altare Damascenum 778.
5. The word "caused" indicates that the person who read was not the Minister but the Reader.
bestowing so excellent a gift and treasure and the
other a petition that the partakers may not forget
the benefits they have received but that they may
increase daily in true faith and constantly stand
and continue in the same to the Glory of God. 1. The
concluding rubric runs "The action thus ended the
people sing the 103rd psalm "My soul give laud" etc or
some other of thanksgiving which ended one of the
blessings before mentioned is recited and so they
rise from the table and depart.

At the end of the order is printed a short
paragraph addressed "To the Reader" in which the
Reformers state that they renounce the error of the
Papists and restore to the Sacrament its own substance.
They go on to say that though they rehearse the "words
of the Lord's Supper" they do not do so to "change
the substance of the bread and wine" or that the
repetition thereof with the intent of the sacrificer
should make the sacrament, as the Papists falsely
believe: but they are read and pronounced to teach us
how to behave ourselves in that action, and that Christ

1. This prayer of thanksgiving is taken from the Genevan
Liturgy of Calvin. It appears also in the Book of Geneva.
2. The word "action" is still applied to the sermon
preached at the Communion Service.
3. This is still the Communion thanksgiving psalm in
the traditional Scottish Liturgy.
4. In the Order for public worship.
5. This may indicate that the posture in singing was
sitting or that the benediction was received sitting or
kneeling.
might witness our faith. This paragraph is from the Book of Geneva where it was in all likelihood suggested by Calvin Liturgy which has a somewhat similar paragraph though there it is not affirmed that the words of institution do not make the sacrament.

This order it will be noted is meant to come at the end of the ordinary Order of Worship and the probability is that it was because of this that the Lord's prayer and Creed come at the end of that order instead of earlier in the services as might have been expected. Among the Public prayers contained in the Book of Common Order is one which is headed "A prayer used in the churches of Scotland in the time of their Persecution by the Frenchmen but principally when the Lords Supper was (or is) to be ministered." It appears in the first Scottish edition of the Book of Common Order that of 1564 but it must have been written earlier as a marginal note states "These prayers following were first used when both the Kings of France were living," so that they must have been in use before 1559 when Henry II died. This part of the prayer seems to be from the pen of Knox. At least it greatly

1. Gillespie, with regard to the question of the relation of the words of institution to the validity of the sacrament makes the very sensible observation "It is sounder divinity to say that the consecration of a sacrament doth not depend "ex certa aliqua formula verborum ... Aquinas likewise holdeth that the consecration of a sacrament is not absolutely tied to a certain form of words." English Popish Ceremonies 209.
resembles his style of writing. The concluding part of the prayer (it might really be called a separate prayer as the preceding part ends with a Doxology and Amen) is headed "This is added so oft as the Lord's Table is ministered".

Like other Reformation documents the doctrine of the Lord's Supper pre-supposed in this prayer is "high". "Now last 0 Lord we that be here assembled to celebrate the Supper of Thy dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ who did not only one offer His body and shed His blood upon the cross for our full redemption ...w; most humbly do beseech Thee to grant us grace .... that fruitfully we may possess His body and His blood yea Jesus Christ Himself very God and very man who is that Heavenly Bread which giveth life unto the world. Give us grace so to eat His flesh and drink His blood that hereafter .... He may live in us to conduct and guide us to that most blessed life which abideth for ever." This prayer would probably be used before the thanksgiving prayer in the Communion service but unfortunately we have no evidence on the point. So strict were the Reformers and their successors in uniting the word preached with the ministration of the sacrament that they would not allow any one to minister it unless he was

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1. This part of the prayer is a free rendering of one which appears in Calvin's Geneva Liturgy.
"able to persuade by Holy doctrine". Not only so, we find that they would not allow any one to come to the Lord's Table who had not been to Sermon immediately preceding. In 1598 the Session of St Andrews ordered the doors to be locked at the end of the psalm so that only those who "heard the preaching should communicate". A year earlier the session of Elgin had passed a similar resolution adding however that none were to come to the preaching unless they intended to go to the Lord's Table.

The order of Service as laid down in "Knox's Liturgy" seems to have been more or less followed. In the Canongate records for 1566 we read of the sacrament being administered according "to the Order", and in 1624 Calderwood (who says that he himself did not use the book) declares that with reference to the Communion service that church is bound "to maintain the order of ministration" which was received in this kirk when the Confession was first subscribed "which order is registered in the First Book of Discipline and

2. That is the opening psalm of the daily service.
3. Register 862.
4. Records of Elgin II 49.
5. Lee Lectures I 395.
in our Psalm books and is still practised by two
paits at least of the congregations of Scotland
still opposing to these innovations." 1. The
"innovations" complained of were the five articles
of Perth to which Calderwood offered uncompromising
resistance, but even the Perth Assembly did not
set aside the Book of Common Order 2 in dealing
with the question of Communion of the Sick in their
own houses, which it allowed, ordained that the sacrament
should be ministered according to the "Order prescribed
in the church" and this was of course the only order
the church had. Even in places where the "Order for
Public Worship" was neglected there is ground for
believing that the Order for the Administration of the
Lord's Supper was still used. It is significant I
think that Spottiswood writing in 1615 states that
there is "lacking in our church one form of Divine
Service and while every minister is left to the
framing of Public prayer by himself both the people
are neglected and their prayers often prove impertinent,"
nevertheless proceeds to say that among matters requiring
attention are the forms of marriage baptism and
administration of the Holy Supper "which require to be
"in some parts helped."

1. History VII. 618
2. "If any good Christian visited with long sickness ...
shall earnestly desire to receive the same (communion)
in his house the minister shall not deny him so great a
comfort ... who must also provide ... all things necessary
for the reverent administration thereof according to the
order prescribed in the church," Spottiswood History 1635
3. The paper is printed in the "Original letters relating
to Ecclesiastical affairs" (Bannatyne Club) 445, 6. It
is neither dated nor signed but the original was in the
Bishop's handwriting and may be dated 1615 as reference
is made to the vacancy in the See of St Andrews.
It was not in Episcopal circles only that it was felt that the "order was requiring to be helped". As has been said the pre-communion prayer is entirely eucharistic there being neither petition for the blessing of the elements nor invocation of the Holy Spirit, as in primitive liturgies. The idea seems to have been held that this prayer was defective and apparently with some the defect was made good in practice. Row who was opposed to all forms of set prayer in making reference to a communion in St Giles Edinburgh in 1622 says Mr Patrick Galloway having kneeled and prayed (I would say having read the prayer of consecration wherein there is not one word of 'Lord bless the elements or action') Calderwood is careful to say that the minister blesses (minister ... deinde benedict). Henderson also indicates that his prayer was fuller than that of the Book of Common Order for he says that the minister giveth thanks .... and prayeth earnestly to God for His powerful presence and effectual working to accompany His own ordinances. Gillespie also refers to the "Common blessing of the elements in the beginning of the action", calling it indeed the prayer of consecration. The last mentioned indicates that he was in the habit of using the words of scripture at the distribution "We give thanks" he says in the several actions

1. Row. Historic 331
2. Altare Damascenum 777
3. Government and order 23
4. English Popish ceremonies 200
5. Ibid 209.
"The Lord Jesus the same night that He was betrayed took bread and when He had given thanks (as we also give thanks to God who gave His Son to die for us) He brake it" etc. "In like manner also after supper, He took the cup and when He had given thanks (as we also give thanks to God who gave His Son to shed His blood for us) He gave it" etc.

This has been taken by Dr Sprott to mean that Gillespie was in the habit of using the narrative of the institution in his prayer of "blessing" but it seems to the writer that the words can hardly bear such a meaning. The phrases "as we also give thanks to God who gave His Son to die for us" and "as we also give thanks to God who gave His Son to shed His blood for us" are more in the nature of interjections than of set prayers. Indeed at this point of His work Gillespie is replying to Bishop Lindsay who in his dispute with the Presbyterian Party (who claimed like the Reformers to do everything according to Scripture) asks why if that be so they do not bless the bread severally by itself and the cup severally by itself seeing that Christ did so. That such a custom was not in use in Scotland is borne out by Baillie who tells us that the Scots Commissioners at Westminster objected to the two short graces over the elements "which the Independents used in addition to the blessing."

1. English Popish Ceremonies 200
2. Introduction to the Book of Common Order XXXIX
3. True narrative of the Proceedings in Forth Assembly part 2. 38
4. Letters II. 149
5. The "two short graces" are however sometimes heard even p.T.C.
Cowpers draft has nothing indicating separate thanksgivings, but he shows that he too wished a fuller prayer of consecration and he introduces the "blessing" in the following words: "Merciful Father we beseech Thee that we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine according to Thy Son our Saviour, His only institution may be made partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood. Send down o Lord Thy blessing upon this sacrament that it may be unto us the effectual exhibitive instrument of the Lord Jesus."

The Scots succeeded in persuading the English Puritans to have the prayer of thanksgiving made fuller than those in the Book of Common Order and the Book of Common Prayer. The minister is directed to begin "the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine" and in the pattern of prayer given he is exhorted "earnestly to pray to God the Father of all mercies and God of all consolation to vouchsafe His gracious presence and effectual working of His spirit in us and so to sanctify these elements both of bread and wine and to bless His own ordinance that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us and so to feed upon Him that He may live in us and we in Him and to Him who hath loved us and given Himself for us."

at the present day in Scotland. Is there a reference to them in the words of the 35th Paraphrase?
'Then in His hands the cup He raised
And God anew He thanked and praised.'
Calderwood has left us (in Latin) a description of the Scottish Communion Service as it was in his days (circa 1620) and we see that while he did not follow precisely the Order given he kept to its general lines.

"Among us the minister having finished his discourse recites (recitat) the words of institution and gives a short exhortation (exhortationculum) and admonition. Then he blesses. The blessing or thanksgiving being finished he says "Our Lord in that night in which He was betrayed took bread and gave thanks as we have now done, and brake so I now also break bread and gave to His disciples saying (then he hands to those nearest on the right and on the left) etc.

"This is my body". He adds nothing to the words of Christ changes nothing omits nothing. Then those next break off a particle from the larger fragment or part and hand what is left to those sitting nearest so long as there is any portion of the Fragment over. Then those who serve the tables when one fragment is done offer the paten from which another in the same manner takes a similar larger piece or fragment and breaking, hands to the next and so on. In like manner the minister delivers the cup to those nearest repeating the words of Christ without addition mixture change or omission and they hand it to those sitting beside them and when the wine is finished those who are serving fill it anew. As soon as he has delivered

1. It would seem that he read the words of institution from the pulpit, this being the rule of the Book of Common Order.
2. Apparently Calderwood only used one cup.
both elements to those sitting nearest him using only the words of Christ whilst they are distributing the bread and the cup among themselves the minister so long as the action of eating and drinking lasts addresses those at the table \(^1\) ..... Whilst they are rising from the table and others are taking their place the minister is silent and those leaving and those coming to the table, along with the whole congregation either sing or the Reader reads the history of the passion .... If the whole communicants could eat at one time at the tables, it would be more agreeable and convenient, as they could thus all eat, drink, meditate, sing and hear the minister's address together .... In this form our kirk has now for sixty years celebrated the Holy Supper." \(^3\)

Henderson writing some twenty years later has also given a description of the celebration of the Sacrament and his account shows some variations from that of Calderwood. "After sermon immediately the Pastor useth an exhortation and debarreth from the table all ignorant, profane and scandalous persons." Then he leaves the pulpit and goes to the Table where he "first readeth and shortly expoundeth the words of institution .... Next he useth a prayer wherein he both giveth thanks .... and prayeth earnestly to God for

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1. The giving of an exhortation at each table was in vogue at Irvine in 1613. Life of Robert Blair - \(^7\)
See page

2. Altare Damascenum 777-8

His powerful presence and effectual working to accompany His own ordinance .... The elements thus being sanctified by the Word and prayer the minister sacramentally, breaketh the bread taketh and eateth himself and delivereth to the people: saying "Take ye, eat ye this is the Body of the Lord which is broken for you. Do it in remembrance of Him. After all at the Table have taken and eaten the minister taketh the cup and drinking first himself he giveth it to the nearest saying "This cup" etc ..... The minister .... after the giving of the elements doth either by his own speech stir up the communicants to spiritual meditations or causeth be read the history of the Passion. After all at the Table have received the cup they rise from the table ... and another company cometh ... during which time of removing ... the whole congregation singeth some part of a psalm as Ps 22 or 103. After the last company hath received the Minister ... goeth to the pulpit where after a short speech tending to thanksgivin he doth solemnly give thanks unto God ... and prayeth as on other Sabbaths. The prayer ended all join in singing a psalm of praise suitable to the occasion and are dismissed with the blessing before which none are to depart unless in case of necessity."

It will be noticed that Henderson reads the words of institution at the table though Knox's liturgy indicates

1. Nothing is said in the Book of Common Order about the Minister's communion but the Anglican rubric directs the Minister to receive the communion first himself, and the same rubric appears in Cowper's draft.
that they should be said from the pulpit, (apparently Calderwood followed the Reformers in this.) Both Calderwood and Henderson use our Lord's words (as also Gillespie) at the distribution though the Book of Common Order gives no hint that these should be used there. The Book of Discipline however says that after the thanksgiving, "distribution (of the bread and wine) made and commandment given that the bread should be taken and eaten and all likewise should drink of the cup of wine with declaration of what both the one and the other is". Then Calderwood states that while the Communicants are receiving the Minister gives a short exhortation while Henderson says that either such is given or the History of the Passion read, the latter being according to the rule of the Reformers. Calderwood mentions that with him the Reader read this history while the tables were being filled.

In Cowper's Draft Service we may say that we have a third description of a Scottish Communion for though the Service was never so far as we know actually used there can be little doubt that it represents the service as Cowper and his friends actually conducted it. With the exception of one feature that of kneeling at the reception of the consecrated elements there is nothing in it to which

2. The Session Records of Elgin mention in 1641 "the parson preached and gave exhortation at the tables". The latter practice was evidently an innovation. Records II.239. The Directory gives no sanction for such although it allows the Minister to say "a few words" after all have communicated. In Gillespie's "Notes" 101 there is a reference to a Scots Minister - probably one of Assembly Commissioners - who startled a London congregation by using exhortation at the giving of the elements.
any Presbyterian could have had much objection. Like
the other orders it begins "after sermon is ended"
the minister being directed to come down from the
pulpit to the table "and standing at the side thereof
shall use this short prayer saying". The short
prayer is the opening collect of the Anglican service
which begins Almighty God unto whom all hearts be open.
This is followed by reading of the warrant which is in the
same words as that in the Book of Common Order, and the
exhortation which follows is from the same source.
This is followed by an invitation which with a few
verbal changes is that of the English book and it is
followed by the General Confession from the same place.
This confession however is joined to the prayer of
consecration which is partly from Knox's book but
which owes probably more to Cowper himself.

It concludes following early practice, with the
Lord's Prayer, and it seems to have been the custom
for the congregation to join with the Minister in
repeating it. The next rubric indicates that the
belief that the words of institution make the
sacrament was not by any means dead in Scotland
despite what was said in the Book of Common Order
for it runs "The prayer ended the minister shall repeat
the words of the institution for consecrating the
elements and say " Then follows the narrative of the

1. Spalding mentions that in 1643 Andrew Cant in
celebrating the Communion in Aberdeen "not after the old
fashion" would not allow the people to pray with the
minister "as their custom was before but all to be silent
and dumb" Memorials II 279.
2. In the note attached to the Communion service.
3. On the margin is written. "Then shall the minister
pray after the manner and read the words of the Institution"
These have been inserted by some one other than the compiler.
Institution which is given more or less in the words of the first Epistle to the Corinthians as these are given in the Book of Common order. What is more interesting is the fact that here two of the manual acts are indicated. The narrative commences "The Lord Jesus the same night He was betrayed took bread" then comes the rubric "whilst he is uttering these words he shall take the bread in his hand". Then with regard to the wine "Likewise after supper He took the cup" (and at these words he shall take the cup in his hand). It may be noted that neither in King Edward's Second Prayer Books nor in that of Queen Elizabeth was there any mention of these acts which however appear in Laud's Liturgy of 1637 and which with the other manual acts were added to the Anglican Communion office at the revision of 1661. The reading of the narrative is followed by a short exhortation reminiscent of the Sursum Corda of earlier liturgies. "Let us lift up our hearts unto the Lord and by faith lay hold of Jesus whom God the Father by His Spirit offereth to us in this Holy Sacrament that we may draw virtue from the Lord to quicken and conserve our souls and bodies unto eternal life." Then follows the distribution introduced by the Rubric that the Minister is first to receive in both kinds himself and then to deliver the communion to

1. Gillespie objected to the Anglican Service because there was no mention of breaking the bread "in actu sacramentali". English Popish Ceremonies 207.
"other ministers (if any be there present) that they may help the chief minister and after to the people in their hands they kneeling" The Minister is also directed to use the Anglican formulas as he delivers the bread and wine to each communicant. While the people are communicating the History of the Passion is to be read "distinctly" ... beginning at the 13th Of Sanct John and so forward" and while the table was being filled with fresh relays of communicants "let a part of the 103 or 34 psalm be sung". When all had communicated a short prayer of thanksgiving was offered then the two first verses of the 106th Psalm were to be sung and the "whole action concluded with a blessing".

We may glance very briefly at the Communion Service of King Charles ill fated book of 1637. It differs in many particulars from the contemporary Anglican service (although it is an adaptation of it) but many of the points of difference were sent down from England. It is possible however that such things as the express invocation of the Holy Spirit in the prayer of consecration

1. This may indicate that the practice of having more than one minister at the Communion service had begun. More probably it refers to collegiate charges university churches.

2. One of the objections of the Scottish writers to King Charles Book of 1637 was that it did not direct (as did the contemporary Anglican Book) that the elements were to be put "into their hands" Baillie Ladensium. "The Body of the Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that the body of Christ was broken for thee and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. "Drink this in remembrance that the blood of Christ was shed for thee and be ye thankful. "May this be a reminiscence of the usage of Knox. See page 5. See Cooper's edition. 250, 278.

5. "Vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son."
is due to Scottish usage for as we have seen one of the objections to the Book of Common Order was the absence of any petition for the blessing of the elements. It is possible also that the dropping of the second clause in the words of distribution may have been also due to northern custom for the doctrine of the Sacraments in Scotland has always been "higher" than that of her southern neighbour. It is noteworthy in this connection that the words given in the Westminster Directory which undoubtedly owes a great deal to the Scottish Commissioners are in accordance with the first clause of the Anglican phrase rather than with the second. One alteration that we do know to have been made by the Scottish Bishops was the change of the place of the "Prayer of Humble Access but this seems to have been a "common sense" alteration and it is hardly likely that any particular national significance is to be attached to it. It is possible also that the permission to use wafer bread was due to the fact that in Scotland unleavened bread had been in constant use for sacramental purposes from the Reformation onwards. It is however somewhat remarkable to find that a part only of the consecration prayer is to be used for additional consecration. Here again we have the idea

1. Gillespie indicates that he used only the words of our Lord "Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which is broken for you" English Popish Ceremonies. 207.

2. See page 257.
which was condemned by the Book of Common Order but held apparently by the Episcopalian party that the words of Institution make the consecration, a view condemned by Gillespie and in later times by other writers.

The prayer of consecration seems always to have been given at the table and although kneeling at reception was vigorously objected to by the Presbyterians it appears to have been customary to kneel at this - as at all other prayers. The words of Gillespie indicate that this was so. While he held that kneeling at receiving was idolatry he also states that giving thanks in the beginning of the holy action is an immediate worship of God and so the two things are not to be compared. This was in answer to Bishop Lindsay who asked how if kneeling at the reception was idolatry it could be right to kneel at the table at all.

Even after 1638 the fashion of kneeling at the thanksgiving continued. At Aberdeen when communion was celebrated in 1643 the minister "upon his knees said ane prayer the people at the table part sitting and part kneeling". All however sat for the reception.

1. Bishop Lindsay proceedings of Perth Assembly Part II 55-57.
2. English Popish Ceremonies. 208, 209.
3. Dowden Annotated Scottish Communion Office (1922) -170 Gillespie held that prayer should be joined with the words of institution to sanctify the bread and wine. English Popish Ceremonies 209.
4. See page
5. English Popish Ceremonies 104
6. True Narration 91.
7. St-Andrews Presbytery Records (Abbotsford Club) 26, 33 Spalding Memorials II 187
It is not to be thought that the Presbyterian party paid no attention to ritual acts for in 1645 we find St Andrews Presbytery dealing with a minister "for omitting the prayer of consecration at the Table". His excuse was that he had used the equivalent in the pulpit. He was also accused of not reading the words of institution to which he replied that he used them when he was distributing the elements. The Presbytery prohibited him from celebrating the communion again.

A similar charge was brought against Andrew Frisell (or Fraser) Minister of Girthon in Galloway. He had been placed there by Bishop Cowper and he was so ignorant says the Presbyterian Historian that "he proceeded to the ministration of the sacrament without a blessing whereby many of the people absented them from the table as profaned by him". Henderson indicates that it was his custom to go from the table to the pulpit to make a short speech tending to thanksgiving after all had received. This point as to whether the service should be concluded from the communion table or from the pulpit was debated by the Westminster Divines. At first it was appointed

Records (Athensford Club)
1. Spalding Memorials II 237.
2. Calderwood VII - 349
3. Government and Order 15
that the "minister after the sacrament shall go into the pulpit and give an admonition" but as this changing of places was "much spoken against" the direction was altered in such a way as to leave the matter quite optional. The Book of Common Order makes no provision whatever for a concluding address and according to it, the minister was to offer the concluding prayer of thanksgiving and to pronounce the benediction at the table.

It has been noted that it was common in populous places for communion to be given to the residents in different districts on different Sundays. This led to the need for a service for those who were not to communicate. In some places no such services were provided the intention being apparently that all should be in the church and only those whose day it was to communicate go to the table. At Elgin however we find (in 1600) that a special service was held in the "queir" for the non-communicants this service being usually conducted by the Reader and "consisting of Reading and Singing of Psalms" the "Reading" doubtless including the prayers in the Book of Common

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1. "After all have communicated the minister may say a few words."
Order

Two years later however Mr Samuel Cokburn Minister at Innerawin is "requerit to teach in the queir," this being the writer thinks one of the earliest examples on record of a neighbouring minister being brought to assist at a Communion. At St Andrews in 1599 the "Auld College Kirk" was used for a service for those who were to communicate on either of the two days of the ministration. In somewhat later days (1645) we find the assembly ordering that in such cases the assisting Minister was to give a word of exhortation " in some convenient place appointed for that purpose to those of the Parish who are not to communicate." The order adds that such exhortation is not to begin until the sermon delivered in the kirk is concluded. This would indicate that the only time when non communicants were excluded from the church during the communion service was when there was not sufficient room for them. As early as 1597 the Presbytery of Glasgow insisted on the children attending the Grammar School.

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1. Records II 77. A desk was taken out of the Church for the Reader's use.
2. Records II 102.
3. Register 884
4. Records of the Kirk 422.
being present "to hear God's word preached and the sacraments ministered." It is customary in some places today for those who do not intend to communicate to withdraw from the church after the sermon. According to Dr Grub such a custom is the "immemorial usage" of the Episcopal church in Scotland. On the other hand Dr John Brown who was born in 1722 mentions that as a boy of eight he managed to get into the church of Abernethy at Communion though "at that time it was usual to admit into the church few or none in the time of communicating but those who intended to join in eating the Lord's Supper the rest being supplied with service in another assembly." Anderson of Dumbarton however makes it quite clear that in his day many besides communicants were present during the time of the celebration. The greatest change, (or at least the change which caused the greatest trouble) in the ritual of the Communion service in Scotland in the period under discussion was that which introduced kneeling instead of sitting at the reception of the elements. Nothing that James VI ever did in ecclesiastical matters in the northern kingdom, neither his banishment of popular ministers nor his introduction of Episcopacy aroused greater antagonism than his.

1. Records Maitland Club Miscellany I 89, 90
2. Quoted Meles Traditional Customs 177
3. Quoted Duncan Scottish Sanctuary 178
5. Writing in 1630 Struthers one of the ministers of Edinburgh (himself a "kneeler") states that the attempt to enforce kneeling has "touched the people more" than the appointment of Bishops. Stevenson History of the Church & State 118.

"It is true likewise that there are many others present oft-times besides those who communicate. But where is the harm of this. Does it hinder the devotion of the communicants that others are looking on them."

The date is circa 1714.
determination to make the Scottish communicants receive the consecrated elements "humbly kneeling".

The proposal seems to have been first suggested in 1616 two years after he had enjoined Easter Communion and probably the fact that he had been successful in getting his wishes carried out in that matter led him to take the further step. In a communication to the Archbishop of St Andrews in the year mentioned the King had put forward all articles which he afterwards got the Perth Assembly to agree to, but "the difficulty of admitting these articles being represented in a humble letter by the said Archbishop of St Andrews .... he was pleased to forbear the pressing of the same at that time." The following year he paid his well known visit to Scotland and had the Anglican Service set up in the Chapel Royal on the day following his arrival (17th May) About three weeks later on Whitsunday the Communion was there celebrated "after the English form" a number of the worshippers however refusing to communicate apparently because of the change of posture, for the king taking matters into his own hand ordered them "to prepare themselves against the next Lord's day be

1. Calderwood History VII 191 "The most part obeyed but not all."

to communicate after the same manner." At the Assembly held in November 1617 the matter was again brought up but without anything definite being decided. At the following Easter Communion the practice was introduced "by sundry bishops in their cathedral kirks" and seems to have been quietly received for we learn that there were "many of the people kneeling upon their knees specially at St Andrews." It was not however until the adopting of the five articles of Perth the first of which commanded kneeling at the reception of the elements that the attempt to put this posture into practice became general. The fight in the Assembly, (for the articles were fiercely opposed,) seems to have centred round this question of kneeling, but in the end all five articles were approved by a majority, forty-five ministers voting negative while a few stood neutral. Yet in spite of the act of the Assembly many of the people would by no means agree to the change. At the Easter Communion in Edinburgh the ministers according to Calderwood offered liberty to allow the communicants either to sit stand or kneel as they pleased but in spite of that there were many who stayed away. Some who came refused to kneel, others who did so were seen to be in tears. Some of the elders refused to take part in the service. The

1. Calderwood History VII 247. One of those who refused was Cowpar Bishop of Galloway but says the writer he "continued not long in that mood."
2. Ibid 297. The Communion was celebrated after the same manner in the Chapel Royal, Cowpar Bishop of Galloway officiating.
3. Ibid 324.
Lord Provost of Edinburgh who had been knighted by King James on the occasion of his visit deliberately stayed away: "Cold and graceless were the communions and few were the communicants." Many of the people flocked to churches outside Edinburgh where the old form was retained.

"It is not to be passed over in silence" adds Calderwood how that when John Lawder minister at Cockburnspath was reaching the bread till one kneeling a black dog start up to snatch it out of his hand.

At Burntisland the minister had the forms and stools taken away in order to keep the people from sitting at the reception "yet none would receive the communion kneeling except an old wife or two". This was in 1621.

Row states that in some places the people went out of the church and left the minister alone, in other parts the minister and the people began disputing while other ministers preached vehemently against the new articles.

One of those who preached against the articles especially kneeling was Richard Dickson minister of the West Kirk Edinburgh who at communion not only forbade

1. Calderwood VII 359 pp
2. Ibid. This indicates that at Cockburnspath the new order must have been introduced.
3. Calderwood VII- 458
the people to kneel but also refused to give the communion to such who "for satisfaction of their own consciences and in obedience to the act had kneeled." 1.

Bigotry and intolerance were not confined to one party.

On the other hand Lord Binning writing to the king regarding the communion at Edinburgh in 1619 says that "neither man nor woman during the space of four hours offered to receive the sacrament sitting upon the formes except one base fellow", which gives a somewhat different account than that of Calderwood. "The truth lies doubtless twixt the two". In the same year (1619) the kirk session of Perth under the moderatorship be it noted of Mr John Malcolm who had opposed Easter communion unanimously decided that the "communicants be humbled on their knees and reverently receive the sacrament". In 1621 the Acts of the Perth Assembly were ratified by Parliament but before that was done a petition was presented by a number of ministers asking that these should not be ratified. In this petition the honourable Lords of Parliament were informed that "geniculation was the first of the fifteen ceremonies of the mass ... a gesture invented and ordained by antichrist more than 1,300 years after Christ as the principal external worship of their breaden God". In spite of this warning however the Estates

1. Calderwood VII -353. He was deprived by the High Commission.
2. Original Letters (Bannatyne Club) 99. The base fellow's name was Mecklejohn. He was afterwards "warded" for sitting at Dunkeld (Bannatyne Club Miscellany 211)
3. Records Spottiswood Miscellany II 289.
confirmed the Acts of Assembly. Time seems to have been on the side of the objectors for as the years passed kneeling became less common. In his proclamation commanding communion in Edinburgh at Christmas 1624 the king insisted that seeing "the most humble and reverent gesture of the body best becometh was so sacred an action" the sacrament/to be received kneeling. Some of the commons of Edinburgh had cast off "all reverence of the law and obedience to our royal authority" by their refusal to partipate in the sacrament. This "proud contempt of God and us" was to come to an end and if the people of Edinburgh did not obey the royal maddate "we for that their contempt of God and us will not only remove the session but also all other courts of justice from our said burgh."

The fact that James had to threaten in such a manner shows that the people were not to be forced into his way of worship. Writing in 1627 Spottiswood states that kneeling had been given up even in places where it had formerly been practised and Gillespie agrees with him in this for he says that many of the Bishop's disciples sat when taking the communion. Row also mentions that in the year 1627 there were not above 6 or 7 who knelt at St Giles, some of the ministers being among the "sitters".

1. Calderwood History VII 622.
2. English Popish Ceremonies 80
3. Historie 343.
The year after the death of King James his son Charles I took a step which showed that he could be more tolerant than his father had been. In July 1626 he wrote to the Scottish Bishops giving them permission to allow ministers who had been ordained before 1618 to refrain from obeying the Perth articles if they disliked them. It is in every way probable that the most of the ministers who were opposed to these articles would be men who had been ordained before the Perth Assembly and this concession should have brought much friction to an end. A proviso was attached however to the concession that those who availed themselves of it were not to speak openly against the articles, or to dissuade others from obeying them or refuse the communion kneeling to such as desired to receive it kneeling, or to receive any from other congregations without testimonials. One fears that this condition must have nullified to a great extent the benefits of the concession for many of those who opposed the articles would have been equally opposed to giving the communion to any person who knelt. And as for asking these opponents to cease speaking openly against what they opposed was to ask something very near an impossibility.

1. Balfour Annals II 142-5
In 1628 the Ministers of Edinburgh sent a letter to the King (Charles I) in which they asked to be allowed to celebrate the communion without kneeling. With this letter the King was greatly displeased and in his answer to the Archbishop of St Andrews he declared himself to be exceedingly offended that they should have made such a request. The result was that the communion was not celebrated at all that year and when it was next observed the confusion must have been extraordinary "some of the Ministers kneeling, some sitting, some standing and such confusion among the people also. The minister giving the elements out of his hands to each one and the reader reading or the people singing at that same time."

After the visit of the King to Scotland for his coronation in 1633 the practice of kneeling seems to have increased. Breáston who had seen the communion celebrated states that a "narrow table is placed in the middle aisle the whole length of the aisle about which most of the receivers sat .... but now the ceremonies of the church of England are introduced, and conformity is much pressed and the gesture of kneeling much pressed."

In Edinburgh in 1636 kneeling seems to have been

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1. Row History 345. He would not daine the Ministers of Edinburgh with an answer.
2. Ibid - 348. Stevenson (History 115) says of this communion. "In the Greyfriars church Mr Andrew Ramsay kneeled but his colleague Mr John Adamson did not. In the great church Mr William Strythers kneeled but Mr Alexander Thomson would not. In the Little church Mr John Maxwell was forward in kneeling but Mr David Michel his colleague would not, and in the College Kirk Mr Thomas Lydaerf kneeled but Mr Henry Rollock did not."
3. Early Travellers in Scotland 147. Date 1635.
the rule; for the Ministers there tried to get the Bishop to make the neighbouring ministers obey the law and "if he would not make them conform they (the Edinburgh Ministers) would also leave off their conformity."

On the other hand we learn that at Ayr in 1635 as soon as the Minister who pressed kneeling at the communion went to the table "the people all left the church and departed and not one of them stayed only the pastor alone."

In the North there seems to have been little if any opposition to kneeling. Spalding makes it quite clear that in Aberdeen it had been the custom to kneel for speaking of the Communion given by Andrew Cant in 1642 he says that the communicants were not kneeling as was used before whereat sundry people murmured and grudged but could not mend it.

At Elgin kneeling appears to have quietly accepted the only indication of a change being found in 1640 when the scribe has entered in the minute book "Sunday the 8th March the Communion given sitting."

The Assembly of 1638 made short work of the Perth Articles this one included, but it may be recalled that before the Assembly met, the King "being informed that the urging of the five articles of Perth hath bred distraction in the church" .... did not only dispense with these articles but also discharged any person from urging the practice thereof.

1. Row History 391. The Bishop does not seem to have interfered.
2. Brereton in "Early Travellers 159. This minister was one of those deposed by the Glasgow Assembly. He went to England where he became Vicar of Selling. Fasti Ecc Scot III - 8
4 Records II 256
Another innovation which came into prominence in the church of Scotland about the same time as that of kneeling at the reception was the practice of the Minister handing the elements to each communicant.

As we have seen the early practice was for the bread and the cup to be passed along from person to person each partaking thereof and handing them on to his neighbour. The new method was first mooted at the St Andrews Assembly of 1617 when the first of the overtures devised to give His Majesty satisfaction was this "The Communion be given to every one severally out of the ministers hand." This act seems to have been if anything somewhat better observed than that requiring kneeling. For one thing it was easy for those who opposed kneeling to point to the example of Christ and His apostles "Who'sat' at the table." It was not however so easy to prove that the first communicants divided the elements among themselves. Indeed Forbes carried war into the enemies camp by pointing out that it was said of Christ and of Him only that He took bread and brake and gave, and that all these were ministerial acts. Nothing was enjoined on the guests but that they should take and eat in remembrance of the Lord; an argument which satisfied Lunan who had put the questions to him, and which Gillespie did not

1. Calderwood History VII 285. A summons of the High Commission given at page 352 of the same book make it appear that it was the Aberdeen Assembly of 1616 which had passed the act.

2. St Matthew XXVII. 20.

3. Irenicum. 86.

4. See page 260.
try to answer. The latter however could also appeal to scripture and he argues against the practice by saying that Christ did not speak in the singular number "Take thou, Eat thou" but "Take ye Eat ye," and points out that for the minister to speak to one is to make the action a private one betwixt himself and the communicant. 1 In Perth the Session unanimously resolved that "the Ministers give the bread and wine with their own hands to the communicants." 2

In Aberdeen and the North the practice seems to have been more or less followed. At least Spalding indicates as much when he speaks of the changes made after 1638 for he says of the older form "the minister gave ilk person communicating the blessed sacrament out of his own hand and to each person the cup."

It was different however in the South. Calderwood indicates that even among those who knelt the practice of serving each other still continued. Speaking of the service in St Giles in 1620 he says that Patrick Galloway the minister gave the treasurer a "shāke" (slice) of bread. The treasurer made it to serve other five that were next him. The Minister when he

1. English Popish Ceremonies 207
observed this would have given every one of them the element of bread again but they answered they were already served. A woman who was in the act of lifting the bread she had received from her companion had it taken from her by Mr Struthers of the College Kirk who gave her a portion out of his own hand. As there were 1,600 communicants in that church the historian rather gleefully remarks that by the time the ministers had served all they were more wearied with their "corporal service than spiritual exhortation."

Calderwood has preserved a record of a conference between the Bishops and a number of ministers at St Andrews in 1619 with reference to the troubles which had arisen over the Perth articles from which it appears that while the Bishops were prepared to allow laxity in some things they wished to keep the distribution for the Minister alone. On the other hand when the citizens of Edinburgh gathered on the Tuesday before the sacrament in 1620 according to their custom (see page 189) this was one of the things which they most insisted on, that they should get dividing the elements one with another. Row tells us that the ministers were still giving the elements in 1629, and the practice was kept up until the Glasgow Assembly in some places; in some parts even

1. History VII - 437.8
2. History VII 348
3. History VII 405, 437.
It is worthy of note that among the Episcopalians in the North it seems to have been customary for the elements to be administered by elders along with the ministers. Forbes hints at this in his fifth problem where he mentions the minister (and) one of the so-called elders taking round the bread and the wine.

Forbes in his reply says that there is nothing undignified in what the Deacons do. "Indeed it is far more in keeping that the vessels containing the elements should be handed along or carried round by them than that they should be stuck to the table and drawn and pushed about on it."

3. Forbes Irenicum.

4. At this time it was quite customary for Deacons as well as Elders to assist at the sacrament. See page 256.

5. Forbes Irenicum 84.

For the origin of this work and manner of administering see page 250.
ELDERS AT THE COMMUNION TABLE

Now-a-days it is customary in all Presbyterian churches for the elders to assist at the celebration of the Lord's supper by carrying the elements to the worshippers, yet this custom rests upon no legal basis. Nowhere in either the first or second Books of Discipline the Confession of Faith or the Form of Church Government, is it stated to be any part of the elders duty to take assist at this ordinance, nor does the Book of Common Order give any directions to the effect that Elders should assist the minister at that solemn service. But while that is so there is no doubt that the elders did so assist in earlier days but not by any means exclusively. In 1564 in the Canongate four men were appointed by the Minister to "serve at the Communion" "they bearing office" but these assistants were not as is usual today exclusively elders.

Calderwood gives several instances of Deacons assisting at the distribution and in this he is supported by entries in Kirk Session Records. For example of the nine appointed "to serve at the table with bread and wine" at St Andrews in 1596 eight were deacons and only one an elder. In Glasgow it was only in 1603 that the

1. In these books the duties of the elder are detailed.
2. Lee Lectures 395.
4. Register XCVI
5. Weems 27.
session decreed that none were to serve at the tables but elders and deacons and even then the town officers were to "bring the stoops with wine".

In Cowper's draft one of the opening rubrics is to the effect that "such as attend upon the ministration shall present the elements covered and set them upon the table". There is nothing to indicate whether "such as attend the ministration" were elders. During the troubles over the question of kneeling many of the elders and deacons in Edinburgh refused to serve. Hence the ministers had to get "other honest men" to take their places. These seem to have been in some cases men who had formerly held office for in these days annual election of church office bearers was still the rule. Brereton writing in 1635 mentions that there were deacons and elders in every parish and that in addition to their other duties they assisted the Pastors in the administration of the sacraments. The duties of these assistants whether elders deacons or others consisted in attending at the doors, taking the collection, gathering the tokens, preparing the elements and attending at the tables. Gillespie speaks of the "Elders or Deacons" lifting up the bread to set it on or take it off the table. As has been mentioned the elders did this even when the ministers were insisting that they should serve each communicant severally with their own hands. (4)

2. Early Travellers in Scotland 143
3. English Popish Ceremonies. 76
4. See page 154
OFFERING AT THE COMMUNION

Another custom may be referred to, this is the taking an offering from the worshippers seated at the communion table. In the early days of the Reformed worship it appears to have been usual to take the collection for the poor after the communicants were seated at "God's Board". This was forbidden by the Assembly of 1573 which decreed that the offerings were to be taken at Kirk doors and not during the ministration of the Lord's Supper or in time of sermon. So far as the Lord's Supper was concerned the act does not seem to have been obeyed for we find at St Andrews in 1598 two elders being appointed to lift the tickets and two to lift the alms while in Aberdeen in 1618 two of the session stood at the end of each table to get from the communicants as they rose to leave something for the poor "according to the form observed in the South part of this realm".

Brereton in 1635 states that the usual offerings for the poor were collected at the church doors before sermon and says nothing of any special method at the observance of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

In Perth in 1580 it seems to have been usual for the communicants to give their tokens and alms as they entered the railed space around the Communion Table.

A similar practice prevailed at Dunfermline where the ordinary collection was taken at the "Kirk Style."

1. Calderwood III 276, 8
2. Register 862
3. Selections from Ecc Records - 86
4. Early Travellers in Scotland 145
5. Scott History of the Reformers 191
In 1635 the Session of Falkirk appointed two elders to "attend" the collection "at the tables". At Elgin in 1636 we read that at the December communion there was "collected with basons at the tables 105 merks" while three years later the amount gathered "at the tables" was £43,13.4. This was in addition to what had been taken at the door. Nor were the offerings at the table always for the local poor for in 1631 at the doors there was collected at the communion 5:12:6 and for the Kirk of the Palatinate thirty five shillings, the latter apparently being taken at the table. Sometimes a communion cup was used for the purpose of lifting the Table offerings, sometimes at Cullen and Alva a special bason was used. Perhaps the strangest use to which the bad money put into the church plate was put (and old records show that a very great deal of what was offered came under that category) was at Cruden when the session resolved to have the bad coin melted down "to make cups for collecting the poor-money at the sacrament".

In many places where the "plate" is still used it is customary on communion Sundays to cover it with a white linen cloth. It has been suggested that

1. Session Records quoted Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 41.
2. Records II 232-9
3. Ibid II 218
4. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 17 -401
5. [Signature: Andrew Burns]
this may be a relic of the "sudary" used in early days when the offering took the form of the elements used in the sacrament. In the non jurors' liturgy of 1718 the rubric relating to the communion offering directs that the "decent bason" into which these are placed is to be covered with a white linen cloth. Rattray who quoted with regard to the Post-Reformation use of wine and water at the communion gives a similar direction in the Liturgy which he drew up.

One of the few relics of the custom of the faithful presenting the elements is to be found in the coronation service. It is somewhat remarkable that though this found a place in the English Office it is not mentioned in the order used when Charles I was crowned at Holyrood in 1633.

The Westminster Assembly refers to the Communion Offering for the poor but only to state that it is to be so ordered that no part of worship is thereby hindered. This however seems to imply that the Scottish practice of having a special communion offering was to be continued.

1. See page 141
2. Beles Traditional Customs 60-1
As has been already noted the "Order for the administration of the Lord's Supper" in the Book of Common Order is practically a reprint of the Book of Geneva. Hence it comes that while the Book of Discipline states that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated quarterly in Burghs and half yearly in 1. country parishes the rule as laid down in "Knox's Liturgy" means much more frequent communion. "The Lord's Supper" says the rubric "..... is commonly ministered once a month or so oft as the congregation shall think expedient".

The rubric apparently means that once a month was to be regarded as the minimum. The Book of Discipline 2. fixed dates for the observance of the rite the intention being to stop the practice which had prevailed in the Roman Church of reception at Easter and at Easter only. 3. It does not appear however that these dates were rigidly (or even commonly) adhered to. In Edinburgh in Knox's time they were in part departed from. Indeed owing to the scarcity of ministers it must have been many years before regular communion services were held in all parishes for Readers were strictly prohibited - which prohibition they did not always obey - from ministering the sacraments. In many

1. Knox II. 239 also B.U.K. I-30 Date 1562.  
2. Ibid 240. First Sundays in March June September and December. It may be noted that occasionally the "greater festival" of Whitsunday would fall on the day of the June Communion.  
3. In Aberdeen in 1608 a baillie of the town informed the session that "he was not in use to Communicate but once in the year" Selections 60.  
places during the 16th and 17th centuries communion was only once a year although the "occasion" might be spread over two or more consecutive Sundays. In Edinburgh while Knox was Minister there we find communion services extending over a whole week. This was in 1560, but the experiment does not seem to have been repeated.  

Looking over the various records which are extant one has great difficulty in finding any principle whatever in the methods employed in fixing the dates of communion. In one year one month would be chosen, in the following year another while the next year might see a third.

In Elgin in 1591 the session in fixing the date for the observance of the rite stated "that it was to be when leisure may be had at the issue of the seed". Two years later after taking the opinion of the "greatest number of honest men .... in respect of the busy time of the year" they fixed the last day of May for the communion. Other circumstances too helped at times to keep the feast from being held on regular dates. Rutherford complains in one of his letters that the communion at Alworth is delayed "for the laird and lady hath earnestly desired me to delay it because the laird is sick and he fears he be not able to travel."

In Stirling a communion was altered to suit the convenience of the Earl of Mar who having been appointed a Knight of the Garter could not be present on the day fixed for some reason.

2. In Dunfermline in the years 1645-46 & 47 the months chosen were May November and August. Stevenson Communion in Dunfermline 7. In Glasgow 1592.3.4 the months were April August May. Weems 28  
3. Records II 23-30  
in connection therewith. More interesting is the case of Caerlaverock where the communion was fixed for the Anniversary of a great disaster which overtook the dwellers by the Solway in 1628. This continued for at least ten years, probably much longer.

The Reformers kept faithfully to the Roman practice of Morning Communion. "Why" asks "make your communion before dinner since our Saviour instituted His Holy sacrament after Supper." And like the Romanists the Reformers believed in early morning communion. In Glasgow the service started at 4 a.m., and at Stirling it appears to have been half an hour earlier. In the East of Scotland the hour was a little later five o'clock being the time of commencement in Edinburgh, St Andrews, Perth, while at Dalgety the time was half an hour later still. In these places there were second services beginning at eight or nine o'clock. There is reason to believe that these separate communion services were meant to suit the convenience of different classes of communicants. At Elgin where the first bell was to ring at "half hour to three" (2.30 a.m.), the "servants for the maist part" were to come in the morning. At Edinburgh in 1574 it is recorded with regard to the early morning celebration that "It is for the servants and sic others that pleases to come". In time these early morning celebrations began to be dropped and it is somewhat interesting to note that the change took place chiefly during the Episcopal regime 1610-1638.

5. Session Records Maitland Club Miscellany I 452 (Date 1614).
6. Stevenson History 110. The account is derived from an M.S. History said to be written by the Minister of Caerlaverock about 1628. Ibid. 6. Scott's Fasti III 258.
In Canongate in 1613 the practice was introduced of having communion on three consecutive Sundays the last of January and the first two of February "without morning service." At Stirling too in 1614 the sacrament was ordained to be ministered on two Sabbaths "one service only to be ilk day." So too at St Andrews the Communion in 1638 was celebrated according "to the old fashion... the bells rang at three hours to the morning service," while at Dalgety where covenanting fervour was strong the early morning service was never given up. At Elgin we find both customs were observed. There were two Communion seasons in the year; the one at Pasche when the service was spread over two or three Sundays and when the only service was that in the forenoon, the other was in December when there was only the one Sunday fixed for the observance with both early morning and forenoon diets of worship.

The fashion of having Communion on two Sundays together was however in existence long before 1610. As has been noted there were in the earliest days (in populous places at any rate) of the Reformed Church first and Second Communion Sundays. A minute of the Session of Edinburgh of date 1574 indicates that the observance was spread over two Sundays and that the

1. Lee Lectures 390.
2. Records Maitland Club Miscellany I. 452.
3. Lee Lectures 400.
4. Ross Pastoral work in Covenanting Times 138. In Dunfermline early morning Communion was the rule up to 1648 but as the records are extant only from 1640 we cannot state what was the practice 1610-1638.
5. Records II. 163. 7. etc.
residents in the different quarters of the city communicated on different days. On this occasion it was "the brethren on the North side" who were to communicate on the first day. In Stirling also when Communion on two Sundays was introduced 'one half of the town was to attend on one day and the other half the other day.

In 1594 the Minister of the rural parish of Campsie desired to have the rite on more than two Sundays but on making application to the Presbytery that court refused to allow any more bidding him 'be content with the said two Sundays and to liffpen for more Sundays together but only the said two" In parishes with a large landward population it was customary for the town and country members to Communicate on different days. Two Sundays usually sufficed for the festival but in some places more were needed. In Glasgow in 1618 the 2nd 3rd and 4th Sabbath of April were the days appointed, while two years later the last two of April and the first two in May were fixed.

It was not until 1631 that half yearly Communion was introduced there, the dates then being the last three Sabbaths in April and the first in May with the second and third in December. After 1638 the old order was reverted to in Glasgow of having only the one Communion season in the year but strangely

1. Session Records (Maitland Club Miscellany) I.98.
2. Session Records (Maitland Club Miscellany) I.452.
3. Presbytery Records (Maitland Club Miscellany) I. 67
4. St Andrews Register 471 - 484 - 5 etc. Records of Elgin II. 38. etc.
5. Weems 28.
6. Weems. 28. 9.
enough in the parish of Newburgh the change over from Episcopacy to Presbytery saw a movement in the other direction. In 1639 the Communion was held a second time and the Session clerk had added to the minute recording it "which was the first time wherein we began to have it twice in the year." Whether however the celebration was on one Sunday or more care always was taken to have the "action" finished before noon. In Anstruther in 1592 the session in making their arrangements decided that only as many were to come forward to the table "as we may easily serve before twelve hours and the rest to communicate next day." Though it seems to have been customary to fix two consecutive Sundays this was not always done. At Cullen for example in 1649 the celebration was on the second Sunday of August and again on the first in September "for all who had not communicated the last day." Some sessions did not hesitate to have a special celebration when occasion called for it. Thus in 1604 the Session of Aberdeen ordered the Communion to be administered to "merchants, skippers and mariners that were at the sail (sic) at the late ministration of the Communion and to see other inhabitants of this Burgh as were absent from the said late Communion either by reason of sickness, absence furth of the town, or otherwise."  

3. Cramond, Church and Churchyard of Cullen 127.  
4. Selections (Shalding Club) 34.
In 1614 for the first time probably in the history of the country the people were commanded by Royal proclamation to attend communion on a certain day viz the 24th of April. This happened to be Easter day but there was no mention of the festival in the proclamation. One might have expected that there would have been bitter opposition to this act of the king but whether it was because of the reason given for the unprecedented step "the trial of popish recusants" or whether the people were not enough interested the season passed without any outward commotion. Calderwood who was certainly opposed to the innovation remarks "the most part obeyed but not all" (Row indicates that there were those who saw in the King's act "a snare" to bring ministers under the censure of the High Commission). James repeated the proclamation in the following year, and did not hesitate to mention the festival on this occasion, a charge being proclaimed "with sound of trumpet fifteen days before Easter Day to celebrate the communion at Easter in all times coming" Thus says the historian "The king by his own authority without advice or consent of the kirk enjoineth

1. Row. Historie 302
2. History VII - 191
3. Original Letters 450. The proclamation contains this clause "Reserving always to the Fathers and Ministers of the church the freedom of appointing such other days for ministration of the communion as they .... shall think meet.
Kirk orders" In spite of this however the injunction seems to have been received quietly and the people to have communicated on that day without much scruple. By the "instructions proposed by His Majesty's commissioners" and agreed to by the General Assembly of Aberdeen in 1616 it was ordered that the "communion be celebrate four times ilk year in the Burgh Towns and twice in landward, and one of the times to be at Easter yearly and if any communicate not once in the year the Act of Parliament to strike upon them with all severity. It is quite certain however that this act of the Assembly was not obyeed so far at least as quarterly communion was concerned. Calderwood mentions indeed that John Scrimgeour of Kinghorn who declined to obey the Perth articles was in the habit of "celebrating the communion every quarter of the year" but his case was exceptional. It was probably owing to this Act of 1616 being in existence however that the Acts enjoining the observance of the five articles of Perth say nothing about communion at Easter or indeed at any.

2. Ibid 229
3. The Act of Parliament enjoining communion struck upon at least one man with all severity. This was a parishioner of Cockburnspath who when ordered by his minister John Lauder a follower of the "Articles" to attend communion said a few words derogatory of the King's power thereanent for which he was hanged. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials. M 357-360.
4. Calderwood VII. 413. There seem to have been those who practised frequent communion Johnstone of Wariston notes in his Diary for May 1634 that he communicated on three consecutive Sundays in different churches. Diary 210-5.
other time. The act directs the Ministers to choose "pertinent texts of Scripture" for those days and to preach suitable sermons but is silent as to celebrations of the Lord Supper.

From that time onward Easter Communion seems to have been fairly general. Even those who objected bitterly to kneeling had no objection to going to other churches on that great festival and taking the Communion after the old manner sitting. Calderwood specially mentions this as happening in 1619 stating that the inhabitants of Edinburgh "in great numbers" went to surrounding churches to get the Communion "after the old forms" showing that the objection to an Easter celebration could not have been very prominent.

One has to remember that whereas today the moveable date of Easter is a hindrance to the observance of the rite in Scotland - for most Presbyterian churches have the Communion at regular intervals - such an objection would not be felt then as there seems to have been little if any regularity in the dates fixed for the ordinance. Again Pasch was a date in the Calendar which they all knew. Even bitter opponents of the observance of "days" had no objections to using them in their yearly Calendar. Thus Rutherford in 1635 writes that he intended that the Communion should be celebrated the first Sabbath after Pasch. A puritan in our day would have said the "third Sabbath in April."

1. Calderwood History VII - 337. In that year Calderwood says that on Easter Day many of the people in various places attended Communion. This was of course before the meeting of the Assembly History VII 297. Gillespie did not hold that the Communion should not be celebrated at Easter but that it had no power to "determine Easter day either as the only time or as the fittest time for all the faithful of both sexes to receive the eucharist "English Popish Ceremonies 128.

2. Calderwood History VII - 360.

Yet it must not be thought that there was no opposition. In Perth in 1615 when the "Bishop of Galloway and the hail elders ordained 'the Communion to be celebrated at this Burgh on the 9th and 16th days of April next to come but Mr. John Malcolm minister dissented therefrom alleging the celebration thereof on the said 9th day of April which is Pasche Sunday to be contrary to the acts of the Assembly thereanent."  

Malcolm had been Principal of St Leonards and had been inducted as Minister at Perth in 1591. His objections seem to have been got over for we find him agreeing to the Perth articles after they had been passed by the General Assembly. Speaking generally however the people acquiesced in the Easter celebrations. At Glasgow in 1636 and 1637 Communion was on "Pascal" day as it had been in earlier days also. In Falkirk Communion was on Pasche day as well as in Aberdeen Elgin and other parishes. The Easter Communion indeed survived the Glasgow Assembly's prohibition for at least ten years as we see from the narrative of George Blakhall a Jesuit priest who journeying in Scotland in 1643 found himself in danger of being detected by reason of the fact that on Easter Sunday when he was travelling Communion was being held at Edinburgh, Queensferry, Boness, Stirling.

1. Stevenson says that when in 1625 the Communion in Edinburgh was arranged for Pasch "many were displeased at the season thereof" History 101. Three years later the date does not seem to have caused any trouble. Ibid 101. 
2. Session Records of Perth Spottiswood Miscellany 207. He may have forgotten that the Assembly of 1570 allowed Communion on Pasch "superstition being removed" Calderwood III.5. 
5. Records quoted Burns Old,Communion Plate 43. 
6. History of the Troubles (Spalding) I.118. 
7. Records II. Right through the period 1613-1638 Communion was celebrated yearly at Easter and on other two Sundays usually Palm and Low Sunday as well.
and other places. In 1649 the Session of Dunfermline decided that the "meetest" times for giving of Communion here/twice in the year shall be at Pasch and Michaelmas."

The success of the King with the Easter Communion led him to go further and in August 1624 he issued a proclamation commanding the Lords of Privy Council all the members of the College of Justice and the inhabitants of the town of Edinburgh to communicate kneeling upon Christmas Day." A proceeding which says Calderwood "never was done in Edinburgh nor no other Kirk of Scotland since the Reformation." Here again as Calderwood himself admits there was much greater objection made to the kneeling than to the day of the Ordinance, but whether the inhabitants of Edinburgh would have kept Christmas as the King wished was never tested for the pest broke out in the end of November the Christmas Communion was delayed and adds the historian "King James altogether disappointed." Calderwood was of opinion however that there would have not been many communicants by reason of the superstition of the time let be kneeling."

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1. Brief Narration by Gilbert Blakhall (Spalding Club)162.
2. Stevenson Communion in Dunfermline VII. For some reason the resolution was never put into effect.
3. Ibid 621.
4. Ibid 627.
5. Ibid 629.
"COMMUNION OF THE SICK."
COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

The "Communion of the Sick" commonly though not altogether correctly called "Private Communion" was allowed by the Assembly at St Andrews in 1617 and was afterwards one of the Perth Articles, James insisting on the conditions laid down at St Andrews being modified. A form for this service is included in the Book of Common Prayer of 1637 but in no other Reformed book. The rubric of that book required "three or four of good religion and conservation free of all unlawful impediments to communicate with him." A convenient place" had also to be prepared and "all things necessary for the reverent administration thereof." In the earlier days of the Reformed Church Knox as has been seen, ministered the Communion regularly in private houses, as did also Paul Methven and doubtless the other reformers as well. They were however opposed to the Communion of the Sick as this is one of the points on which Wénzet challenged them. After 1560 such practices were forbidden but that they still went on seems quite clear from an Act of the Assembly of 1581 which deals with the prohibition not only of marriage and baptism but also of the Lord's Supper in private houses. With the alteration of the law in 1617 the practice was revived to some extent. Gillespie objected to it but it is remarkable that he does not seem to have been nearly so bitterly opposed to this.

2. "If there be any sick person who has lain bedfast the space of a year the Minister of the parish being earnestly requested should minister the Communion to him in the presence of six elders and other famous witnesses."
3. Register of St Andrews 236. The celebration took place in the "beginning of religion."
5. Calderwood III. 588.
as he was to the other points of the "five articles", He allows that it was used in the primitive Church but thought that the reason for it then did not apply to Scotland in the 17th Century. He argued against any ministration of either sacrament in a private house but has a great deal more to say against private baptism than private communion. One of his arguments is somewhat strange coming from as able a man as he undoubtedly was. He states that he has known some who did not receive the "Communion in time of their sickness and more gloriously and comfortably than ever he had heard of any who received the sacrament for their vicari cum when they were adying" a form of reasoning which might easily have been turned against the Christian faith itself. On the other hand Bishop Lindsay of Brechin (afterwards of Edinburgh) in his "True Narration" declares that the church had practised private Communion "in former times" (i.e., before 1618) and that seeing it was allowed by the Assembly it was only "obstinate disobedience" to refuse to minister it when required. Lindsays words receive some corroboration from an incident which happened some years before, In 1615 the Ministers of Edinburgh got the execution of the Earl of Orkney delayed until he should receive the Lord's Supper. "So he communicate upon the Lords Day 5th of February and was beheaded at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on Monday 6th February" This was not the date of the General Communion for we learn incidentally

1. English Popish Ceremonies 58
2. Ibid 33.
that year it had been celebrated a "little before
Candlemas" In the Session records of St. Nicholas
Aberdeen we find such references to the practice as:

"25th July 1630, Received by the Collector
35 Shillings at Alex Hills wife her Communion."
"11th Dec 1631 Collected at the private Communion
Ministered to Marion Beanes eight pounds."
"3rd Nov. 1633, Nine shilling given by John Touch
at the receiving of the Sacrament of the Lords
Supper."

Such entries show that in Aberdeen it had been a regular
practice to given Communion outside the Church."

In Elgin there was a special service held in December
1622 for "those that were sick and such others as had not
Communicated before" Such Communions seems to have
more common than now. In 1631 the Presbytery of Strathbogie
ordered a Minister to give the Communion to two men and
there to Communicate within twenty days. This practice
was continued even in the days of the Covenant as may be
seen from the following entry in the minute book of the
same presbytery "Glas 7th June 1648. The goodwife of
Carnborrow not having been at Communion at the usual time
she was ordained to communicate primo quoque tempore and
the Minister to appoint a particular diet for that effect"

The question has been raised as to whether the sick
were communicated with the reserved sacrament or whether
there was always a celebration in the sick persons house.

The latter was the Anglican method there being a special

2. Eeles Traditional Customs 86-7 Cooper Revival of
Church Principles 19.
3. Records II. 176.
4. Presbytery Book of Strathbogie (Spalding Club) 2.
5. Ibid. " 89.

As early as 1620 Dr Forbes handed to the Session
L£4-4-6, which had been received by him from
"sic as his communicate privately this last
week" Selections from Ecclesiastical Records 97.
form of service provided for the purpose though the first Prayer Book of King Edward VI allowed the priest to reserve "so much of the sacrament" as should be required provided the sick person was to be communicated the same day as the celebration had been in the Church. Laud's Liturgy contains a long direction at the end of the Communion Office, as to what was to be done with the consecrated elements left over from the distribution and prohibiting them from being "carried out of the Church!" There is not the slightest hint that they might be taken to absent members of the congregation. On the other hand it is noteworthy that there is no such direction in Cowper's draft which says nothing about the matter at all. At Aberdeen the custom was to communicate the sick on the same day as the public celebration took place and this may indicate that the elements were carried from the church to the house. (Where private Communion is given today by Ministers of the Church of Scotland this is the usual Custom). Among the Episcopalians of the 18th Century "reservation" was undoubtedly practised but whether that was a "survival" or an "innovation" is not so clear.

A little light is shed on the matter by that chapter of the Westminster Confession of Faith which deals with the Lord's Supper. Section III deals with the duties of the Ministers at the celebration and directs them to declare Christ's "Word of institution to the people to pray

1. They were to "be reverently eaten and drunk" by the Presbyter and such of the Communicants as he associated with him. This custom continued in some parts of Scotland up to comparatively recently the consumption however taking place in the Manse and the Minister and elders being the consumers. See Edgar Old Church Life I. 151.

2. See page 253

and bless the elements of bread and wine....to take and break the bread and they communicating also themselves to give both to the Communicants but to none who are not then present in the congregation. Section IV deals with those things which are "All contrary to the nature of this sacrament and to the institution of Christ." These include private masses, denial of the cup to the people worshipping the elements and the "reserving of them for any pretended religious use." This indicates quite clearly that the Westminster Divines drew a distinction between "Reservation" and "Giving the Communion to the Absent." Both are prohibited - at least the latter so far as the Ministers are concerned - but only the former is condemned.

It is possible that the inclusion of the words "to none who are not then present in the congregation" may be due to the practice of carrying the elements to the absent in the years preceding. The Act of the Assembly of 1618 states however that the Communion of the Sick had to be "according to the order prescribed in the Church," and this points to what in modern days is termed a "clinical celebration".

In the 18th Century there was a practice in vogue in the Shetland islands for communicants to carry away in a clean handkerchief a portion of the sacramental bread for the sick, and there is reason to believe that the custom still exists. May it be a survival of earlier post-Reformation practice? In 1622 the Session of Elgin dealt

1. See Page. 102.
2. Eccles Tradition Customs 95.
with a Communicant because when she "received the bread the body of the Lord (she) did not eat it but either put it in her napkin or let it fall from her." Eighty years later such things were still happening. In 1703 at Galston a man was publicly rebuked in the Church because he had put "part of the bread in his pocket."

1. Records II. 166.
2. Edgar: Old Church Life, I. 151.
THE ELEMENTS.
The elements used at the Sacrament were of course bread and wine and there is ample evidence that in addition to the use of ordinary bread, the Roman use of unleavened bread was continued in some parts of Scotland. This usually took the form of shortbread which was baked in thin flat cakes and in one or two parishes it is still in use. At the beginning of the 19th Century practically every parish in Dumfriesshire and Galloway used shortbread at the Communion and it is noteworthy that the same form of element was used by many of the Presbyterians in Northern Ireland who had many customs in common with their brethren of the "South West." It was not however only there this this form of bread was used - as reference is made to its use in Glasgow Arbroath and Ayrshire. The cakes seem usually to have been round in form (was this suggested by the Roman Wafer?) and those used at St Michael's Dumfries had a cross marked on the upper surface. In the Eastern Counties of Scotland unleavened bread was used up to

2. Ibid 8.
3. Edgar Old Church Life I. 148.
4. Shortbread was used in St Michaels up to 1865 Paton Book of St Michaels 185.
the 18th Century if not later but whether it took the form of shortbread is not so certain. It would be interesting to know if this survival could be traced to the influence of the great Reformer Knox himself. We have seen that his Berwick Communion Order was founded on that of Zurich and in that city it was the post reformation custom to use unleavened bread at the table of the Lord. In other places ordinary bread was used and this is stated by Stewart of Fardowan to be the law of the church though he adds "it is most decent that it be leavened wheat bread," showing that in his time other forms of bread were used. A certain light on the matter comes from a "CATALOGUS CONTROVERSIARUM INTER EVANGELICOS ET PONTIFICIOS" which was written down by the "scribe" of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy in 1630 for the purpose apparently of guiding the brethren in determining which subject should be the common head to be handled by one or other of their number. In the 12th section which deals "DE COENA DOMINI" we find "DE PANE AZIMO ET VINO AQUA TEMPERATO" and as each of the other six points in that section represent "Popish" customs and beliefs which were not followed by the reformed it seems in every way probable that in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy at any rate there was no unleavened bread used or water mixed

1. So says Grey Graham in his Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century. He does not however quote any authority. Beales Traditional Customs 33 mentions that at Fraserburgh the bread for the Episcopalians was baked by a member of the congregation and consisted of the finest flour with a little yeast and water. King Edwards first Prayer Book required unleavened bread at the Communion.

2. A special kind of bread is still baked in Wigtownshire for sacramental use.

3. Dr Edgar mentions that in his first parish it had up to shortly before his admission there, been customary to use shortbread and that when he was asked to revert to the old custom he refused quoting Fardowan as to the effect that it was ordinary bread which should be used. Old Church Life in Scotland I. 148.
with the communion wine. In earlier days in Scotland it would not always be easy to get wheaten bread hence session had often to arrange specially for bread being brought from a distance for the occasion. In some cases they had to buy flour and get the bread made locally. With wheaten bread so difficult to procure it may be taken that other forms of bread would be used. This finds some confirmation in a complaint made against a parishioner of Kippen in 1684. He was reported to have said that "if the Communion had been given in winter when bread was scarcer there would have been more then to take gray bread than there came in summer to take wheat bread". The custom of "taking what you have" did not die out for many years after the date above mentioned because on the field of Culloden the Episcopalian chaplain to Lord Ogilvie celebrated the sacrament with oat cakes and whisky. The early accounts do not throw much light on the kind of bread used. In Edinburgh in 1561 we have the following. "Twa dusson of braid price of ye pence 14d " and for the 2nd and 3rd Communion at each "8 dozen of braid." Twelve years later. "7 dozen of braid" were required but there is nothing to indicate what was the quality or the size of "ye pence."

2. In 1691, £1.2.0. was paid at Mauchline for "bringing home the bread and the wine" as is shown in Edinburgh in 1561. 
3. Kilmartin Kirk Session Records show that six pecks of flour were bought for that purpose in 1699 while as late as 1752. Kildonan Session sent an elder all the way to Greenock to get four pecks of flour. In the South Dumfries was the usual centre of supply. Statistical Account, (Kircudbrightshire) 1792 - 207.
4. Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunkeld - 206 an old folk lore rhyme draws the same distinction "Hogmany Yollay Gie us o' you white bread and none of your gray"
5. Craven, Bishop Forbes Journal 182.

Lee Lectures 399
In somewhat late days it was customary in some places to use loaves cut into slices as at the present day, for Calderwood writing of the Communion in St Giles in 1620 mentions that the Minister handed to the Lord Treasurer a "shave" of bread which the treasurer divided with five others. If the slice was as large as it is in modern times then each communicant must have taken a much larger piece than is customary today.

In the North there existed the practise of cutting the bread for the Communicants into small cubes like dice. This custom probably came in after the Perth assembly when the minister was ordered to serve each communicant himself but it may have been much earlier.

Forbes "Irenium" as is well known owed its existence to a series of problems which were put forward by a Co Presbytery Rev. Alexander Minister at Kintore with reference to these post Perth Assembly practices. In problem VI, states that "so far as concerns the species of bread the result is to do away with a Communion between people seated at the same table if really no one puts his hand into the same patten no one gives anything to his neighbour" This is all the more interesting as was an Episcopalian and had indeed been presented to his first parish that of Monymusk by Charles I. The

1. History VII. 437.
2. A slice. The word is still in common use in the South of Scotland.
3. It seems to have been the practice for the elders to prepare the bread. A minute of South Leith Session of date 1614 gives the names of two elders who were "to prepare ye bread for ye Communion" See also Stevenson Communion in Dunfermline VII.
4. Forbes Irenium (Edited by Selwyn) 67.
5. Scotts Fasti III. 189.
point is of course that his question indicates quite clearly that the practice of each communicant taking his own bread out of the paten had been long enough in existence for the idea to have grown up that it was an important part of the Communion Services. Forbes answer was to the effect that "Communion did not consist in several people putting their hands into the same paten" showing he also knew of the practice, and he goes on to point out that it is not in accordance with the Institution of our Lord who Himself brake the bread and gave it and that these being sacramental actions ought to be done by the Minister alone. Gillespie also knew of the custom which he mentions only to condemn saying that Christ did not have the bread "carved in small pieces before it was brought to the Table." That the practice was however continued by covenanting Divines seems certain for Spalding referring to a communion conducted by Andrew Cant and John Oswald in Aberdeen in 1642 says "They gave the bread to one or two sitting nearest them, then the basin by one elder was set before the people down the board and ilk took his Communion with his own hand out of the basin." And it still continues among many congregations in the North. Gillespie complains that by bringing the bread to the table in MULTAS MINUTIAS it cannot be broken IN ACTU SACRAMENTALI but doubtless there would be a larger

1. Irenicum edited by Selwyn 85 - 6.
2. English Popish Ceremonies 207.
3. Memorials of the Troubles II. 184-5, Spalding gives several other instances of Communions where about the same time "Ilk man took the sacrament with his own hand." I. 241 - 245.
4. English Popish Ceremonies 204.
piece provided for this purpose. Among the Episcopalians in some places in the North of Scotland in the 18th Century it was customary to cut rectangular pieces out of the corners of the slice of bread used for the fraction, thus making it like a cross. It would be interesting to know if this is a survival of earlier practice.

The wine used appears to have been chiefly Claret which may have been due to the "Auld Alliance." Hock was also used and probably Port as well. Pardovan states that any kind may be used but that "wine of a red colour seemeth most suitable," as is well known it was customary in the Roman church to mix water with the wine used in the Mass.

The practice was allowed in England by the Reformers who drew up the First prayer book of King Edward VI.

Nothing is said of this in the Second book. This pre-reformation custom was continued in some parts of Scotland especially in the North.

Bishop Rattray in an account of the Episcopal church immediately after the Revolution of 1689 states that it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the sacramental wine not indeed at the Altar but in preparing the elements before. This custom was

1. Bales Traditional Ceremonies 34.
2. See Lectures I, 393. Dean of Guild Accounts 1590 "a punchion of claret wine."
4. Collections Bk.II. Tit.4. Par.3.
5. In the Roman Church the addition of water to the wine is not regarded as of necessity to the Sacrament: being a matter not of Divine precept but of Church Rule.
6. Rubrie in Communion Service "putting the wine in the chalice.....putting thereto a little pure and clean water.
7. Nothing is said in this book about filling the chalice at all.
8. Winzet complains that the Reformers did not mix "the Lord's Cup with water and wine before the Sanctification.

The reference may be to the ceremonial "making of the chalice" Certain Tractates 149.
almost universal throughout of the North perhaps from the very time of the Reformation.¹ The use of the mixed cup was also practised by some of the old Presbyterian churches and in the North of Ireland. There perhaps it may be traced to the influx of Aberdonians in the 17th Century. Bredon mentions that in 1634 10,000 had left the Northern county to settle in Ulster and they doubtless carried their customs with them.

The practice has existed in the North of Scotland up to our own day. A rather strange relic of the custom was to be observed up to comparatively recently in two parish churches so far apart as Dunrossness in Shetland and Kirkmaiden in Wigtown. In each of those the practice was to bring the wine to the Communion Table in bottles and to draw the corks and decant the wine during the service. The reason for this was stated to be a fear on the part of the congregation that the wine had been watered. That the "mixed chalice" was objected to in other places may I think be inferred from the "Common head" debated in the presbytery of Kirkcaldy already referred to "DE VINO AQUA TEMPERATO" ³ It may be noted that at the time when that point of controversy was debated the Church was Episcopal in Government. We find that in the North an attempt was made to stop the practice

¹ Dowden Annotated Scottish Communion Office 43.
² Brereton's Travels (Chetham Society) - 110. The passage does not occur in "Early Travellers,"
³ Stevenson Presbyterian Book of Kirkcaldie - 4.
referred to, after the establishment of Presbytery.

Among the injunctions sent down to Presbyteries by the Synod in Aberdeen in 1650 occurs the following. "It is appointed that the clerk for each Presbytery add to the platform for visiting congregations this question "Is your wine prepared for the celebration of the Communion mixed with water or not."

There is no evidence as to when the water was mixed with the wine, but it is in every way probable that it was before the service commenced. Among the Episcopal Clergy of the 18th Century it was done in face of the congregation just before the placing of the elements on the Altar and prayer was sometimes offered.

In other cases the Presbyter repeated the text "A soldier with a spear pierced His side and forthwith came there out the blood and water." With others the custom was to make the mixture before the service and Mr Keels is of opinion that this custom goes back to the Pre-Reformation days even to the times of the Irish Missionaries who brought the Christian Faith to Scotland. It is certainly an interesting circumstance that the "Lebar Bread" an ancient Gaelic Treatise on the Symbolism of the Lord's Supper directs that at the beginning first water and then Wine is to be poured into the chalice.

1. Presbytery Records of Fordyce under Date March 27, 1650. It is possible the appoint of the Elders to tastethe wine mentioned in South Leith records under date 1614 may have been due to a desire to know whether water was added.

2. St John, XIX - 34.

3. Traditional Customs 37-38. At low Mass with the Sarum rite which was extensively used in Scotland in Pre-Reformation times the Mixture was made at the beginning of the Service.

But was wine the only liquor used for Communion?

It has already been stated that there is evidence that on occasion whisky was used by Episcopalians. Grey Graham states that in the earlier part of the 18th Century ale was sometimes used. Unfortunately he does not quote his authority for the statement but there are certain indications which may be held to point to such a usage in Scotland. In one of the earliest accounts relating to the purchase of Communion elements in Edinburgh (1574-75) there is a hint that at the second day's Communion the wine had run short.

"Second Table Ane Puncheon of wyne £27.10.

Mai^ bocht frae Gilbert Thorntounis wyfe £5.15.

11 quarts and ane pynt ale"

These entries are followed by "4 quarts ale" and it is just possible that ale had on that occasion to be used to eke out the wine. In 1687 when the church was Episcopal an account for Communion elements presented to St Cuthbert's Church Edinburgh shows that "9 pynts wyne and 2 pynts ale," were got to the kirk"as well as sundry pynts of wyne to the Minister, Presbytery Elders Deacons etc. These entries however are not conclusive for the concluding item on the account shows that "ane pynt of ale" was given to the man that drew the wine and it is just possible that all the "Ale was meant for refreshment and not Communion purposes. Pardovan however seems to

1. See Lectures I. 392.
2. Edgar Old Church Life in Scotland I. 146.
have known that beverages other than wine were sometimes used for he seeks to justify the use of such. In case a Society of Christians should want the fruits of the vine of all sorts I cannot think that it might be supplied by some composure as like unto it as could be made. Bread and Wine were to him "the ordinary elements to be used" showing that he thought that situations might arise where others might lawfully be used.

One thing which must strike every reader of the accounts relating to these early feasts is the great quantity of wine that was used. In Edinburgh in 1574 10½ gallons were needed and four years later 26 gallons, and that too on each occasion for Communion on one Sunday only. In 1590 "ane puncheon of claret wine" was got, and also 9 gallons mair for the last Communion, while in Glasgow from 1594 the amount ordered was "a hogshead of good wine." The reason for this may have been due partly at least to a reaction from the denial of the cup to the laity, and we find somewhat later that the matter of drinking much or little was actually made a point of principle between the two contending parties in the Church. In Calderwood's book "The Pastor and the Prelate" we get the following "The pastor sitteth down in public with the congregation. They eat and drink as they may find themselves refreshed sensibly. The Prelate ... hath turned....the refreshment of eating and drinking into a pinched tasting." Dr Burns suggests that at Communion

2. See Lectures I. 392-3.
3. Weens 25.
4. (Published in 1628)
seasons congregations were augmented by members from neighbouring parishes and that this custom accounts for the large consumption of the elements "To Assume" he says "that the wine used by drunk solely by the regular attenders of the particular church is to show ignorance of the customs of the age." (1560-1592).

At the risk of being considered ignorant the writer is of opinion that there is little evidence in favour of Dr Burns statement and a very great deal against it. That such a custom became in time quite common is known to everyone, but that it was in existence before the second decade of the 17th century is not borne out by facts. Bishop Sage who must have known many who had taken part in these earlier Communion services says that the great concourses of people from neighbouring parishes at a Communion season, were unknown in the early days of the Reformed Church. The writer of a pamphlet in 1657 describes these great crowds as being among the innovations of his time. "Our dissenting brethren have taken up a new and irregular way. To omit their way of admitting persons who come from other congregations they do not now usually celebrate that ordinance but they have a great many ministers gathered into it six and seven and sometimes double or more whose congregations most part are

1. Old Scottish Communion Plate 17.
2. Fundamental Charter 364, Sage was born in 1652.
left destitute of preaching that day. Great confluences from all the country and many congregations about are gathered at them." Calderwood mentions as though it were something strange that in 1619 during the controversy on kneeling many of the Edinburgh Communicants went to churches on the outskirts of the city where they would not be required to kneel. Kirk Sessions in making arrangements for the celebration in large towns indicated the different quarters the residents in which were to communicate on the separate days of the festival a proceeding which would have been meaningless if the congregation had been swamped with strangers.

In intimating the Communion in Edinburgh in 1629 it was stated that the same would be celebrated in all the four kirk; and "therefore all the inhabitants of the same (are) to repair ilk man to his own parish conform to the accustomed manner" We actually find sessions forbidding their members to go to other churches stating that those who went to another parish to communicate should be visited with the same punishment as those who did not communicate at all. As also we find the session of Elgin giving due intimation that as the Communion was to be celebrated on a certain day strangers were not to enter the church on that occasion.

That a few may have sought communion elsewhere than their own parish church may be admitted but that there could not

2. Calderwood History VII. 360.
3. See page.
4. See Lectures I. 393.
5. Register of St Andrews 934. The inhabitants of the city were forbidden to go to Communion at St Leonards. The date is 1600.
6. Records of Elgin II. 99. The date is 1602.
7. Ibid 77. A service of "reading and singing by the Reader" was provided apparently for non-Communicants in "the quest." Date 1600.
have been many as late as 1611 as I think quite clearly indicated by the act of the Synod of Fife in that year that persons communicating elsewhere than in their own parish should be reckoned non-communicants. As late as 1631 a parishioner of Dundonald in Ayrshire confessed on his knees his fault in "Bideing from his own parish kirk and absence from the Communion and has promised to resort to this kirk hereafter."

The only argument which the writer has been able to find in support of Dr Burn's contention is that founded on the large number who attended Communion. Thus in 1564 about a thousand persons communicated in the Cannongate and only a hundred or so less the following year. We have to take into account however that every man and woman was a communicant and a very large proportion of young persons and children as well. James Melville tells us that he was a communicant at the age of twelve. Robert Blair was only eleven when he sat down at the Lords Table and such cases were quite common. In Edinburgh in 1575 "ane bairn of X years" was admitted to the table of the Lord and we would have known nothing of the matter had it not been that the session did not think it necessary to put her under kirk discipline in respect of her tender age for remaining within the castle" As householders and their families had to present themselves at the examination before the Communion otherwise they were to be debarred.

1. Register of Synod (Abbotsford Club) 33 - 4. The Synod permitted a man to go to church other than his own on account of age in 1611. Register 30.
4. Ibid 7.
from partaking of the Sacrament we may take it that
the number of young persons at the Lords Table must
have been greater than it is today.

THE BRINGING IN OF THE ELEMENTS.

One of the most characteristic of the Scottish usages
at the Communion Service is the bringing in of the
elements by the Ministers and Elders during the Service.
This corresponds to a similar ceremony in the Greek Church
but there is nothing exactly like it in the Roman or
Anglican Churches. In the two latter cases the
elements are usually put either on the Altar at the
beginning of the Service or upon a Credence Table, and
lifted from it to the Altar during the service. Dr King
Hewison stated many years ago that our Scottish Custom
is "an attenuated survival of the Corpus Christi
procession" but the present writer cannot agree. There
seem to be too many differences between the two to
allow of the one being copied from the other. To mention
only two. The one is a procession with the consecrated host
the other is the bringing in of the unconsecrated elements,
The one is a procession from the other to the Holy Table.
The Custom is undoubtedly one of considerable antiquity
and was after the Reformation more or less common in
England. Among other places where it was to be seen was
St Paul's London.

1. Register of the Synod of Fife (Abbotsford Club) 111.
The date is 1630.
1. In a signed Article in the Glasgow Herald.
2. Cooper Reunion, 84.
As early as 1580 we find Deacons being appointed by name to convey the elements from the vestry to the tables. There is a reference to the custom in Cowper's Draft, where it is said "As soon as the Minister enters into the pulpit, such as attend upon the Ministration shall present the elements covered and set them upon the table." This does not, of course, mean that the elements were brought in at the beginning of the Service, for that had proceeded some time before the Minister entered into the pulpit, but it does indicate, I think, that the Minister did not take part in the ceremony. In old session records we find that appointments were made of "Servers at the Communion Table," so many "to carry the bread" and so many "for the cups." The custom to-day is for the elders to carry the elements, though they are always accompanied by the Minister. Hyslop, who was born in 1798, in his "Scottish Sacramental Sabbath Day" which depicts a Communion in Nithsdale in the second decade of the 19th Century, has the following lines.

"The Action sermon ended, tables fenced While elders forth the sacred symbols bring, The day's more solemn service now commenced To Heaven is wafted on devotion's wing The Psalm."

Dr. Cooper states that the Psalm associated with this action was the 24th, Verses 7 - 10, which, he says, seems to have been universal prior to the introduction of the Paraphrases.

2. Stevenson Communion in Dunfermline VI, Burns 49, etc.

It is well known that Dr. Andrew Thomson - a native by the way of the Parish where Hyslop was a communicant - wrote the Tune "St George's Edinburgh" for use at this point of the Communion Service. Hyslop states, however, that the Psalm used was the 116th "I'll of Salvation take the cup."
COMMUNION TABLE AND VESSELS.

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THE COMMUNION TABLE.

It is laid down in the Book of Discipline that every Church should have among other articles "Tables for the ministration of the Lords Supper" but there seems little doubt that for many years it was customary to erect tables when they were required and take them to pieces after the ceremony. That such was the case in the early days of the Reformed Church is undoubted and in some places it continued up to the 18th Century if not later. In 1561 the accounts of the Dean of Guild of Edinburgh show that four workmen were employed to set up the tables while some years later we find Canongate Burgh Council paying "for ane daill to be ane tabill to the Communion" as well as for nails to affix it. As time went on however parishes began to get permanent tables. Thus Baillie tells us that one of the complaints made against Thomas Forrester Minister of Melrose at the Assembly of 1638 was that he had made the old Communion Table with a waggon to lead his peats. In 1643 we read of the Solemn League and Covenant being signed at the Communion Table at the Kirk of Carnock. The Presbytery Book of Strathbogie mentions under date 1642 that Communion Tables had been erected at the charge of the Laird of Frendraught in his parish kirk.

1. Knox II. 252.
2. "A Bell, Basin for Baptisms, and a Pulpit" It will be noticed that nothing is said of Communion Vessels.
3. Boston mentions the erection of tables at Ettrick previous to the Communion 1723. Memoirs Edited by Dr Morrison, 360/.
4. See Lectures 389.
5. Maitland Club Miscellany II. 335.
7. Row Historic XXIV.
8. (Spalding Club) 33.
The table was flanked by forms on which the Communicants sat and the elements were passed along from one person to another. Sometimes there was only one such long table sometimes more than one but there seems also to have been a "head board" or cross table where the officiating minister and his assistants sat, and on this the elements were placed before consecration.

In 1638 the Communion was celebrated in Perth in "the auld manner" and it is specially recorded that the minister was at "the little table and the elders at the two boards (there) being people at both sides thereof. There is still preserved by Trinity College Church Edinburgh a communion paten which dates from 1633 it having been presented to the Church in that year "at the charges and by the charity of some honest indwellers" in the parish. On it is engraved a communion Table furnished for Communion. It is four square and consists of a mensa or top slab resting on four carved legs which again rest on a base carved at the edges. On the Table are placed two communion cups and a plate containing four round slices of bread while underneath are placed two flagons. By the side of Table our Lord is represented kneeling with His hands in the attitude

1. The accounts of Canongate under date 1574 contain items relating to the Communion such as "ane aiken trie to be formis" and other aiken trie to be felt to the new and auld formis" Maitland Club Miscellany II. 335. That such were also used in episcopal times is shown by such an entry as "Forms and boards made to the new Kirk for the Sacrament" in Glasgow in 1631 Records of Glasgow (Burgh Record Society) 9.
2. Weems 25. In 1705 "a four square table" for setting the elements on was got by the Kirk Session of Merton. K.S. Records.
3. The Chronicles of Perth (Maitland Club) 36.
of prayer. The engraving may be meant to enforce the
Truth that Christ is the great High Priest. It is
in every way likely that both vessels and table are
copied from those actually in use and if so we have
here a representation of a "head table" of Episcopal
times. It is not to be thought that during the reign
of Episcopacy the use of the long tables was given up.
They were disused in some places as at Melrose where the
Minister substituted "an altar and rails" stood within
and reached the elements to those who kneeled without
and at Paisley where in 1637 the Minister of the Abbey
was accused of having "profaned the sacrament of the
Lord's Supper by casting away the long table and placing
a short one altarwise with a fixed rail about it within
which he stood himself and reached the elements to the
people kneeling without about the rail." In some of the
Cathedrals too there seem to have been altars erected,
but generally speaking the long tables were retained.
Cowper in his draft evidently regarded them as being
the proper form for the Church of Scotland for although
he directs that the consecrated elements should be
given to the people kneeling he mentions likewise that
the Communion is to be received at a table which the
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1. Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries. XX-441
2. Ballie Letters I. 165. Another Minister is mentioned
by Ballie as having erected "an altar with rails at
his own hand" Ibid.
4. One of the accusations made against Maxwell Bishop, of
Ross was that "he was a bower at the Altar" Ballie
Letters I. 162.
5. Balilie mentions a case where a Minister was accused
of having read "an inhibition for the tinds against
his people at the Table end betwixt sermon and
celebration" he was for this and other faults deposed
by the Assembly of 1638. Ballie Letters I. 163.
6. "The table whereat the Communion is to be received
being covered with a white linen cloth shall stand
in that part of the Church which the Minister findeth
most convenient."
Communicants were to come to relays. Similarly Calderwood mentions regarding the Communions in Edinburgh in 1621 that in the Old Kirk, the "Tables were filled but four times" and had the long Tables been put away in favour of the Anglican Altar he most certainly would have mentioned the fact.

One of the problems set by John Forbes of Kintore to his Co-Presbyter John Porbes of Coase makes it quite clear that the use of the long table was still common in 1628, and Forbes though defending all the five articles of Perth has nothing to say against the Scottish practice so far as the Table is concerned. "Kneeling at Holy Communion says absolutely does away with the point of the Table it is quite useless while the Ministers one of the so called Elders takes round the Bread and the Wine and might as well be removed in the meantime and taken away. Therefore either kneeling should be given up or the Table is not wanted for this supper." Forbes in his reply points out that the Table is for the Supper and is not there for its own sake and we use it he says "in so far as convenience and dignity in the distribution and reception of the Supper make it necessary or expedient."

1. "And whilst they (those who have communicated) are giving place to others let part of the 103 or 34 Psalm be sung."
3. At Elgin in 1641 part of the Collection taken at the Communion was expended in "making forms to the table" which may indicate that there the practice of the Communicants sitting down at the table had been discontinued during the Episcopalian period. In 1640 it is noted that the Communion was 'given sitting" Records II. 236 - 9.
5. Ibid.
6. One regrets to say that the Tables were not always treated with dignity for in 1677 (when the Church was Episcopal) Colinton Session resolved that in future the tables should not be "let out for penny weddings" and some forty years later in Presbyterian times the Presbytery of Ayr appointed that "none of the Communion
The table seems always to have been covered with a white linen cloth during time of service. This was a Pre Reformation Custom which the Reformers followed and Wishart did not forget to ask them where they got scripture warrant for so doing. Buchanan in describing Wishart's last sacrament says "In the meantime the table being covered as is the custom with a linen cloth and bread placed upon it George began a short clear discourse upon the last supper." In 1576 we find the Council of the Canongate buying "VII ells of linen cloth to eek out the Communion cloth." In addition to the Table Covers there were also linen cloths used for covering the Bread (and perhaps also the cups, Cowper's words at least suggest this). Two such were bought in Glasgow in 1612 and among the articles handed over to the Session at Elgin in 1631 by the widow of the Minister were two table cloths and two cover cloths. Care was taken to see these cloths were kept clean and we come across quite a number of entries relating to "Washing and sape." It is in every way unlikely that there would be anything upon the communion table other than the sacramental vessels and the linen cloths at the Communion Service.

(Continued from page 276) Note 6) Tables be let out at Fairs" K.S. Records. Paterson's History of Ayrshire II.128.
1. Why cover ye your table with a white cloth at your Communion? Certain Tracts 24.
5. Records II. 225.
6. See Lectures 390 - 2 etc.
Liturgy states that the "Holy Table" was to have at the Communion "A carpet and a fair white linen cloth upon it with other decent furniture meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated" (King Edwards first prayer book says nothing of the matter so far as the rubrics of the Communion service indicate and his second prayer Book like its successor only required the fair linen cloth). The "Carpet" is of course simply the cover but what the "other decent furniture" is not so easily answered. It is probable that the expression refers to the frontal and frontlet which were usually of embroidered work. A cross and two candlesticks were to be found on contemporary English Communion tables (though not by any means on all) and it may be that Charles wished to enforce such on Scotland. Some fifteen years earlier mention is made in the Records of Elgin of the ornaments of the Communion" but almost certainly the expression refers to the sacramental vessels,

In many churches a part of the building was set apart for Communion purposes. This was the case at Perth where the Communion table and seats were placed in the choir which was railed off the Communicants entering by two doors which were guarded by elders. A somewhat similar practice was followed at Dunfermline where as there was no separate choir (the choir was really the Abbey Church and had fallen into decay after the suppression of the monastery) a space called the

1. Dearmer Everyman's History of the Prayer Book, 112. shows a contemporary print of puritan soldiers pulling down an altar. The Cross and candlesticks can be easily discerned. They were not however found in all churches. Essays on Ceremonial (Kilmarnock Club) 8, 203.
"Communion yle" was walled off along the east end of the Church. In this case the wall was of stone which however was low enough to allow the congregation in the body of the Church to see the Communion Service. In this case the doors were at the north and South ends. There was also a "Communion yle" at St Andrews, at Kinghorn and doubtless in many other Churches. In 1650 the Presbytery of Dunfermline ordered that henceforth the Communion should no longer be celebrated in "Choirs" but in the body of the Church.

This act indicates that the custom must have been to have Communion in the old chancels. The act was not obeyed very strictly for it was not until the Second Episcopacy that it was put into force in Dunfermline.

In other places however the Communion seems from the first to have been given in the Nave. This was the case at Stirling where in 1603 the session refused to allow seats in the body of the Church as they would interfere with the space needed for the Communion tables.

This was also the case at Elgin where the choir was used on Communion Sundays for a service of "reading and singing of Psalms" conducted by the Reader. The space used for the Communion was however always fenced off. Hence the expression "Fencing the Tables." As early as 1561

1. Stevenson Communion and in Dunfermline 5 - 6. These walls were taken down in 1648.
2. Register 863.
3. Extracts from the Session Records of Kinghorn 27.
5. In 1667 the Session decided that Communion be given in the "mid and body of the kirk" Stevenson - 6.
7. Records II. 38.
8. " II. 77.
we find such entries as there in the accounts of Edinburgh relative to the dispensation of the Sacrament. "To carry daillis to be ane travess for holding forth of ye non communicants" "4 workmen at ye helpin up of ye said travess" while later we find payment being made in the neighbouring Burgh of Canongate for "ane double spar to the Communion buird" which probably served the same purpose. An early picture of a Scottish Communion Service (dating probably from the 18th century) shows the long table erected in the "nids of the Kirk" while on either side of it are the "travesses" or "flakes" which differ but little from those used by farmers at the present day for penning cattle or sheep.

In Cowpers Draft Prayer book it is said that the Communion table was to stand "in that part of the church which the Minister findeth most convenient" and while celebrating he was directed to stand "at the side thereof" This indicates that the table at which he stood was the cross table so that he would be facing most of the communicants. Laud's Liturgy puts the "holy table" at the uppermost part of the chancel or church the Presbyter having to stand at the North side or end thereof. It may be noted that the long table has not entirely disappeared from the Church of Scotland. There are still parishes where it is used both in the Highlands and in the Lowlands.

1. Edinburgh Dean of Guild accounts in Records.
2. Records of Burgh of Canongate (1573) Lee Lectures 397.
COMMUNION VESSELS.

As to the Cups Flagons and Patens used in early Reformation days we have little information but one of the questions of Wenzel "If it be leesome (lawful) to use any profane cups at this sacrament" indicates pretty clearly that the Church plate of the Roman Church had not come into the hands of the Reformed Ministers. One can understand how Mass Books, Vestments etc which were of no further use in ecclesiastical circles came to be destroyed or used for other purposes (Even Queen Mary had a number of vestments made into bed coverings, while she gave others to Bothwell apparently for his personal adornment).

But one might have expected that the Communion plate which could have been used by the Reformed congregations would have been preserved for their use. It was not so however. One has only to read the Burgh records which have survived to see how much of the silver work belonging to the church was sold by the Town Councils for purposes connected with their burghs. In December 1563 at Peebles one chalice (perhaps more) were sold by the Council to help the funds of the town.

In Stirling in 1561 two silver chalices were disposed of for 20/- per oz and the money spent in repairing the streets.

In Edinburgh the silver work of St Giles also fell

2. Robertson's Inventaires de la Royne Deacosse - 53
3. We have to remember however that Pre-Reformation Chalices were usually were small and were not meant for congregational use.
4. Records (Burgh Record Society) 287.
5. Records " " 70.
Into the hands of the Council who in 1560 resolved to sell the same. In this case it may be noted that part of the money obtained was applied to the reparation and decorating of the kirk." This was in 1560.

At Aberdeen in the following years the Council who had in their keeping a good deal of church plate placed with them by various ecclesiastics for safety resolved that it should "be disposed to them who will offer most for the same" In other places Altar vessels seems to have got into the hands of private individuals and as late as 1574 the Presbytery of Glasgow was threatening to prosecute a woman for the recovery of the "silver work of the new kirk" which included two chalices and two patens. Twenty five years later the same court tried to get possession of two cups which the person of Campsie had got made out of the chalice which had belonged to his church. Dr. Burns states that there is not a single Pre Reformation cup in use in the Church of Scotland at the present day and all the other Scottish Churches are in the same position. That being so there is no reason to be surprised that the reformers had to use "basins and cups out of any profane tavern."

Wenzets remarks about "profane cups" receive confirmation from the facts that the oldest Communion cups we have left in Scotland are "Mazers" which were formerly used as grace cups. Each college Corporation Guild or notable

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1. Records (Burgh Record Society) 70.
2. Records (Burgh Record Society) 321-4; 329.
3. Records (Maitland Club Miscellany I. 64
4. Ibid. I.334. This chalice must have been larger than usual. Apparently the Presbytery were not successful for the oldest cups in Campsie bear the date 1621.
5. Old Scottish Communion Plate. 187.
family possessed at least one. These were handed round at social gatherings each guest drinking out of the same cup to symbolise the family feeling of brotherly love and goodwill. The oldest still in use is of St Mary's College St Andrews which is made of wood with a narrow silver band round the rim and which bears the date 1567. (It may be interesting to notice that the Communion vessels at Zurich were made of wood). St Leonard's College has a similar one and Dr Burns has no doubt that these were used for Communion purposes after the Reformation. The Beaker type of cup still used in many parishes especially in the North had undoubtedly a domestic origin. A much finer type of cup which however still shows its non-ecclesiastical origin is the Queen Mary Cup at Perth. Scotland however was not alone in having to resort to domestic ware for the celebration of the sacrament. Even in England where communion plate was much more plentiful than in Scotland the rubric in the Communion Service in King Edward's first prayer Book shows that cups other than ecclesiastical ones had to be used.

In 1617 the Scottish Parliament passed an act ordaining that all parish churches were to be provided with cups, tables and table cloths for the ministration of Holy Communion. These were to be provided by the

1. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 91. 192-3. The hall mark is a little earlier circa 1560.
2. Ibid.
3. It may be recalled that the order of Service for the Celebration of the Lords Supper used by Knox at Berwick was founded on that of Zurich; see page 38
4. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 195. 293-313 Some old Beaker Cups were made of Horn. Ibid. 313.
5. Ibid.
7. "And putting the wine into the chalice or else into some fair or convenient cup prepared for that use if the chalice will not serve.
parishioners (heritors) and the large number of cups which date from immediately after this act points to a great scarcity in the years before. In spite, however, of this order, there were many parishes which remained without communion vessels and which had to borrow them from their neighbours, who were not always above making a little on the transactions.

It may be noted that, while the act orders parishes to provide themselves with cups, it says nothing about plates. The reason for this was probably that plates were much more easily procured than cups. Many of the pewter plates still in use in the Church of Scotland are simply the old plates of domestic use. On some examined by the writer the marks of the knives used at table could still be easily discerned. In South Leith, Trinity College Edinburgh and Banchory Ternan, there are Silver plates bearing dated inscriptions belonging to the period under consideration.

Similarly, there is no mention of flagons in the act above referred to and probably for the same reason. Here again we find that there are but few specimens of earlier date than 1638. There are two beautiful flagons belonging to St Giles, Edinburgh, which were given to the City by George Monteigne in 1618. Trinity College, Edinburgh, possesses a pair of flagons of somewhat similar design.

2. The Stentmaster's Roll for the Parish of Lasswade may be seen in the Appendix to Lee's Lectures 403 - 40. The total cost of "Cups, basins, ewers and cloths" was £121.
3. Kinross in 1723, Mairkirk in 177 had still to borrow cups. Mertown in 1705 ordered that neighbouring congregations, on borrowing their cups, should pay their beadle "half a dollar and that as a part of his salary." Between 1672 and 1680 Bolton Kirk Session lent out their cups 14 times, receiving £10.3.4 for the hire of the vessels.
4. Burns 217, 224, 614. The South Leith plates were "renewed" in 1718. The two at Banchory bear "Ad sacri corporis mysteria fidelis populo deferenda." They are elliptical in shape and date from 1625.
which were presented to the church in 1633, but these are the only ones which the writer has been able to find belonging to the period we are dealing with. Bolton purchased a pair of pewter flagons in 1687 and there is a likelihood that these had been used in Lauderdale previous to 1677 when the Duchess of Lauderdale presented that parish with silver ones. That flagons were used is quite evident from the representation of a Scottish Communion Table on the Trinity College church plate where two are shown under the table as well as from the many references to "stoups" in early Session records. From the earliest days of the Reformed movement it seems to have been customary to use more than one cup at the Lord's Table. Knox in celebrating the Communion at Finlayston is said to have used two cups which were still preserved in 1846. Wenzel did not allow this departure from Primitive custom to pass unnoticed "Why use you" he asks "at your communion now four now three cups and many breads - neither keeping the ceremony expressed in the evangel nor confessing the truth of the mystery with us since our Saviour used one bread and one cup. If ye neither affirm Christ really there present.....nor yet keep the ceremony in the using of one bread and one cup how understand ye that is written by St Paul: were are many, one bread and one body all that are partakers of one bread and one cup."

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1. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 155 - 403.
Tokens

Those who came to the Lord’s Table had to obtain a ticket or token from the Session before they were allowed to do so. It is possible this use may be a survival from the Pre-Reformation Church practice. Tokens were in use at St Andrews even before the Reformation had been officially confirmed for the earliest reference in the Register to such is dated 2nd May 1560. The minute relates to a charge against a parishioner who had asked one of the deacons for "ane ticket" and who had made irreverent remarks when it was refused. It appears that at that time and for years after it was customary for the elders and deacons to distribute these among the communicants in the various districts though in later days when examinations and preparatory services were held the tokens were handed out after these meetings (In some cases they were delivered at the ordinary week day services during the week before the Communion).

At one time the tokens were made of cardboard but these gave place to tokens of lead or other metal. The reason for the change may have been the practice of passing forged tickets which called for action by the Session of St Andrews in 1573 and again ten years later. In Glasgow in 1593 none were allowed to enter the kirk without a token though in other places e.g. Dumfriesshire it was only the space around the Communion table which was not to be entered by the tokenless person.

1. Dr King Hewison states that the token is the substitute medallus given to those who attended the Mass (Article in Glasgow Herald) Dr Burns states that such a theory may be dismissed O.S.C.P. 436. Dr Hay Fleming thinks that the conjecture that the giving of the token comes from the usage of the Roman Church is correct. Register of St Andrews kirk Session 34. They were used in a Roman Catholic congregation in Glasgow up to the middle of last century.

2. Register 34.
3. Records of Elgin II. 121.
4. Lee Lectures I. 393 (1578) Twelve stands of cards to be tickets.
5. Register 379. 505.
7. Stevenson Communion in Dumfriesshire 6.
SERVICES IN CONNECTION WITH THE LORD'S SUPPER.
When one recalls the number of services which were held in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper in Scotland in the 18th and 19th Centuries (and in some places in the 20th also) one is somewhat surprised to find that such were almost unknown in the greater part of the period we are considering. This to some extent is explained by the fact that there were common prayer and preaching every week and these ordinary services would be so conducted as to be preparatory to the day of high festival (See page 167). The Book of Discipline lays down that the administration of the table ought never to be made without examination and that none should "be admitted to that mystery (or these great mysteries) who can not formally say the Lord's Prayer the Articles of the Belief and declare the sum of the law." Some differences of opinion arose as to how these examinations ought to be conducted, so in 1590 the Assembly authorised the drawing up of a uniform order by four of the leading Ministers Robert Pont John Craig Thomas Buchanan Andrew Melville.

Apparently however this "form" was never written and the following year the Assembly "thought meet" to have a little work of Craig's reprinted. This was "The form

1. "There were two services and sermons on Thursday, two or even three on Saturday and the long Communion Services on Sunday...were concluded by another sermon at night to be succeeded by the Monday Services "Gray Graham Social life in Scotland 307.

2. Knox II. 240. A later edition adds "and understandeth not the use and virtue of this holy Sacrament."

3. Calderwood V. 108.

4. Calderwood History V. 137.
and manner of examination before the administration to ye table of ye Lord used by ye ministry of Edinburgh which had been published ten years earlier. This catechism was founded on the requirements of the Book of Discipline. In 1615 the Session of Lasswade intimated that none should get "tickets for admission to the Table but those who had "bidden trial" and had been found well instructed in the Belief Lord's Prayer and ten Commands."

In Edinburgh the examination in 1574 was on the Friday preceding the Communion and in 1616 at Anstruther we find it combined with the regular Tuesday service. The Records of Elgin show that they were regularly held from 1590 (when they are first mentioned) onwards. They were usually held on a Monday but in the case of Servants the time was Sunday Afternoon.

Another pre-communion custom was the holding of meetings for the reconciliation of persons known to be living at variance with one another. St Andrews Kirk Session seem to have had quite as much of this reconciliation to do as their neighbours, and an entry in their records thereabout indicates that one custom then in vogue has died out in ecclesiastical circles at any rate. An erring husband in presence of the Session and at the desire of Mr John Douglas Rector of the University in token of reconciliation "embraced the said Agnes (his wife) and drank to her." In Stirling in 1599 a woman who declined to be

1. Session Records quoted Burns C.S.C.P. 439. The Session showed a Christian Charity in adding to the resolution "except it be a stranger finding himself well resolved with his God to be admitted to the table."
2. Lee Lectures I. 391.
3. Ibid. I. 402.
4. Records 14. 23 etc. The records extant begin in 1584 but there is mention of Communion until 1597.
5. Register 169. Drinking in sign of amity says Dr. Hay Fleming "was long practised among the craftsmen of St Andrews" One may add "and elsewhere."
reconciled to a person with whom she was offended or who to quote the record "at least refused to declare any sign of reconciliation as speaking or drinking with him" had to make her public repentance before the congregation. In 1566 the Session of the Canongate required two parties who were at variance to submit their grievances to arbitration before the Communion.

Persons who kept away from Communion by reason of pretended "elastia" (offences) had to appear before the Session and state what those grievances were.

Ministers and elders came under the same rule as others and seem to have been quite willing to submit themselves to the judgements of their fellows where any "eyelists" were. These meetings were held for a very considerable period and appear to have died out as fast days came in. Stevenson notes that in Edinburgh they were stopped in 1625 probably owing to the troubles which were then arising over the question of kneeling.

From an early date there was a preparatory service held on the Saturday immediately before the celebration. This was the case in the Canongate in 1567 where the session decided that the "exhortation" was to be given "on the Saturday afternoon before." It is possible that here we have another relic of Pre Reformation church practice for in 1558 there was a brief address entitled the "Godlie Exhortation" published by order of Archbishop Hamilton "for use by vicars curates and other priests that

3. Records of Elgin II. 78. (Date 1600)
4. Ibid II. 121. (Date 1604)
5. Stevenson History 101.
are employed in the Ministration of the Sacrament of the altar." It was to be read to the people before they received the Communion and it is just possible that it may have suggested the "Exhortation" of the Protestants, although Knox's rather sarcastic description of the pamphlet as the "Twa penny" faith would not lead one to think so.

This Saturday's service does not seem to have become general for many years. Not until 1598 is there any reference to a special week day service before the Communion in St Andrews. In that year a sermon was preached on the Saturday afternoon. In Elgin the first mention of such services occurs a little earlier (1593) when for the better preparation for the Communion the Sunday previous to the ministration was appointed to be "ane fast and abstinence" Wednesday and Friday were also to be kept as fasts with preaching "to be precisely kept the said days throughout the whole burgh and landward as mony as will agree."

The last words suggest that the fast was voluntary but the passage indicates that "fast" days were not so entirely unknown in Scotland before the covenanting period as some writers make out. In Glasgow in 1607 no games or plays were allowed in the town for two weeks before the Communion, pointing to a period of preparation for the sacrament. This practice of having a week day fast

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1. Dickson and Edmonds Annuals of Scottish Printing 196. The little work was re-printed in the third volume of the Bannatyne Club Miscellany by Dr. Leing.
2. Knox I. 291. The term "Twapenny" originated in the Archbishop allowing the pedlars to charge two pennies for each copy they sold.
3. Register 862.
5. Dr. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 62. states that sacramental fasts were unknown until after 1638. Dr. Leeswean Westminster Directory 119 says "The sacramental fast. had not yet been introduced."
6. Weems 25. The Magistrates were asked by the Session to put this act of theirs into execution.
seems however to have fallen away and not to have been revived until about 1650. It comes as somewhat of a surprise to find that Sunday was the usual fast day before the Communion. This was long the favourite day and it worth while noticing that during the second Episcopacy in Scotland the practice continued among the Episcopalian while in some strongly Presbytertan districts the week day fast was kept. On the other hand at Elgin in 1636 the Session decided that there were to be more "fasting upon Sabbath days hereafter" and Friday was substituted. On that day there were to be both morning and evening prayers with sermon "before and afternoon."

This probably means that there were four separate services and as the arrangements seem to have been made with the consent of the Bishop it shows that the reign of Bishops did not mean fewness of preparatory services. Indeed it is during the Episcopalian regime that we first find a "hallow week of preaching days between the days of Communion "This was in 1615 the Sabbath(sic) before the first day of Communion being "ane day of fast." These fasting days at one time meant a fast in earnest though latterly so far as actual fasting was concerned the rules were somewhat relaxed. In 1602 when intimating the fast before communion the session of Elgin having heard that the day of fast is no longer keepit be some folks of this town....who surfeits themselves that day more than any other Sabbath day" ordained that all days of fasting were

1. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 77 where a number of extracts from Session Records are given. Edgar: Old Church Life I. 132,3 shows however that in Ayrshire where covenanting feeling was strong the Sunday fast was kept.
2. Records II. 231.
3. Records of Elgin II. 142. In 1615 "Palm Sunday was ane day of Public fast" 154.
to "be keepit holy to the Lord without preparation of any
meats either roast or sodden," Only bread and drink were
to be partaken of. A little later however all that the
Session insisted on was that all the inhabitants should
forbear their labour on the day preceding the Communion,
that both masters and servants should keep the preaching
under pain of five pounds. In 1643 Blakhall the
Jesuit priest mentions that he was not able to get a
boatman at Leith to take out his craft on the day before
Easter after twelve noon because it was the "puritans"
fast before their communion. It is somewhat remarkable
that at Glasgow the first mention of a fast in connection
with the Communion is in 1655 when it is mentioned that
the fast is on the Thursday before with sermon on Saturday.
Apparently a distinction was even then drawn between a
"fast" and a "preaching day." In earlier days (1596) a
fast had been kept on both days of the Communion.

The Westminster Directory does not enjoin any
fast at all before the Ministration of the Sacrament but
enacts that either on the Sabbath before or "on some day
of that week something concerning that ordinance and the
due preparation thereunto and participation thereof be
taught." The General Assembly of 1645 (which adopted the
Directory) passed the following resolutions. "That
congregations be still tried and examined before the
Communion according to bygone practice of this kirk."

"That there be one sermon of preparation delivered in the

1. Ibid 98.
2. Ibid 110.
3. Brief Narration (Spalding Club) 162.
5. Wmm Ibid 25.
ordinary place of public worship upon the day immediately preceding."

Here we may mention that the custom of engaging in a private fast was not unknown. Livingstone mentions that a number of the Scottish and English Puritan Ministers in Ireland used to engage in fasting and prayer before Communion about the year 1630. Brodie of Brodie in his diary also mentions that he always kept the Monday before the Communion as a day of fasting and humiliation.

In view of these things and also of the early hour at which Communion was celebrated one is not surprised to learn that the Pre Reformation custom of Communicating, fasting still continued. Robert Blair mentions in his Autobiograph that in 1613 he attended a Communion service at Irvine apparently in the early morning. He greatly desired to communicate but he says "having gotten my breakfast I durst not for it was then a generally received opinion that the sacrament behoved to be received fasting." He went forward later in the day his scruples having been overcome by the suggestion that Our Lord having instituted the ordinance "after supper" it could not be a fault to partake of it "after breakfast."

The only other service which need be mentioned is the thanksgiving which was usually held on the Sunday afternoon. It is mentioned in the St Andrews Register in 1598 when Mr. David Lindsay was to officiate in the afternoon.

2. Select Biographies (Wodrow Society) I.143.  
3. Diary (Spalding Club) 18.  
5. Ibid.
at three hours. All who had communicated were expected to be present and in 1618 at Elgin a parishioner who had gone home after he had communicated was reproved by the Session and promised not to do the like again. Such stress was laid upon this service that one of the charges made in 1638 against Thomas Forrester Minister of Melrose that "he keeped no thanksgiving after Communion." The Bishop of Aberdeen was likewise charged with neglect of the "thanksgiving on a Communion day."

Towards the end of the period we are now dealing with it became customary in some parishes to have the Thanksgiving service on the Monday. This is said to have originated at the Kirk of Shotts in 1630 when John Livingstone (who had been presented to the neighbouring parish of Torphicen but whom the Archbishop would not induct) officiated. On the Communion Sunday he made a great impression on the assembled multitude and the people stayed in the place overnight so that he might address them on the morrow. He did so and he himself has left it on record that never did he feel the presence of God more in public than on that occasion. The custom of having the thanksgiving on Monday did not however become general until well into the Covenanting period. It was in use among the Puritans of Ireland by 1650.

In Glasgow there is no mention of the Monday's Sermon to 1655 and in some places it does not seem to have been known until the 18th Century for as late as 1698 the

1. Register 862.
4. Ibid. 162.
5. "By a special and unexpected providence (he) was called to preach that sermon on the Monday which then was not usually practised" Fulfilling the Scripture II.185. quoted Stevenson History 120.
7. Ibid. I. 143.
thanksgiving for the Communion was held on the Sunday following the celebration.

In a pamphlet issued in 1657 mention is made of three or four Ministers preaching at the Monday's service but if the author is to be trusted it would appear that this was an innovation altogether.

It is worthy of note that the Westminster Directory had nothing to say about a thanksgiving service at. All the while the Assembly of 1645 ordained was that "in the same kirk there be one sermon of thanksgiving after the Communion is ended" the intention apparently being that the old custom of having the thanksgiving on the afternoon of the Lord's day should be adhered to.

1. K.S. Records Apr 14th 1689 15th May 1698.
2. A True Representation Rise and Progress and state of the Divisions of the Church of Scotland 35.
3. Records of the Kirk 422.
ADMISSION TO THE LORD'S TABLE

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In the majority of Scottish Churches it is customary to have a short service at the admission of "Young Communicants" to full communion, and orders of service for this purpose will be found in Euchologion and other Presbyterian Service Books. There is no corresponding form of service in the Book of Common Order or the Westminster Directory but the Book of Discipline lays down certain rules which were to be observed in the examination of those who wished to communicate. None were to "be admitted to that mystery who can not formally say the Lord's Prayer the Articles of the Belief and declare the Sum of the Law." It is at least probable that some sort of service would be used with those who came before the Minister and Elders for the first time to say "formally" what was required. In the "Form of Examination and Catechism" written by John Davidson about the year 1599 there is reference made to a short service of prayer and exhortation which the Minister had with intending communicants and doubtless at their formal admission something of the same kind would be used. At Dalgety the minutes of the Session show that some fifty years later Andrew Donaldson the Minister was accustomed to exhort seriously "the young men and women who were about to

2. It is somewhat surprising to find the Reformers referring to the Sacrament as a 'Mystery.'
3. Bonar Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation 324-357.
communicate for the first time."

One of the five articles of Perth required that children of eight years of age were to be brought to the Bishop who "was to lay hands on them and to bless them with prayer for the increase of their knowledge and in continuance of God's Heavenly Graces with them."

In Cowper's draft there is an Order of Confirmation which consists chiefly of a catechism which was to be learned by the children in addition to the articles of the Faith, the Lords Prayer and the ten commandments. When the children were presented before the Bishop he was to examine them and then was to lay his hand upon every child severally saying, "Defend O Lord this child with Thy Heavenly Grace etc." This is followed by another short prayer and "then the Bishop shall bless the children" the prayers and blessing being substantially those of the English Prayer Book. Laud's Liturgy also contains an Order of Confirmation which is almost identical with the corresponding office in the Anglican book the only difference being that in the latter the opening suffrages are said by Minister and people in the Scottish book by Bishop and people. It is very questionable whether confirmation by the laying on of the hands of a Bishop was ever practised in Scotland in those days. That it was neglected by the Bishops themselves was asserted by the Covenanting Divines in their answer to the replies of the Aberdeen Doctors, during the troubles of 1638; and

1. Ross Patal Work in Covenanting Times 133.
2. Scot Apologetical Narration 266. Spottiswood III.256.
3. The late Dr Dowden thought that "Minister" in the Anglican Order meant the Bishop. Letter to the Late Dr Cooper preserved in Assembly Library.
the correctness of the Covenanting statement was admitted by 1
the Doctors themselves in their duply. The writer has
failed to find a single reference by a contemporary writer
to Confirmation by a Bishop in Scotland and one can hardly
imagine that men like Row and Calderwood would have omitted to
mention such a thing had it been done. The Presbyterian
party had decided objections to the ceremony holding it to
be idolatrous in its nature since it ascribed to a rite
devised by man the power and virtue the power and virtue
of doing what none but God Himself could do.

1. Grub Ecclesiastical History II.361.
FESTIVALS AND SAINTS DAYS

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One thing which strikes the student of the Reformation period in Scotland is the change which came over the Reformers with regard to Christian Festivals and Saints Days. The Reformed church in Switzerland with which Wishart had been connected kept the greater Christian Festivals, Christmas etc, and the Confession of Faith which he translated for the use probably of the congregations he founded in Scotland has nothing to say against the practice. In the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" there is ample evidence that the writers thereof saw nothing incongruous in the keeping of Christmas and Easter. In that collection we have "Ane carrell of the Epistle of Zule even." (A paraphrase of Titus III 4-7) another beginning "Hay Zule now sing and mak myrth" "Sen Christ this day to us is born" and several others dealing with our Lord's Birth.

There is one on the "Conception of Christ" (March 25 Lady Day) and another entitled "Ane sang of the Resurrection". When the Lords of the Congregation presented their petition to the Queen Regent demanding services in the vernacular they asked that "Common prayers be read weekly on Sundays and other festival days." Knox as a minister of the Church of

(1) Gude & Godlie Ballads. S.T.S. 72 (The 6th Paraphrase is on the same passage of Scripture.)
2. Ibid 69.
England must have been acquainted with the use of special festivals in a Protestant Church and on at least one occasion he officiated at a Christmas service. In 1559 the leading Protestant ministers in Scotland Methven, Christison, Hardie, and Wallace were charged with celebrating communion at Easter pointing to a Reformed observance of that greater festival.

The Book of Discipline however takes quite another line. In the first head we are told that among the things which are to be utterly suppressed as damnable to man's salvation is "the keeping of holy days of certain saints commanded by men such as be all these that the Papists have invented as the feasts as they term them of Apostles Martyrs Virgins of Christmas Circumcision Epiphany, Purification and other fond feasts of our Lady." This list it may be noticed refers only to Saints' days for although Christmas and other festivals associated with the infancy of Christ are mentioned they are expressly termed "feasts of our Lady." No mention is made here of such festivals as Easter Ascension or Whitsunday. It had to be remembered that the men who drew up the Book of Discipline were quite well acquainted with the distinction between a minor saint's day and a greater festival. Had the Book been drawn up by Scottish Ministers

(1) Knox III 297. "It cometh to my mind upon Christmas day in the year of our Lord 1552 preaching in Newcastle on Tyne." It is perhaps worthy of notice that M' Crie alters this to "about Christmas 1552". Life of Knox 45.


3. Knox I. 1856. It is somewhat surprising to find those stalwart protestants referring to Our Lord's Mother as "Our Lady."
in the 18th century one could not have ventured to draw such distinctions but it was different in 1561. Later in the book mention is made of Easter (or Pasche as it is usually termed). With regard to the celebration of the Lord's Supper the writers thought it sufficient to administer the sacrament four times a year and suggested that the first Sundays of March, June, September and December were appropriate days, "for your honours are not ignorant how superstitiously the people run to that action at Pasche even as if the time gave virtue to the sacrament and how the rest of the year they are careless and negligent". Here evidently the intention was to break with the old custom of Easter communion in order to take away the idea of anything special about that feast. How far the reformers succeeded in doing so is not very clear.

In 1571 according to the Session Records of St Andrews the Minister on "Palm Sunday" intimated the communion to be held on "Low Sunday". Ten years later the communion was on Palm Sunday. Patrick Simpson who was ordained to the ministry in 1575 was in the habit of giving communion on "Pasch day without scruple". In 1616 he changed to the "Sabbath after Pasch because the Bishops were so keen on Easter celebrations. He held (and as he was a leader among the more strict party

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(1) The Confession of Faith of the English Church at Geneva afterwards incorporated in the Book of Common Order mention among evils to be rooted out by the Christian Magistrates "distinction of days" but as at this time the five great festivals were kept in that city the reference must be to Saints' days alone.

(2) Knox I. 239-240.

(3) Winzet refers to the action of the Reformers in abolishing Pasche and the other festivals. Certain Tractates S.T.S.115

(4) Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 351-2.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Select Biographies (Wodrow Soc) I.94. Simson's father was minister of Dunbar 1564-1582.
doubtless there were others who thought like him) that Easter Communion might "be either used or not used with a good conscience and left to the arbitrament of the wise preacher." (1) In 1566 the General Assembly heartily approved the Helvetic Confession of Faith but they took exception to one point for in writing to Beza the Scottish reformers declare "with regard to what is written in the 24th chapter of the aforesaid confession concerning the festivals of our Lord's nativity circumcision passion resurrection ascension and sending of the Holy Ghost upon His disciples, that these festivals at the present time obtain no place among us for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast day than what the Divine oracles have prescribed." (2) It would be interesting to know who the Scottish penman was who wrote this letter for it certainly breathes a much more Christian spirit than the paragraphs in the Book of Discipline which maintained that the observance of Holy Days was "damnable to man's salvation." It is also to be noted that the statement is made that these "festivals at the present time obtain no place."

(1) Ibid. 98

(2) "If churches in right of their Christian liberty commemorate religiously our Lord's nativity circumcision passion and resurrection with His ascension into Heaven and the sending of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples we highly approve thereof. But feasts instituted in honour of men or angels we approve not."

(3) Knox VI - 547-9.

(4) It may have been Robert Pont who translated the confession for the assembly. The first signature attached to the letter (there are forty one in all) is that of Robert Douglas, Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews.
Perhaps the Scribe had been one of those who were keeping them only a few years before. In 1570 the Assembly on the report of a committee of which John Craig John Row and David Lindsay were members decided in answer to a question which had been addressed to them that Communion might be ministered on Pasch day where superstition was removed. One is the more surprised to find this concession when it is remembered that just five years before the Romanists had proposed to have Easter celebrated according to the Roman fashion in every place where they could do so. In 1577 this matter was again before the Assembly though in a somewhat different form. The question was raised as to what should be done with "ministers and Readers who read preach or minister the communion at Christmas, Easter, in Lent, upon Saints' days, to retain the people in blindness". The answer of the Assembly was to the effect that those who did such things should be admonished to desist and if they did not do so they were to be deposed. The form of the question shows that there must have been a number keeping up the old ways and that this was the case is borne out by several prosecutions for keeping superstitious days of which the records are still extant. In 1573 ten persons were brought before the Session in St Andrews "for observing of superstitious day and especially of the Zule day" and they had to

(1) Calderwood III. 5.
(2) Knox II. - 475-6. They did carry out their design in Edinburgh though one of the priests was arrested and being placed at the cross was served with "Easter Eggs". In 1564 Sir John Moreson an ex-priest who was Reader at Muthill got into trouble for administering Communion on Pasch day to a hundred persons in a private house. Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session 226.7.
(3) Calderwood III. 384.
satisfy the church for their conduct. They had ceased from work on that day and one of them confessed to having said that he saw Yule day kept holiday and the time might come when he may see the like yet." 

In 1575 a complaint was brought before the supreme court of the church by the Commissioner for Nithsdale to the effect that Christmas services had been held in the town of Dumfries all the days of Yule. The offence was aggravated by the fact that seeing that neither he himself nor the reader would conduct the services the towns people brought a "reader of their own with tabret and whistle and caused him read the prayers, which exercise they used all the days of Yule." What the Assembly did in the matter does not appear but the Dumfriesians seem to have continued in their own ways for in 1588 it is stated that in that town "Holy days are kept by plain commandment and controlling of the deacons of the crafts; all superstitious riotousness at Yule and Pasche etc." In Aberdeen patron and festival days were being kept in 1575 and earlier, and the Commissioner of the district on being questioned regarding the matter explained that the ministers who kept the days thought the practice quite lawful. In 1656 Patrick Adamson the titular Archbishop of St Andrews was called before

1. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session. 387.90
2. Calderwood III 351
3. Ibid iV. 658
4. Ibid III 350.
the Presbytery to give his reasons why he had altered his text on Sunday 25th December. In his reply he stated that he "meant no superstition but that he preached that day of the Nativity to show himself to be disagreeing and dissenting from the NEOTORICKS (sic) that have written of the birth of Christ whom Mr Andrew Melville follows". This explanation appears to have satisfied the Presbytery and so far as the congregation were concerned they were much more concerned with another complaint against their Archbishop viz that he called "the flock of Saint Andrew goats.*

A complaint was made against the Minister of Innerleithen in 1580 that he had celebrated the Communion on Easter day. The offence was one of several which were alleged against him and authority was given to the "Brethren of the exercise of Edinburgh" to take order with him and report to the next assembly. 

There seems little doubt that though many of the Ministers set themselves against the observance of these festivals the people as a whole were otherwise minded. In 1585 we find a number of merchants getting into trouble in Glasgow because they had closed their booths on Christmas day and five of them had to make public repentance. The following year the Session ordained "the bakers to be enquired to whom they baked yule meat" while as late as 1609 acts were made against superstitious exercise being used 

(1) He had departed from his "ordinary".  
(2) Register of St Andrews Kirk Session. xcvlll - c  
(3) Calderwood III 477. The final result does not seem to be recorded.
at Yule or the days following. In Aberdeen in 1574 a number of people were brought before the Kirk Session for "playing dancing and singing of filthy carols on Yule day at even and on Sunday at even thereafter." The observance of the day as a holiday must have been fairly general for the following year the deacons of craft within the Burgh were ordered to take trial of their crafts "for sitting idle on Yule day." In St Andrews in 1573 the Minister at command of the Session publicly announced that all persons who should superstitiously observe Yule day or any other days should be punished. In face of the church's objections to the keeping of the Christian Year one is surprised to find that the Calendar published in the Book of Common Order in 1564 as well as in subsequent editions contained not only great festivals like Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday but also such feasts as those of the Purification, Annunciation, of the Apostles and lesser Saints, the observance of which only a few years before had been declared to be subversive of the Gospel itself. Rules are also given therein for finding Easter and the festivals depending thereon. Not only so. In addition to the Calendar there is given a list of the fairs of Scotland.

(1) Wodrow Life of Weems 37, 38
(2) Selections 18.
(3) Ibid 21.
(4) Register 388. A number of parishioners had been punished for observing Zule day before the public announcement was made, one of the session responsible John Hamilton afterwards joined the Roman church and naturally his views on Zule day were changed. "In contempt of the other holy days observed in England they cause their wives and servants spin in open sight of the people on Yule day and their affectionate auditors constrains their tenants to yoke their ploughs on Yule day in contempt of Christ's nativity." Facile Treatise, 173-4
(5) The Calendar is not printed in full in any of the modern P.T.O.
and these are practically all on days of "Popish superstition". There is ample evidence that for long after 1560 the old names remained among the people. In the "Introduction to the Register of St Andrews Kirk Session". Dr Hay Fleming mentions quite a number of ecclesiastical festival days which he had found mentioned in the Register. These include not only the great days of Pasch and Yule but also such as May-day, All Hallow day, Rood day.

On some of these minor days there were customs observed which were kept up for many years after the Reformation. In Perth in 1577 quite a number of persons were prosecuted by the Session for observing Corpus Christi and had to undergo discipline for their offence. The impression made cannot however have been very strong for towards the end of the same year we find that the festival of St Obert's Eve had been "superstitiously observed" by the band of citizens.

In Aberdeen in 1574 the Master of the Sang School was ordered to refrain from granting a holiday to the children on any of the "days dedicated to superstition in Papistree." If any parent kept their children from going to school then the Kirk was to be informed. Trinity Sunday was long kept in reprints of the Book of Common Order but will be found in the Gude & Godlie Ballads S.T.S. Edition. The Calendar was also printed separately. In the inventory of Robert Smith Præster Edinburgh there were "300 calendars to the Psalms."

(1) In addition to many on Saints days we find Holy Cross Day, Hallow Day, Rood Day.
(2) Perth Kirk Session Records.
(3) Selections from Ecclesiastical Records 16.
unpresbyterian ways in some of the villages of Fife. In 1599 a number of the inhabitants of Raderny had to appear before the St Andrews Session for "dancing drinking and disorder" on that day. One of the accused David Wemyss by name stated that the custom had been kept in Raderny before any of the session was born nor did he ever see the dancing stopped before. In spite of the efforts of the minister and elders the dancing went on as briskly as ever the following Trinity Sunday and may have been indulged in even later.

Although the names of "popish saints days" continued to be used and the calendar containing them continued to be printed we find that the National Covenant of 1581 mentions among other things to be condemned "dedicating of kirks altars days vows to creatures." In 1590 we find King James in the Assembly praising God that he was king in the sincerest kirk in the world laying special stress on the fact that in

1. Register St Andrews Kirk Session. LXIV. LXV.
2. Calderwood III. 503. This indeed would not rule out such days as Easter or Christmas which are not "dedicated to creatures" but there is no doubt that men like Henderson and Dickson in the following century did hold that "by the interpretation of the confession of Faith according to the Acts of the Kirk that they (Pasch and Yule) are abjured and therefore to be removed." (3) Baillie was however of another opinion. Many of those who signed the Covenant stated that they could not hold the five articles of Perth to be "positively unlawful" Stevenson History 206. See also Gillespie English Popish Ceremonies - 209.

3. Records of the Kirk 169.170. The Confession of Faith referred to is undoubtedly the "Covenant" of 1580.
Scotland there were no keeping of "days." "The kirk of Geneva" he exclaimed "keepeth Pasch and Yule what have they for them? they have no institution." Apparently however the freedom from such things was not so marked as his Majesty professed to believe for just six years later we find in a list of "the common corruption of all estates" drawn up by the Assembly "Superstition and idolatry is entertained which uttereth itself in keeping of festival days, bonfires, pilgrimages, singing of carols at Yule." By 1600 the King's views of the "keeping of Yule" had undergone a change for in that year Calderwood tells us "Christmas was solemnly kept by the Court upon the 25th of December with shooting of cannons out of the Castle of Edinburgh and other signs of joy." After his departure to England the king determined that the Scots should be made to follow to some extent at any rate "the neighbour kirk." In 1609 he ordered the Court of Session to rise for a Christmas vacation, the first time laments the historian that this had been done from the Reformation. The innovation one need hardly add was much opposed by the ministers who declaimed against what are called "beggarly ceremonies long since abolished with popery." On the other hand the people appear to have enjoyed the holiday for the Calderwood

(1) Calderwood V. 106
(2) Ibid V 410
(3) Calderwood VI - 10
(4) " VII - 53."
J/o - lla -

says that "Christmas was not so well kept by feasting and abstinence from work these thirty years before an evil example to the rest of the country." 1.

The King's success led him to take another step and in 1614 Ministers were ordered by Royal Proclamation to administer the Lord's Supper upon Easter day the people to communicate each at his own parish church. One might have expected much opposition to this proposal but the order appears to have been quietly received, Calderwood 2.

merely remarking "The most part obeyed but not all" (It is however to be noted that in the proclomation the day was not called "Pasch" or "Easter" but merely the 24th April) 3. Two years later the Assembly met at Aberdeen and passed an Act requiring communion to be celebrated on Easter Day, while a little before the Assembly met orders had been sent down to Scotland by the King that Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday were to be observed in the University chapels of the realm. 4. In 1617 James visited Scotland and had the Communion celebrated in the Chapel Royal on Whitsunday after the Anglican form, and after his return to England he sent word to the Bishops

1. Calderwood VII. 53
2. Ibid VII. 191
3. Row Historie 302
4. Calderwood VII
5. Original Letters II 806.
commanding them to see that Christmas was duly kept. This letter was accompanied by another to the council in which he prohibited the payment of the stipends of ministers who refused to conform to his wishes.

Spottiswood seems to have endeavoured to get this latter order held in check at least until the behaviour of the offenders had been tried by the synods. But Christmas preaching seems to have been fairly general and the Archbishop officiated himself in St Giles and "laboured to prove that festival days were observed with preaching and prayer not long after the Apostles times." (The King ordered the Bishops to keep Christmas precisely and to preach themselves, choosing suitable texts.) There must have been those who objected to such services (and more who objected to the way in which they had been imposed upon the church) even although Cowper Bishop of Galloway said that he knew no ecclesiastical law in all the books of the Assembly standing to the contrary.

1. Cunningham Church History I. 488.
2. Spottiswood History III 250
3. Calderwood VII. 288.
4. Spottiswood History III. 249
5. Works. 9. He knew of course that action had been taken in the matter but he held that it did not rest upon any law. He would know of course that the First Book of Discipline wherein these festival days are condemned was never adopted by either the State or the church.
This was followed by a proclamation by his Majesty "for observing of Holy Days," in which the people were ordered "throughout this whole kingdom" to "abstain from all manner of husbandry and handy labour on the said Holy days of Christmas Passion day Pasche day the Ascension day and Whitsunday to the effect that they may the better attend to the Holy exercises which shall be appointed to be kept these days."

This proclamation was issued in the end of January 1618 and some weeks later the king wrote the Magistrates of Edinburgh ordering them to see that the inhabitants observed Good Friday according to its provisions.

The day seems to have been observed after a fashion though the historian remarks there "was no other preaching but the ordinary." These words however are a reminder that in getting the church to hold services on Good Friday Ascension Day and Christmas the King was not making such a great breach with tradition as his successor a hundred or two hundred years later would have done had he acted in a similar manner. In the days of which we are writing it was customary to have weekday services in some towns daily and in others once or twice a week.

1. Calderwood VII. 290. The intention apparently was that that work should be suspended only in time of service.
2. Ibid 297.
3. Also i. Country parishes. See Page 169.
Many ministers who were opposed to festival days must nevertheless have preached on Christmas day when it happened to coincide with the "weekly exercise". We have an interesting sidelight on this in a speech which David Dickson Minister of Irvine delivered at the Assembly of 1638. He mentions that when he started his Ministry he found that on Christmas day his church was "fuller than ordinary although there was no reason for the people to suppose that the service was to be other than the "ordinar course of prayers". He however took occasion to speak to the people about the "idolatry that was like to break forth" and found afterwards that he was regarded throughout the country as having held a "Yule preaching". So far the holding of special services on festival days had rested on the authority of the King. James knew that the kirk had never been too ready to take orders from himself and doubtless he felt that if the General Assembly could be got to agree to his desires there would be more chance of getting them carried into effect. He was successful in persuading first the Assembly to agree to the five famous Perth articles and secondly in getting Parliament to ratify them.

The fifth of these articles commanded that the days' 

(1) Records of the Kirk 169. Dickson was ordained in 1618.

(2) Assembly in 1618 Parliament in 1621. "The act of the Estates authorising the Five Articles is the only statute on the face of the records of the Scots Parliament which either authorises or dictates on matters of religious ceremonial." Hill Burton History of Scotland (1898 Edit) Vol VI - 53. It may be noted that no penalty for disobedience is mentioned in the Act.
commemorative of Christ's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and of the Descent of the Holy Ghost should be devoutly observed. Unfortunately we have little information as to what form the observance took or as to the extent to which the order was obeyed. Communion appears to have been celebrated at Easter in a large number of Scottish parish churches. Calderwood remarks that when some of the ministers in Edinburgh required the communicants to kneel at Easter 1619 the inhabitants of the city resorted in great numbers to other churches in the vicinity where the communion was observed after the old form. This indicates that the objection was not so much to the festival as to the method of the reception of the consecrated elements. In this district Easter continued to be Communion Sunday for at least five years after the Glasgow Assembly had discharged the articles of Perth. We have a rather interesting reference to this in the narrative of George Blakhall a Roman Catholic priest who on the day before Easter 1643 arrived in Edinburgh from the South intending to continue his journey to the North of Scotland. He found that the "Puritans" as he calls them had proclaimed a fast from mid-day on the Saturday and his attempt to get a boat at Leith failed as no man would hire one to him on account of the fast. As it would have been

(1) One of the charges made against the "pretended Bishops" in 1638 was that even before the Perth Assembly they had in St Andrews, Edinburgh and other Cathedral churches kept festival days. Records of the Kirk 25.

(2) Calderwood VII. 360.
dangerous to remain in the city over the Sunday he rode to Queensferry and tried to get a boat there but he failed again and for the same reason. He then proceeded to Borrowstoneness (Bo'ness) where he stayed the night and where his host invited him to come to Communion the next day. He excused himself with the plea that he would communicate in Stirling and on his journey there as well as after his arrival he found himself in danger of being detected by the worshippers who were going to their communion services. At Glasgow in 1636 and 1637 was on "Pascal" day as it had been in earlier days also. In Falkirk Communion in 1635 was on "Pasche day" and the Sunday preceding. There was also a service on "Passion day" but as the collection only amounted to 26/- as compared with fully as many pounds on the Sunday the congregation could not have been large. In Aberdeen Spalding tells us "use was" to have preaching on Good Friday previous to 1639. He also laments that this along with communion at Pasch had been done away with. As late as 1649 however the Session of Dunfermline thought that the "Neetest times for giving a Communion here twice in the year shall be at Pasch and Michaelmas."

1. Brief Narration by Gilbert Blakhall 162(Spalding Club)
2. Life of Weems 29. In 1636 there had been an additional celebration on "the day (probably the Sunday) after ascension."
3. Session Records quoted Burns Old Communion Plate 41.
4. History of the Troubles I. 118.
5. Stevenson Communion in Dunfermline VII. For some reason the resolution was never put into effect. The following year there was only one Communion Season (in June) and for six Years thereafter there was none at all.
Here it may be noted that in one respect at least Charles showed himself more tolerant and more judicious than his father. After he came to the throne in 1625 he appears to have taken steps to learn something of the feeling in Scotland with regard to the "five canons made at St Johnston" with the result that the following year he wrote the Bishops telling them that these articles were not to be enforced on any minister who had scruples about the matter, and who had been admitted previous to the Assembly.

Had he persevered in the way he thus commenced his reign might have been very different to what it was. Unfortunately instead of trying to conciliate his Scottish subjects he took the method of endeavouring to force them into ways in which they were determined not to go. Had he been content with what the Perth Assembly had approved it is quite probable that in time all five articles would have become Scottish usages - except perhaps kneeling at communion - but his ill-advised attempt to force Laud's Liturgy on the country led to his downfall. This book mentioned not only the Greater Festivals which might have been accepted, but a number of Saints days on which special services were to be held but which simply roused the fury of the Scots.

1. Balfour Annals II 142.5.
At Elgin Communion seems to have been celebrated at Pasche all through the period 1613-1638 and usually on other two Sundays as well. Good Friday Services were held in the three years 1626.7.8. but there is no evidence of such being kept in any other year. Indeed in 1618 there is a reference to "ane superstitious day callit guid Friday". Christmas appears to have been observed as a preaching day in that cathedral city during the episcopal period from 1620 onwards. Here too the children of the Grammar and Sing schools got a "Yule vacance" as early as 1599 and it was still being granted in 1638. On the other hand both under Presbyterian and Episcopalian rule "dancing and old rites used at the festival days called Yule "were discharged and prohibited, the Lord Bishop in 1619 associating himself with the rules made by the elders for "punishing such enormities." A letter preserved by Wodrow from Bishop Lindsey of Edinburgh written in 1637 calls upon the ministers of the Exercise of Dalkeith to observe "the commemoration of Christ's Ascension .... and Whitsunday or commemoration of the descending of the Holy Ghost," which seems to indicate that up to then the Brethren had not been in the habit of keeping these days as the Assembly of Perth had ordered. Whether Good Friday and Ascension day were kept as holidays - i.e. marked by cessation of work - is

1. See Records of Elgin (New Spalding Club) II Records 1605-1613 are wanting.
2. Sometimes Palm Sunday and Low Sunday. Sometimes the two Sundays after Pasche.
3. Records 154
4. Records 158. Carols are mentioned among the "enormities".
5. Wodrow's Biographical Collections. 173.
6. This was the intention $ See Hill Burton History of Scotland (1898 Edit) Vol VI - 47.
doubtful. Henderson speaking (in 1638) of St Andrews stated that "they profess that they keep holy these days only in time of preaching." Eighteen years earlier Spottiswood had been able to write to the King "I know your Majesty will desire to hear of our observation of Christmas which in this city (St Andrew) was never better kept with great confluence of people to Church and a general cessation of people from work except tailor excepted whom I caused punish for his contempt." From this it is evident that Christmas was more fully kept than Henderson indicates so that he is probably referring to the other two week day festivals. Gillespie writing about 1634 says that "on the holidays, (week days) they (the episcopal party) enjoin a cessation from work and a dedicating of the day to Divine Worship even as upon the Lord's day" so that the form of observance must have differed in different places. At Edinburgh too Christmas seems to have been kept by most people as a holiday though three merchants were summoned before the High Commission because instead of going to church they had opened their booth doors, and tried to dissuade others from attending the services. They were dismissed with an admonition to behave better in future. Along with them was charged Mr. Patrick Henderson Reader who had absented himself and placed another in his room "to take up the psalm." He was informed that if he did the like again he would be deposed. As we find him in office eight years later it looks as though he had conformed. The Assembly of 1638 put an end to all observance of these days declaring them

1. Records of the Kirk 169.
2. Spottiswood in 1619 acknowledged that he made scruple of holy days. Bannatyne Miscellany I.212.
4. English Popish Ceremonies 64.
5. Calderwood VII.348. Cunningham (Church History I - 491) says there were "many merchants" giving Calderwood as his authority.
to be contrary to the religion professed within the realm. In the section of the Act dealing therewith we have a number of references to troubles which had arisen over these days in the past and the members of the Assembly meant to make certain that there would be nothing of the same kind in the future. Not only did it abolish them. It prohibited all disputing for them, or observing of them or any of them in all time coming. A few notes of the debates regarding them have been preserved. Henderson while objecting strongly to their observance in Scotland declined to judge other reformed churches which still kept them. Ramsay could find no precept for them in Holy writ. Baillie was quite willing to abolish them but did not think they were abjured by the confession of 1581 or that all who practised them should be abjured whereupon the Moderator (Henderson) desired him "to tell his opinion when his voice was spaired."  

We have no information as to what form the services took on those occasions. There are it need hardly be said no forms in the Book of Common Order for any special festival. The probability is however that the lessons would be chosen with special reference to the occasion. In Cowpar's draft there are given special morning and evening lessons for each of the five days. Those for Christmas and the same as the ones in the contemporary Anglican Book. That book had however no special second lessons for Good Friday or for Ascension day

1. See Acts of Assembly Dec 10 1638.
2. Records of the Kirk. 169.170
3. Old Testament Lessons for Morning and Evening Services are given for all the festivals except Whitsunday. New Testament lessons are given for all services without exception.
which are given in Cowper's Draft. The lessons for Easter
day are quite different from the Corresponding English
ones as are also the two lessons given for Whitsunday.
Cowper also gives a number of special psalms for the
festivals. These however are all taken from the Anglican
book with the exception of those assigned to Good Friday
for which day the Book of Common Prayer made no provision.
There are also five Collects given one for each of the "days."
These all owe something to the English book but in no case
are they identical with those in use on the corresponding
festival in the "neighbour kirk." The probability in that
the distinctive feature of these special services where
they were held would be the sermon. Indeed in the Act of
Assembly opportunity these festivals this is all that is
enjoined on the ministers "They shall make choice of
several and pertinent texts of Scripture and frame their
doctrine and exhortation thereto and rebuke all superstitious
observance and licentious profanation of the said days."

No more was required by the bishops for preaching in
Edinburgh.

1. Good Friday Morning St. Luke XXIII  Evening Hebrews X.
   Ascension Day Morning Acts I.  Evening St. Mark XVI.
2. Easter Morning Zephaniah IX, St John X.  Evening
   Exodus XIII - Col. III.  Whitsunday Morning Acts II.
   Evening St. John XIV.
3. Morning Psalms XXII, LI.  Evening XXV, XXVI, XXVII.
4. These Collects are not however attached to the
   Communion Service but the order of ordinary Morning
   and Evening Prayers.
5. Calderwood VII. 337.
at Easter 1618 the Bishop of Galloway (Cowper) allowed that "teaching and a text chosen for the purpose" might be permissible on the festivals which fell on a week day but "not cessation from work or trading."

In November of the same year the Archbishop of Glasgow wrote to his "Reverent and Well Beloved Brethren, the Moderator and Brethren of the Presbytery of Ayr,"entertaining them - and if entreaty did not move them - commanding them to preach "at least one sermon of the Nativity and incarnation of the Son of God our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ - or if the people will assemble a second time ye may preach another also." At Christmas the same year the king himself wrote to the Ministers of Edinburgh wherein he "assured himself that they would according to the Acts of Assembly preach upon Christ's Nativity upon Yule day" and all seem to have obeyed with one exception as far as the city was concerned, though if the historian is to be trusted the congregations were small. To the same intent is the letter from Bishop Forbes to the Members of the Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1634. "I require you to preach of Jesus Christ His passion for our redemption upon the Friday before Pasch."

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1. Calderwood VII. 540. It is a striking indication of the views of the Hierarchy at the time that the Archbishop does not "command" in his own name or in that of the Church but "In His Hiasty's name and authority."
2. Calderwood VII-341. It is worth nothing that the King asked obedience not to himself but to "the Acts of Assembly."
3. "The Great Kirk was not half filled....The dogs were playing in the midst of the floor of the little Kirk for rarity of people and these were of the Meanest sort" Calderwood VII.341.
4. Wodrow Biographical Collections (New Spalding Club)256.
At Whitsunday in 1618 by command of the King the Communion was celebrated in the Chapel Royal. It is just possible that this Act of James was a feeler to see whether he could go further than he had yet done but whatever the reason the Communion service does not seem to have been repeated there on that festival. In July 1624 the King took another step and ordered the Communion to be celebrated on Christmas day. His act roused great indignation especially as he threatened to withdraw the Session and all other Courts of Justice if the people did not attend and partake kneeling. What the upshot would have been we cannot tell as the outbreak of the Pest put an end to the matter for the time being. Probably the Communion would have been held but whether it would have been received kneeling is doubtful. Calderwood however seems to make it clear that there would have been more opposition to the posture than to the "superstition of the time." Eight years later another attempt was made by some of the Edinburgh Ministers to have the sacrament ministered at Yule but as other ministers were against it as well as many of the elders the project was not carried out. The Christmas sermon however still continued and when Sydserf preached that day in Grey Friars Church his discourse was such that it gained admiration of many.

3. Ibid - 629.
5. Ibid - 356.
LENT.

One is somewhat surprised to find that the practice of abstaining from eating flesh in Lent was carried over into the Reformed Church. As early as January, 1564-5, the Town Council of Edinburgh ordained a proclamation to be made by sound of bell through all parts of the town "that no flesh was to be eaten or cooked by the common cooks or sold by any manner of person to no person" upon Friday or Saturday throughout the year nor "in the time of Lentron" under penalty of a fine of 40/- and this "without prejudice of the pains contained in the Queen's Majesty's Acts anent eating of flesh." 1 Twenty-two years later a somewhat similar Act was passed by the Council following on a proclamation by the King ordaining abstinence from flesh eating during 'this present Lentron.' 2 The Acts relating to the sale and eating of flesh on Friday and Saturday had been renewed several times in the interval. 3 Even earlier (in 1561-2) we find the Scottish Privy Council 4 ordering all the lieges to abstain from eating flesh in 'the spring of the year called Lentryne.' Not however on the ground that flesh


2. Ibid. IV. 487.

3. Ibid. IV. 13 - 206 etc.

eating was forbidden by the Church, but because at that season "all kyndis of flesohe debilitates and decayis and grows out of seassoun." This proclamation was repeated in 1574, - the same reason being given, as well as in later years. In 1585 a certain amount of relaxation was allowed to such as obtained "a certificate of age, sickness or infirmity signed by a physician and two honest witnesses." These enactments do not seem to have called forth any protests from the Church, the reason probably being that the Ministers were quite aware of the economic reasons which lay behind them. These reasons are well summed up by Wodrow with reference to a proclamation of the Privy Council of 1662 enacting that no "flesh be killed or sold" on the weekly "fish" days or during Lent. "This proclamation was merely a requisition of a civil keeping of Lent and weekly fish days for the preservation of the young bestial, the consumption of our fish which the Lord had so bountifully given us, and had the Council seen to the execution of this good act, as well as they did the severe and bloody acts against the Presbyterians, it had been much for the interests of the lieges." As late as 1665 some fleshers in Edinburgh and Leith were charged with breaking Lent, but no punishment seems to have followed.

1. Register of Privy Council II. 337 - 431 etc.
2. Ibid IV. 49. On this occasion flesh eating was forbidden on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, throughout the year.
3. History of the Supperlines I. 1664-7
4. 'Fish' days were Wednesday, Friday and Saturday.
If the Scottish Church discarded Saints days it did not raise objections to special days being appointed for special intercession or special thanksgiving. One of the most interesting of the latter was that fixed by the Scottish Parliament in 1600 to be observed in all time coming. This was the fifth of August which was to be kept with "public preaching and prayers and solemn thanksgivings to God" for the king's escape from the Ruthvens.

Although many of the Ministers had their doots" as to His Majesty's version of the affair, (as most people have at the present time) the day of thanksgiving seems to have been pretty generally observed. There was preaching before noon and afternoon in Edinburgh together with bonfires at night. This seems to have been usual throughout the country as we find the same observances at Dumbarton and elsewhere. The day was still being kept in Scotland and England in 1615 and indeed seems to have observed in Edinburgh and Elgin at any rate up to the beginning of the troubles. Calderwood mentions that in 1622 there was such a small congregation in St Giles that the Minister

4. Irving Dumbartonshire 301.  
5. Historie of King James the Sext - 376.  
6. Records II. 179 et.
complained bitterly about the matter, while two years later when the service came immediately after the king had given so great offence by proclaiming a "kneeling" Communion at Christmas, there were so few present although it was an ordinary day of preaching that Dr Forbes "doubted whether he should teach or not."

King James was not long in England till he gave his loving subjects another opportunity of thanksgiving for his escape. After the failure of Gunpowder plot instructions were issued that the fifth of November yearly was to be kept as a day of thanksgiving.

In Dumbarton the day seems to have been kept with "preaching in the afternoon at three hours" and great rejoicings thereafter. At Dunfermline there were "public singing, bells ringing and prayers in the kirk" while payments are made for "tare barrels" and "to the minstrellis"

These services seem to have passed away even earlier than those for the "Gowrie" thanksgiving. The latest date the writer has noticed in connection with them is 1617 in which year at Elgin the Magistrates were asked by the Session to "visit" the people with a view of getting them to come to the Service.

2. The 5th of November 1605 falling on a Tuesday, that day was made the "ordinary week preaching day" at the English Court Row Histor[229].
3. Irving Dumbartonshire 360.
4. Henderson Annuals of Dunfermline 263.
5. Records II. 153.
After King James went to England, he had a special form of service drawn up for use in the churches there, on the anniversary of his escape from the Ruthvens. Unlike the corresponding order for Gunpowder plot the 'Gowrie' service never found its way into the Book of Common Prayer, for which in the writer's opinion, Anglicans have every reason to be thankful for the form of service leaves very much to be desired, and compares very unfavourably with the services drawn up by Bishop Cowper and Peter Hewat some years later. The prayers are very long and some of the expressions used regarding his 'Sacred Majesty' come perilously near to blasphemy. It is possible that some Scottish Minister may have had part in the drawing up of the service, but the only thing which might be held to suggest this, is that 'Minister' is everywhere substituted for 'Priest.' Patrick Galloway was in England with King James towards the end of 1603, and he may have had a hand in the matter, but this is very doubtful.

1. The form will be found in the Scottish Historical Review VIII 366 - 376.
2. See page 141.
One also comes across thanksgivings for National events such as the Coronation of King Charles which was celebrated by a sermon in the Kirk and thereafter the townspeople accompanied their Magistrates expressing the melody in their hearts in praising and singing of Psalms. This was at Aberdeen in 1633. Three years earlier the inhabitants of that city had gathered in the Church to give thanks "for her Majesty's happy delivery" of a son. After "the ending of sermon" bonfires were lighted ordinance shot off and much wine consumed. The Magistrates in their perambulations through the town were attended by a company of youth "singing Psalms and praising God." A somewhat different form of thanksgiving was that held at Newburgh in 1645 "for the gracious victory obtained at Philiphaugh by General Major (sic) Leslie."

One is interested to learn that harvest thanksgiving services were common at least in Elgin. The Earliest notice of such is in 1625 but the casual manner of the reference shows that such must have been in use earlier. As late as 1752 the Synod of Moray ordered a thanksgiving to be held throughout the bounds "because of the agreeable harvest." It would be interesting to know

1. Burgh Records I, 60.
2. Ibid 28.
5. Ibid., 341.
whether any "decoration" of the Church was undertaken on such occasions. The practice of so doing in modern days is an "innovation" copied like so much more from England. Even in the Southern Kingdom the custom is not of any great age having been begun about the middle of the 19th Century.

That flowers etc were used in Scotland for decorative purposes in earlier days is undoubted when King James worshipped in St Giles in 1617 payment for "aucht sheets of flowers to the kirk the day of his Majesty's entry" was made by the city treasurer.

The custom continued in a way into the 18th century for Mrs Dunlop in Correspondence with Robert Burns mentions that as girl she had seen the Parish Church of Ayr decked with flowers at the time of the visits of the Judges.

1. Lees St. Giles 196.
2. Wallace Correspondence of Burns and Mrs Dunlop.
Although the Assembly of 1625 put an end so far as it could to all the "days" of the Perth Articles there is no doubt that observance of them continued more or less. The Westminster Directory declared that all "Festival days vulgarly called Holy Days" had no warrant in the Word of God and so were not to be continued; but while religious services ceased to be held on those days which did not fall on a Sunday one find traces of a regard for them up to the 18th Century. Thus at Elgin in 1643 the Session had to threaten with punishment those who ceased work upon Yule day and in succeeding years they had to repeat their threat.

At Aberdeen in 1657 a miller was brought before the Authorities because he refused to grind corn on Yule day. These prosecutions ceased with the coming of the Second episcopacy in 1661 though in Elgin it was not until 1665 that a Christmas service was held and judging from the collection the service must have been sparsely attended. The most interesting example of the survival of a Christmas Custom that the writer has seen occurs in the Minister of David Williamson of Edinburgh, St Cuthbert's, better known as "Deainty Davie." At a Christmas feast in 1690 he provided "Mince pies" for the members of his session.

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1. Records II, 247 - 260 etc.
3. Records II, 304, 309.
4. Lorimer, Leaves from the Book of the West Kirk, 12. In 1654 a baker was rebuked at Aberdeen "for carrying pies on Yule day." Selections from Ecc Records 121, Many similar examples of prosecution for such "offences" could be cited.
BAPTISM.

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The order of Baptism in the Book of Common Order is almost identical with that in the Book of Geneva, the only difference being that in the former there is added an exposition of the Apostles' Creed to be used by the Minister after the Father or God-father had rehearsed the articles of the faith. There is also the omission of the word "Kneeling" in the rubric before the first prayer but as that was the posture generally used probably no special significance is to be attached to the omission. We learn quite a lot about the Reformers' Baptismal customs from the writings of John Wunzet who was a contemporary of Knox. "If ye admit in your kirk" writes the priest "no ceremony except expressly commanded in Scripture why will ye not baptize the bairn except the father thereof hold it up in his arms afore your pulpit and are not contented with other gentlemen unless they bring the bairns through the streets in their own arms. And why baptize ye in the kirk and in any profane basin and in the plain fields and in the river or flood as did St John the Baptist, Philip and the rest of the Apostles."

From Wunzet's question it would appear that the Scottish custom of the Father holding up his child for baptism has been in use from the early days of the Reformation which is all the more noteworthy when it is remembered that both prayer Books of King Edward VI direct the Minister to take the child into his own arms.

2. The Liturgy of Compromise used by Knox at Frankfort follows the Edwardian rule. The Book of Common Order gives no directions in the matter at all.
Winzet further remarks that the Reformers used "profane basons" for baptism and this indicates that the fonts which had been in use in Pre Reformation times were not always used thereafter. Winzet also alleges that the Protestants "wappit" (broke) down the ancient fonts and there seems reason to believe that in some instances they did so. This disuse of the ancient fonts may have been due to the fact that these were usually placed near the door of the church and as the ministers of the Reformed Church baptised in face of the congregation they may have held them to be unsuitable. In some cases too the fonts may have come under the ban by reason of the symbols carved thereon.

When the mediaeval kirk of Souden which had been used up to 1688 was cleared of debris in 1911 the massive stone octagonal font believed to date from the 13th Century was found still standing in its original position and doubtless had been used for its original purpose long after 1560.

According to the Book of Discipline every kirk was to have a "basin for baptism" and it seems that such soon took the place of the stone font. In 1589 among the duties of the Beadle of St Andrews "setting the towel and the basin on the pulpit at the second bell." The basin was usually attached by a ring to the pulpit and in some cases the ring is still to be seen. In some cases the basin was of silver.

2. Every parish Church in Scotland was supposed to have a font of stone or wood of competent size. This indicates probably that baptism was by immersion. Dowden Mediaeval Church in Scotland 140.
4. Ibid 93. In baptism "the whole congregation there may be witness.
5. The Font of Inverkeithing probably made by the baptism of David Duke of Rothesay in 1373 appears to have been buried on the eve of the Reformation. Stephen Inverkeithing Rosyth 238.9.
8. The name Font still continued cf. Paraphrase "When to the sacred font we came" The Canons of 1636 ordered that a font should be placed in every Parish Church.
9. Register 652.
and a few such dating from the earlier part of the 17th Century are still in use.

In 1617 the Scottish Parliament passed an Act requiring each parish church to be furnished with basins and lavers for the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism. The laver does not seem to have been in use in the Pre-Reformation church though one was used at the Baptism of James VI in the Chapel Royal at Stirling. Only a very few remain in the Church's possession and it might be thought that the Act of 1617 was only partly carried out, but Gillespie writing in 1637 speaks as though the use of the laver was quite common. Dr Burns is of opinion that the introduction of the laver was due to the "strong prelatic sympathies" of the church about the year of the above mentioned act. but the writer had been unable to find any justification for such a view. Gillespie who was bitterly opposed to prelacy and all its works would not have spoken of the laver as he did had he considered it in anyway a symbol of Episcopacy. Indeed the most of the lavers which are now in existence belong to a post revolution date when Presbyterian sentiment was strong. The Church of England know nothing of lavers while on the other hand the words of the Westminster Directory regarding the method of baptism, "pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the child" point to Presbyterian usage.

1. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 519-20 etc. Dr Burns mentions (517) a silver font belonging to the Abbey of Dunfermline. It is more probable that it is a post Reformation vessel although James VI was baptised out of a font of Gold.
4. English Popish Ceremonies 114. "A bason and laver set before a pulpit are signs of baptism to be ministered"
5. Burns Old Scottish Communion Plate 512.
7. It may be noted that "pouring" precedes "sprinkling."
In some cases the shape of the laver suggests that it was simply used for holding the water, which was poured into the basin previous to the ministration of the rite but in other cases it is evident that the water was poured on to the child's forehead direct from the laver.

This sacrament was only administered in church and at the time of public preaching. The writers of the Book of Discipline thought it "more expedient that it be ministered upon a Sunday or upon the day of prayers only after the sermon," and in the forenoon." The Book of Common Order indicates that the usual time should be the "day appointed to Common prayer and preaching." In Glasgow in 1588 the times appointed for Baptism were Wednesday (the preaching day) and Sunday afternoon the children to be presented at the second bell, and if they were not presented then they would not be baptized that day. In 1638 those who were unable to bring their children on the ordinary preaching days might do so any day to the morning or evening prayers where a preacher would be in attendance to baptize them.

Twelve years earlier the Session had passed an ordinance that no baptism be allowed "but on the preaching days except in point of necessity and when children are weak." In passing this act the session was showing itself more strict than the Assembly which in 1602 had permitted Baptism in church on days other than of preaching.

1. Knox II. 238.9.
2. Ibid 238. At afternoon (on Sunday) also may Baptism be ministered when occasion is offered of great travel before noon.
3. i.e. a week day.
4. Life of Weems 32. "Preacher " may mean Reader. In Elgin the Reader was allowed to baptize with consent of the Session Records II. 19 etc.
5. Life of Weems 32.
6. B.U.K. 1002. In Elgin in 1632 the Session statute de nove that no one should seek baptism except on preaching days Records II. 176.
In Aberdeen in 1604 parents were ordered to bring their children to their own parish church to be baptized; except "upon necessity" or when the "divided kirks convene in one". No permission was given for baptism to be administered elsewhere than in Church and the Assembly of 1581 finding that some slackness had crept in strictly forbade all baptisms in private houses. No exception was made and in 1609 James Stewart Minister of Campsie was severely dealt with by the Presbytery of Glasgow for baptizing a child in a private house "in the time of a great storm". The third of the five articles of Perth reads thus. "The Minister shall often admonish the people that they defer not the baptism of infants any longer than the next Lord's day after the child be born as also they shall warn them that without great cause they procure not their children to be baptized at home but when great need shall compel them to baptize in private houses then baptism shall be administered after the same form as it should have been in the congregations."

The opening rubric in Cowper's Draft gave a similar permission for private baptism as did also the Scottish Book of Common Prayer (Laud's Liturgy) which contained an Order for private Baptism.

This permission to Baptize elsewhere than in the Church was fiercely resented by the Presbyterian party who maintained not only that it was inexpedient but that it was

1. Selections from Ecclesiastical Records 40.
2. Calderwood III 388. The Minister of Tranent was suspended by this Assembly for "baptizing an infant in a private house."
3. Maitland Club Miscellany I. 413.
4. This provision does not appear to have roused much opposition among the Presbyterian.
5. Lee Lectures II. 208.
unlawful and could not be made lawful by any ecclesiastical law. Forbes writing from the Episcopal standpoint maintained that even in private baptism "administration of the sacrament must be combined with public teaching or with such teaching as is virtually public" a position afterwards taken up by Boston who would never baptize a child in a private house unless he was able to make public intimation that preaching would be joined thereto. In connection with the dispute regarding private baptism a story has come down to our day of King James who when insisting in 1617 on the relaxation of the rule requiring baptism in church was asked by one of those who were against it whether he believed the child would be damned if it were not baptized. "No" replied the British Solomon "but if you refuse to baptize a dying child you will!" All baptizing in Private houses of course came to an end with the Glasgow Assembly and when the Westminster Directory was being drawn up the Scottish Commissioners got private baptism prohibited somewhat more easily than they anticipated.

Parents presenting their children for baptism had to be able to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Belief and if they were not able to do so then some other person who could was to present their child.

In 1588 this with the addition of the ten Commandments was statute by the Glasgow Session. The year before we

1. Gillespie English Popish Ceremonies 68,117, etc. It may be noted that the writer had a great deal more to say against private Baptism than against private Communion.
2. An Irenicum 120.
3. MEMOIRS 354.
4. Sprott Offices and Worship of the Church of Scotland 58.
5. Baillie Letters and Journals II. 204.
6. As early as 1570 the Assembly decided that the children of excommunicated persons might be baptized if presented by a faithful member of the Kirk Calderwood II.541.
learn of "ane puir bairn" uncertain who is his father craving baptism at St Andrews and on his knees repeating the Belief and the Lord's Prayer before the Session.

At Elgin in 1598 a similar case occurred the boy being allowed eight days to learn the two prescribed pieces. Other cases of the same are noted in 1601 and 1603 but only the "Sum of the Faith" was required of them.

No mention is made either in the Book of Common Order or in that of Geneva of "Godmothers" though as has been noted Godfathers appeared both in Geneva and Scotland. From Wenzet we learn that for some reason Godmothers had been dispensed with. "Why had ye Godmothers in the beginning and now repels the same?" One can only regret that we have not the answer to the question, Godmothers were allowed by King Edward's book and their presence "in the beginning" may be another indication of its use in Scotland. Opposition to the presence of others than the parents was mooted in Scotland by Robert Brown the founder of Independence in 1584 "After an arrogant manner" says Calderwood "he made show before the session of the kirk of Edinburgh that he would maintain that witnesses at Baptism was not a thing indifferent but simply evil" "But" adds the old historian "he failed in his probation" As there was no limit put to the number in the Book of Common Order of God-parents a child might have, it became

1. Register 393.
2. Records 64. The boy must have failed to learn for he was not baptized till 1600.
3. Ibid 89. 116. The Session records show that the scribe would not give a Christian name until the person had been baptized.
5. Calderwood IV - 1.
the fashion in some places for more to come than the Sessions approved of. In Aberdeen in 1622 "four at the most" were all that were allowed. In Glasgow for those who were baptized on the Sabbath "no more gossips than six" were to come forward though so far as is noted no objection was made to any number on a week day. It was probably owing to the numbers who attended that the session of St Andrews in 1581 ordered their officers to "see gude order was taken touching Baptism." Three years later in view of the "ower great number of witnesses or gossips to the bairns that are baptized in this kirk" the Session warned the parents that all the witnesses except two or three at the most should sit still in their own places while the baptismal ceremony was being performed, the "father of the bairn holding up his own bairn himself only."

There seems little doubt that the order used in Baptism throughout this period was that of the Book of Common Order. The only serious departure from that order has come under the writer's notice was that of Robert Montgomery Minister at Stirling who was accused by the Assembly of 1581 of maintaining that it was "sufficient to baptize in the name of the Father only or in the name of the Son or in the name of the Holy Ghost because they are all alone God." For the proof, he offered the 19th of Acts. In the Perth Articles private baptism was to be

1. Selections from Ecclesiastical Records 109. Cunningham falls into a somewhat strange error with regard to this. He says "on the part of the king and his bishops at this period there was a pedantic aping of Roman and Anglican terms....Parents in baptism were Godfathers and Godmothers." He goes on to say that some Aberdonians had "a desire to overdo Episcopacy as they brought ten or twelve Godfathers." He had overlooked the fact that Godfathers had been in evidence in Protestant Scotland since the Reformation. Church History I. 480.
2. Life of Weems 32.
3. Register 459.
4. Ibid. 533.
5. Calderwood III 579. Probably the 5th verse "when they heard this they were baptized and the name in the Lord Jesus," Montgomery who was a favourite of King James
according to "the same form" as in the Church and there was only the one form. The service in Cowper's draft follows the Anglican order but there are some parts which may indicate Scottish usages of the period (1619). Thus there is no mention made of Godmothers, only Godfathers. The reference to "dipping" in the English book is not repeated the minister being directed "to pour water on the child's forehead. Nor is there any reference to signing with the cross.

Sir William Brereton has left a description of a baptismal service which he witnessed in 1636 in the College Church Edinburgh when a blind man was the preacher, the time being Sunday afternoon. The preacher standing in the pulpit and there being placed and fashioned unto the same a frame of iron shaped and proportioned to a basin, wherein there stands a silver basin and ewer, here the Minister with an exhortation of gratitude for God's great goodness in admitting them to this privilege etc, and demanding from witnesses (which are many sometimes, twelve sometimes twenty) according to a printed form of Baptism, the parent receives the child from the midwife presents the same unto the preacher who doth baptize it without any manner of ceremony giving a strict care of Christian and religious education first unto the parent then to the witnesses."

Henderson writing probably a few years later gives another account which agrees in the main with that of

5. (Continued from page 8) gave the assembly a great deal of trouble. In 1582 he was suspended and afterwards excommunicated Calderwood III. 599 - 622.

1. The Order of Baptism in the Book of Common Order.
2. Signing with the Cross is probably what is meant by Ceremony here.
3. Hume Brown, Early Travellers
Brereton. "The Pastor remaining in the same place where he hath preached and having water in a large basin provided, with a fair linen cloth in a convenient place and in a decent manner the father or in his necessary absence some other man who is reputed godly presenteth the child to be baptized. The action is began with a short and pertinent prayer, next some words of instruction touching the Author nature use and end of this sacrament, the duties to be performed in the one time of the person to be baptized and of the parent or vice-parent. Thirdly he that presenteth the child maketh confession of the faith into which the child is to be baptized and promiseth to bring up the child in that faith and in the fear of God. Fourthly the Minister being informed of the name of the child baptized the child so named by sprinkling with water "INTO THE NAME OF THE FATHER SON AND HOLY GHOST." Lastly the Minister concluded as well the public worship for that time as the action with thanksgiving for the word and sacrament and with prayer for a blessing and with such petitions as he useth at other times after sermon, and in the end dismisseth the congregation with the blessing."

From Forbes and Gillespie we learn that it was the custom when an adult was baptized that he should kneel to receive the sacrament as is still the custom. In presenting a child to be baptized the parent or sponsor knelt also.

1. i.e., The Belief or Apostles' Creed.
2. It is somewhat remarkable to find Henderson anticipating the Revised Version.
4. Insericium 78. "One who comes to be baptized or presents a candidate for Baptism humbles himself."
5. English Popish Ceremonies 106. He agrees with Forbes but holds that kneeling in prayer at baptism is different from kneeling when receiving the Communion.
Before leaving this subject one may note that in the earlier days of the Reformed Church the Ministers were much troubled over baptism by those who had no right to administer the sacrament. As has been noted many of the Readers were expriests and it was only natural that as they had baptized their parishioners' children before 1560 they should wish to do afterwards. Probably in most cases the order of service used would be that of King Edward's book or that of the Book of Common Order for the desire to people would have the service in the vulgar tongue; but in some cases the service appears to have been according to the Latin rite. In 1565 the Assembly had to pass an act threatening excommunication to anyone who had his children "baptized by Popish priests" or who approved "in any way Popish wickedness" In 1567 the Countess of Argyll had to do public penance in the Chapel Royal of Stirling in time of sermon because she had been present at the baptism of the Prince (afterwards James VI) who had been baptized by Archbishop Hamilton in a "papistical manner." In 1564 no less than three ex-priests one of whom at least, had been a Reader were dealt with by the Session of St Andrews for Ministering the Sacraments more or less irregularly. In 1566 we have the case of Sir Alexander Brown an ex priest sometime Curate in Kilmalow baptizing a child "in the name of the Father

1. Register of Kirk Session of St Andrews 85,176,245 etc.
2. In the Glasgow Herald for 25 Sept 1924 the Duke of Argyll drew attention to the case of Niven Macvicar who had been parish priest of Kilmalow before 1560 and who continued in the parish after that date. He is said to have baptized the children either with the Latin rite or the Protestant Order as the parents required using the Medieaval Stone font for the purpose.
3. Calderwood History II. 300.
4. Ibid 397.
5. Register 226.7.
the Son and the Holy Ghost without any prayer, reading or
other ceremony. The Father and Mother of the child
(which was illegitimate) had to appear before the
congregation but apparently two men and one woman who were
present as "gossips and cummer" were not even reprimanded.

In 1586 there was a somewhat lengthy process at
St Andrews against John Downie a person whose character
left a good deal to be desired, for administering private
baptism. According to the records John had baptized "the
bairn of Christine Scott gotten as she said with Andrew
Earl of Rothes" by taking water furth of a plate and
repeating the baptismal formula. John had known of the
rule of the Roman Church with regard to private baptism for
he said "any man may baptize a bairn if the bairn be week."
The Session however did not accept this view of the matter
fined him three pounds, made him sit on the highest degree
of the penitent stool clad in sackcloth, bareheaded and
barefooted and afterwards on his knees he had to ask "God
mercy and the whole congregation whom he had slandered
forgiveness". It is interesting to add that there is
reason to believe that the child baptized in this manner
was no other than Alexander Leslie the famous
Covenanting General.

Although the Session punished Downie in this rather
severe fashion some years later we find them dealing almost
as severely with another who had let his child die

1. Ibid 284. "Ceremony" here probably refers to the
Roman rites.
2. Cummer = Godmother. The priest got a testan (a small
silver coin) for his work.
3. Register LXX.IX. 567 ff.
unbaptized while about the same time they refused to allow another child to have the benefit of the sacrament until they had consulted the Presbytery on a legal point although the mother - the baby being illegitimate - pled that it was sickly and very weak.

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1. Ibid 792.
2. Ibid 865. See also page 366.
MARRIAGE

The Marriage Service in the Book of Common Order is identical with that of the Book of Geneva which it may be noted allows a certain latitude to the minister in the form of blessing but says nothing about a similar liberty being permitted with the vows or the exhortation: It may have been on account of slackness with regard to these that the assembly in 1570 ordained that all marriages were to be "solemnized according to the order published." The instruction of the Book of Discipline was that marriages should be performed at the morning service on the Lord's day and this custom remained for long in Scotland. In 1579 the rule was relaxed the Assembly allowing the ceremony to take place on "Ferial days". The year before that however the Session of St Andrew had permitted a marriage on a Wednesday on account of the "deadly infirmity of the bridegroom." Perhaps the merrymaking which then as now was associated with marriages had something to do with the change. In 1570 St Andrews Session had to take steps "for reformation of the great abuse used by new married persons in the violation of the Sabbath day." Glasgow Kirk Session probably for the same reason (which kept newly married people from coming to the second service) in 1584 ordered that marriages should not be

1. B.U.K. In 1600 mention is made incidentally that a certain marriage had been performed according to the "form of marriage contained in the Psalm Book". St Andrews Register 940.
2. Knox II 238. Knox himself was married on Palm Sunday Brown Life of Knox II 200 - 1.
3. "Preaching days" are meant. It appears that marriage on such days was permitted in some places previous to 1579 Calderwood III. 450.
4. Register 332. In 1580 the session changed their rule in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly and decided that it should be lesome in all time coming P.T.O.
performed to the afternoon. In spite of such regulations however the trouble continued and in 1603 we find the session of Elgin insisting on a cautioner becoming security that a couple about to be married shall keep the afternoon's preaching and have no minstrel that day" under penalty of ten pounds. 

Twenty three years later the same session forbade all "bridals" on the Sabbath because of the distracting of the people from Divine Service. In Aberdeen in 1602 in a list of abuses which had been tolerated but not allowed is mentioned "celebration of marriage in the morning before preaching." This was thereafter prohibited and all marriages ordered to be "solemnized publicly when the people are convened .... immediately before doctrine in face of the people because marriage and baptism are public actions." The form of the ruling suggests that marriages had been celebrated in church privately before "the people had convened." 

In 1633 the Session of Glasgow permitted marriages at prayers on a week day provided a fine of 19/- was paid. Six years later the session of Elgin absolutely forbade all marriages on "the Sabbath owing to the prophanation thereof. They claimed the authority of an Act of Assembly for their action but in this they must have been mistaken.

1. Weems 33. In 1626 a newly married couple paid 18/4 for not coming to the afternoon Service. Records of Elgin II 19
2. Records of Elgin II 104
3. " II 193
4. Selections from Ecclesiastical Records 189-190
5. Weems 35. (6) Records of Elgin 235. The Directory for Public Worship advises that Marriages be not on the Lord's Day. It does not prohibit them.
Marriage was always in church and there seems to have been a special place set apart for the ceremony. In a minute of the Session of Edinburgh in 1574 reference is made to the "marriage place" in the church and in Aberdeen three years later we find the minister and the "haill session" ordering that in time coming no person should be married except on the Stool before the desk conform to the use of Edinburgh and other kirkks. Some light is thrown on the matter by a minute of Dunfermline Kirk Session who granted a parishioner leave to set up a form before the pulpit "where the brides and bridegrooms that day that they are married used to sit".

Any attempt to perform the ceremony elsewhere than in church met with the strong disapproval of the Assembly. Cases occur where for some reason or other the law of the church was broken but in every case the minister had to make his repentance. Among others dealt with in this was Peter Watson Commissioner of Nithsdale who had to appear in the Parish church of Durrisdeer, for marrying of Stewart of Garlies to the daughter of Sir William Douglas at Drumlanrig Castle in 1577. The penance done by the minister did not prevent the eldest son of the marriage from being married as his parents had been in a private house.

1. Selections from Ecclesiastical Records 22.
3. Calderwood History III 386. Scottish Nation II 277. Drumlanrig is in Durrisdeer Parish. Watson pled before the Assembly that John Wallock Superintendent of the West had done the same thing at Drumlanrig.
4. Agnew Hereditary Sherifffs I. 442. The marriage took place at Kenmure Castle though it is added "in face of Holy Kirk."
From a list of questions decided by the Assembly of 1570 it is evident that promise of marriage was made before the minister or reader and elders. Caution was taken that the parties would fulfill their promise, a custom which has existed in some parts of Scotland even to our own day.

Banns had to be published three times and Minian W'zet did not miss the chance of inviting the reformers to say where they found the Scripture warrant for such. In 1569 Mr Andrew Kirkcaldy had to appear before the Congregation of Kilconquhar to ask "God and the congregation forgiveness" for having married a couple without proclamation of banns.

In Elgin in consequence of certain disorders the session in 1589 agreed that there would be no "proclamation of marriage" unless the parties appeared before the elders and desired "that promise to be proclaimed." Consent of parents was required before banns could be published, this being all the more necessary when it is remembered that the legal age for marriage in Scotland was - and still is - 14 for the bridegroom and 12 for the bride. Those who desired the benefit of

1. Calderwood II 541.
2. Life of Weems 32. Records of Elgin 3 3tc.
3. During the Great War the writer had occasion to ask a woman for a look at her marriage lines. She produced the "Bond" entered into by her husband and herself before the Kirk Session to marry within 40 days under penalty of 100 merks.
4. Book of Discipline Knox II 248. If the parties were known the banns might be "shortened at the discretion of the ministry".
6. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 319.
7. Records. 12 This rule seems to have been long adhered to in Elgin.
8. Book of Discipline Knox II 247. In 1618 John Guthry Minister of Perth on ane Sunday after the afternoons
marriage had to keep the "preaching or prayers for such public affairs before they receive the benefit" as is stated in a "General Act" of the Session of Elgin in 1630. Probably this refers to some who came into the church immediately before the time of the marriage service and left immediately thereafter.

(This particular session was not slow to make its own laws as to who should be allowed to be married. In 1637 an act was passed with consent "of my L.Bishop" to the effect that none should get the benefit of marriage unless they were able to work for themselves and their families. This act was "first execute on the person of David Gray a man past four score and ten years being contracted to a young woman." The banns were stopped and no marriage allowed.) From Winget we learn that at the marriage ceremony it was customary for the bride and bridegroom to take each other by the hand and that in some places the wedding ring was used.

In a case tried in the metropolitan city in 1566 one of the witnesses stated that he had seen promise of marriage made between two parties their hands being laid together by the priest according to the "papistical rite used for that time." In a case of reconciliation

sermon married the Master of Sannquh to Sir Robert Swift's daughter an English knight in Yorkshire neither of the parties exceeding thirteen years of age"

Chronicles of Perth quoted Chambers Domestic Annals I 501.
1. St Andrews Kirk Session in 1572 and again in 1579 threatened to refuse marriage to Sabbath breakers.
Register 365 -442.
2. Records of Elgin II 232.
3. Certain Tractates S.T.S. 65. Taking by the hand is required by the Westminster Directory but the ceremonial use of the ring is forbidden.
4. Register of Kirk Session of St Andrews 289.
between husband and wife in Aberdeen in 1608 the two 'chapped hands "in token of amity"

Montgomery writing about the end of the 16th century refers to the giving of the ring but whether it was done as part of the religious service is not so clear. As in other Reformed churches what was objected to was not the wearing of the symbol of marriage but the "superstitious act" of placing it on the priest's book to be blessed. Calderwood draws a sharp distinction between what may be called the civil and the religious use of the ring. Another use of the ring in marriage is instanced by Lee in his Lectures where several entries from the records of the Kirk session of the Canongate are quoted referring to the giving of a ring in pledge for the performance of the marriage.

Up to comparatively recent times in Scotland the ring was not used in the marriage service. No mention is made of it in Cowper's Draft Service which it may be noted had most of its rubrics and the opening exhortation from the corresponding Anglican book while the vows and charge are taken from the Book of Common Order. Laud's Liturgy of course orders its use but even among those who might have been expected to follow that order it does not appear to have been in vogue. There is

1. Selections 60
2. "Then a ring/Did he thing/On my finger that was fine/Tak quoth he/This to thee/For a pledge that I am thine/" Poems II 240.
3. Altare Damascenum 270. "NON CUM IMPOSITIONE SUPER LIBRUM SACRORUM."
4. "Hunc RituM NON DAMNAREMUS SI FOEDERA CIVILI MODO CELEBRARENTUR." Ibid.
5. Lectures I 216. 1630 R-- N-- and I-- M-- gave up their names to be proclaimed and consigned ane gold signet ring. J--M-- and E--A-- ... consigned ane gold ring with ane white stone. (The marriage ring of Mary Queen of Scots was one with a stone set in it).
still preserved in the Diocesan Library at Brechin a copy of the Book of Common Prayer presented by Queen Anne to the Episcopal Church in Montrose. All the references to the ring in the marriage Service are surrounded by black heavy lines showing that when that book was in use the ring was not given.

One part of the service which seems to have vanished entirely was the offering. John Row mentions that at the marriage of two of his parishioners at the Kirk of Carnock this amounted to 22/8 which was put in the box.

The ceremony was usually performed by a "Minister lawfully called" but there are cases on record where a Reader did so. In some instances this seems to have led to a censure on the part of the church courts but at Elgin the Kirk session the Reader was actually empowered to do so when he had the "express commandment of the Minister and elders in one session ... to that effect."

The behaviour of the congregations at the marriage ceremony often left much to be desired and Sessions had to take order thereon. The officer at Elgin was directed to attend on all occasions and see that no abuse be found in the kirk but in spite of that several cases of abuse were reported.

6. The writer was present at a marriage performed twelve years ago by a well known parish minister. No ring was used at the ceremony.

7. A short prayer (probably of Cowper's own writing) comes after the charge to the newly married and before the nuptial benediction.

1: Eeles Traditional customs - 136.
2. It may be noted that although Gillespie in his "English Popish Ceremonies" has much to say against other Anglican customs he says nothing against the ring in marriage. Dr Cooper thought that this was due to this ceremony being popular among the laity (Book of Common Order 291) The writer thinks that it be more likely that the custom was not in use in Scotland at the time.
3. Row Historic XXI The offering was gathered and the name of the collector is given pointing to the fact that the collection was not taken at the church door.
persons found themselves before the session for unruly conduct. At St Andrews neither the beadle nor his man (assistant) were permitted to "ask or crave money from any person ... that are contracted in marriage unless it be given freely and no further."  

Parties had to go to their own parish church to be married. If they went to another they had to produce a testimonial from their own minister before the ceremony could be performed and in some cases the Session refused to allow the ministers to grant such. 

Wherever the marriage took place the couple had to remain there until they had heard the preaching.

Parties desiring marriage had to show that they had sufficient religious knowledge to be able to repeat the Lords Prayer, the ten commandments and the creed before they were allowed to "complete the band of matrimony. Quite a number of cases occur throughout the records of fines being imposed on candidates for the rule of the Westminster Directory.

1. Calderwood History II 331 III 386. Register of St Andrews Session 178.
2. The Book of Discipline does not forbid - though it does not specifically sanction - marriage by Readers. The Assembly though it forbade them to minister the sacraments did not do the same with regard to marriage. In each of the examples mentioned above there was some additional irregularity. I have not noticed any case where the parties were re-married. In later days Forbes and Gillespie agreed that blessing by the pastor in marriage was simply a laudable custom. Irenicum 119 English Popish Ceremonies 72.  
3. Life of Weems 33.  
4. Register 651. The date is 1626.
5. The date is 1589.
6. Records 193. The date is 1626.
7. Register 651. The date is 1589.

1. Life of Weems 33.
2. Calderwood History III 386. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 939.
3. Life of Weems 33.
4. Life of Weems 34.
5. Ibid 33 Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 439.
for matrimony who could not repeat the required pieces. In one case the marriage was actually stopped until the bridegroom was sufficiently instructed to be able to repeat what was necessary.

A Register of Marriages was kept, usually by the Reader but the session claimed the right to say whether any extract might be given from it.

It is somewhat remarkable that in none of the contemporary records is there reference to any one like our "best man" or "bride's maids". Cowper mentions the presence of "friends and neighbours" but there is nothing to indicate that there were those who attended in a special capacity.

1. Register of St Andrews Kirk Session 839 etc. Records of Elgin 145 etc.
2. Life of Weems 33
3. Selections from Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen 73.
4. Register of Kirk Session of St Andrews. 563.
BURIAL
BURIAL.
-0-0-0-0-

Under the heading "The Burial" the Book of Common Order "has the following: "The corpse is reverently brought to the grave accompanied with the congregation without any further ceremonies, which being buried, the Minister if he be present and required goeth to the Church if it be not far off and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people touching death and resurrection" To which there is added in some later copies "Then blesseth the people and so dismisseth them." The first paragraph is simply that of the Book of Geneva the words 'if he be present and required' being added. The writers of the Book of Discipline while stating that Burial in all ages had been held in estimation and that the same should be kept within the realm yet thought it "most expedient that the Dead be conveyed to the place of burial with some honest company of the church without either singing or reading yea without all kind of ceremony heretofore used other than that the dead be committed to the grave with such gravity and sobriety as those that be present may seem to fear the judgements of God and to hate sin which is the cause of death." To this however was added another paragraph which leaves a loophole for a burial service "Yet notwithstanding we are not so precise but that we are content that

1. It was the custom in some places for those who were "to convoy" the dead to burial to come to the house of mourning some hours before the time fixed for the funeral. The custom existed in some parishes in the South down to comparatively recently. In 1771 the Session of Machline put an end to it so far as their parish was concerned Edgar Old Church Life in Scotland II 238. It still exists in the Shetland Islands."
particular kirks may use them in that behalf as they will answer to God and Assembly of the Universal Kirk gathered within the realm". The next paragraph forbids funeral sermons on the ground that if the people despise the instruction given in ordinary discourses they are not likely to be benefitted by special ones, also there was a danger that respect of persons would be made manifest. Ministers might preach at the burial of the rich and honourable," but keep silence "when the poor or despised "departed. Knox himself did not adhere to the instruction here given for as is well known he preached at the funeral of the Regent Moray.

Calderwood has preserved the prayer used by the Great Reformer on that occasion and if there is no petition in it for the dead there is certainly much of thanksgiving for the faithful departed.

The "Good Regent" as he was called was buried within the Church in the "South Yle" although this also was condemned by the Book of Discipline.

Funeral Sermons were in use in Geneva during the time of Knox's Ministry there, and as the General Assembly in 1562 agreed that a uniform order was to be kept in the Ministration of the sacraments solemnization of marriage and burial of the dead according to the Kirk of Geneva" if follows that there was nothing illegal in

1. This latter paragraph it may be noted is omitted in many if not most copies of the Book of Discipline but there is no doubt as to its genuineness. Knox II.250. One of those burial services was that of the Kirk of Montrose (See page 67).
2. Knox II.251.
3. Calderwood History II. 513 - 5.
4. Knox II. 251. "We think it neither seemly that the Church appointed to preaching and Ministration of the sacraments shall be made a place of burial." This does not seem to have been very much regarded though there are some cases on record where the burial in Church was objected to by the Authorities. Usually the objections were withdrawn on payment of money ad plos usus. See Kirk Session Records of Perth in Spottiswood Miscellany for a number of instances.
their use in Scotland. Funeral sermons were certainly in vogue in this Country in the period we are now considering. When Patrick Simpson Minister of Stirling and stalwart opponent of the Bishops and all their works was buried in 1618 his friend Henry Livingstone (another fervent Presbyterian) preached his funeral sermon from the words "I have fought a good fight ... I have kept the faith." After sermon says the chronicler he was buried in the end of the quire where he honourably rests.

Among Episcopalians the same custom was observed the only funeral service being the funeral sermon.

Spottiswoode mentions that the body of his predecessor in the Metropoliten See Archibishop Gladstone was interred in the South East of the Parish Church of St Andrews, and the funeral sermon preached by Mr William Cowper Bishop of Galloway.

In 1635 there was published at Aberdeen a volume entitled "The Funeral sermons Orations and Epitaphs on the Right Reverend Patrick Forbes Bishop of Aberdeen," and this contains not only the sermon delivered at the funeral but also those preached on the following Sundays.

When Bishop William Forbes of Edinburgh was buried Wodrow tells us. "Mr Sydserf (Dean 66)-------------------------------

1. Calderwood in his History (Folio Edition 24 the passage not being contained in the Wodrow Society Edition) indicates pretty clearly that he was no friend to funeral sermons which he says were not used in Geneva though they were allowed. Bishop Sage accuses Calderwood of not quoting the above mentioned Act of the Assembly in full because he did not wish it to be known that the Assembly permitted funeral sermons. Fundamental Charter 167. Calderwood's words are "Ordained that a uniform order be kept in the Ministration of the Sacraments according to the Book of Geneva."

2. Select Biographies (Wodrow Society) I.111.

3. It is of course possible if not probable that extempore prayer was offered as was usual at "Sermon" See case of the funeral of the Regent Moray.

4. History III. 227. The date is 1615. Calderwood (VLI - 200) says that a canopy of black velvet was borne upon the coffin.
of Edinburgh) preached his funeral sermon from John 5:35-36."

We get a suggestive side light on the ceremonial with which the obsequies of Nobles and dignitaries were conducted in the following paragraph "after sermon the Bishop was buried in Saint Giles Kirk Edinburgh at the East end thereof .......He was buried with no great pomp the magistrates ministers inhabitants some of the nobility the Bishop of St Andrews with two or three more bishops (attending)" One wonders how much more would have been required before the funeral became a pompous one. Row incidentally refers to the Bishop of Dunblane "making" the funeral sermon of a nobleman in Edinburgh in the years 1629. A specially interesting example of this type of sermon was preached by Archbishop Spottiswood; at the funeral of Bishop Cowper of Galloway in 1619. Cowper was buried "in the Greyfriars yard or common burial place of Edinburgh which kirk was newly completed and at the funeral sermon consecrated" by the Archbishop.

Cowper's Draft has a section headed "The manner of Burial" which reproduces almost verbatim the words of the Book of Discipline, and the Book of Common Order. It contains however the following paragraph which does not appear in either of these. "The exequies used in

5. (Continued from page33f) This Volume has been reprinted by the Spottiswoode Society.
2. Historic 349.
4. This is one of the few instances where the Book is quoted with regard to order of services.
some reformed churches and performed with solemn reading
of some parts of Scripture, prayers and singing of Psalms
we do not dislike, as serving to stir up the minds of men
into a careful consideration of the estate both here and
hereafter. But our church not being accustomed therewith
doeth leave it to the discretion of the Minister who being
present at the Burial and required, ought not to refuse to
make some comforting exhortation to the people touching
death and resurrection to life."

The Assembly of 1638 passed one act against
Funeral Services and from that time onward funeral
sermons seem to have ceased. Henderson writing circa
1640 remarks that Burials are without funeral sermons.
Baillie notes that the Scots Commissioners of Westminster
were very much opposed to them although they were popular
among the English. After three days debate he says they
could not "find a way of agreement" Nay more we find
that the Scots Commissioners would not go to listen
to the Sermon - which Baillie admits was most eloquent and
pertinent - preached at the funeral of Pym "for funeral
sermons we must have away with the rest" The English
Puritans were keen to keep to these discourses and the
Records of the Westminster Assembly show that there was
much debate on the matter. One member, apparently
Rutherford, stated that he saw no more reason for a act of
worship when men were buried than one when they were born

1. The words "being present" seem to indicate that there
were those who held like some English Puritans that
"the care of burying the dead does not belong more to
the Ministerial office than to the rest of the Church"
(Cartwright) Morer states that in his time (1690-90)
Ministers rarely attended funerals.
2. Peterkin Records of the Kirk 47.
3. Government and Order. 28.
4. Letters and Journals II. 245. He mentions that they had
"passed a proposition for abolishing their (The English)
Ceremonies at Burial" He also states that "our Church has
discharged (funeral Sermons) on many good reasons" It is
probable that his reference is to the Book of Discipline.
5. Baillie Letters II. 118.
to which Mr. Whitaker made the apt rejoinder that immediately after birth the child was brought to baptism.

In the end it appears from the list of observances which while not condemned were to be laid aside that both parties agreed to their suppression in the interests of uniformity. One finds however relics of the custom much later and in circles where one might have expected the strictest interpretations of the law to prevail. On the Sunday after Cameron the covenanting leader was killed at Ayrmoss his friend Cargil preached to the Covenanters in Shotts from the text "Know ye not that there is a great man and prince fallen this day in Israel." "It was" says Professor Herklefs Cameron's funeral sermon he preached, the lament for the friend he trusted for the young man on whom he leant.

Closely allied with funeral services were services at the "Dregy" or "Likewaks". It had been the custom in the Mediaeval Church to watch by the body before it was buried and this was continued after 1560. Although "Singing of Messe Placebo and Dirige" were declared not only superfluous but also idolatry by the Book of Discipline there seems no doubt that in some parts of Scotland at least services after the Reformed manner took the place of those of the Roman Church.

2. Notes and Debates (Presbyterian Armoury) 120.
3. II. Sam III - 38.
4. Richard Cameron (Famous Scots Series) 146.
5. Chaucer refers to the "Likewaks" in his Pardoners Tale. "Shall not be told for me
   How Arctite is burned to ashes cold
   Nor how the light waks was held
   All that night"
   The name lykewaks or "Licht wake probably arose from the lights which were set round the corpse though some derive it from leichnam a corpse.
The very word "Dregy" is a survival being derived from the popular name for the service "in the First Nocturn" in the office for the Dead. The antiphon, with which that service opens, is the ninth verse of the fifth Psalm. "DIRIGE DOMINE DEUS MEUS" from which in charters etc the service was known simply as the "Dirige" and as such is referred to in the Book of Discipline (For a similar reason the part of the Office for the Dead said at Evensong was called PLACEBO since its opening words were PLACEBO DOMINO IN REGIONE VIVORUM.)

It was customary in some parts for the Master of the Sang School who as we have seen was usually also the Reader to go with some of his scholars to the house of the departed and there join in singing psalms. In 1631 we find the Council of Aberdeen ordering that no more than four scholars were to go with the Masters on such occasions as there had been instances where so many had gone as to cause confusion. Somewhat earlier we find that in Elgin there was "reading of Chapters" and "singing of psalms" at lykewakes. Chapters were also read (probably by the Reader though perhaps by an elder) at Aberdeen for Spalding tells us that when the Covenanting Divines obtained the prohibition of the ringing of bells at funerals, they also got the Council to discharge "reading of Holy Scripture and singing of Psalms at lykewakes".

The historian however goes on to say that they could not get such things altogether repressed and one...

1. Extracts from Records of Aberdeen I. 35.
2. Records II - 191.
regrets to have to add that when religious exercises at "lykewakes" were prohibited their place was taken by exercises which were certainly anything but reverent.

At the time of the funeral the coffin appears always to have been covered with a mort cloth. These mort cloths belonged to the Kirk Session and the fees which were charged for their use were usually part of the provision made for the poor. There is evidence which shows that in the period we are considering there were cases where "no useless Coffin" enclosed the body of the deceased. In 1610 the Kirk Session of Dumbarton fixed certain charges for burial "with ane kist" and lesser ones for such as should be buried "without ane kist."

In other cases a "common coffin" was used. In 1602 the Master of the Hospital in Perth was ordered to "cause make ane common kist whereby the dead corposes of the poor ones may be honestly carried into the burial." Somewhat later (1641) we find Galston Kirk Session paying £4 for "ane common burial kist."

In marked contrast to such funerals were those of the nobility at whose obsequies there seems to have been a great deal of pomp and parade. The accounts relating to the interment of the Regent Moray indicate that payments were made for banners, footmantles, crepes etc. The expenses of the "Solemnity of the Burial of the Earl of Montrose" in 1609 appear to have amounted to the very

1. Wilson, Folk lore of Uppermost Nithsdale gives several examples of proceedings at Wakes which would now-a-days be called the most hardened. It is only fair to say however that such things were not unknown in earlier days. The Session Records of Elgin in 1620 refer to some "who sang bawdy songs" and "had lewd fashions" at such times. As late as 1737 "fiddling and dancing" were indulged in. III.165,336.

2. Irving Dumbartonshire 302.
large total of 40,000 marks. At least that was the sum, which the king promised to pay but unfortunately for the Earl's heir he did not fulfil his promise. When the Earl of Athol was buried in St Giles in 1579 the Assembly directed two ministers to see that nothing superstitions was allowed at the funeral. There was a difference of opinion as to whether what was embroidered on the coffin covering was a cross but the Assembly taking no risks ordered whatever it was to be removed and the earl's coffin had a mort cloth of black velvet only.

In 1630 when the Laird of Drum was buried the town Council of Aberdeen ordered each bailie to enrol as many of the inhabitants as possible for carrying pikes and muskets at the funeral "also the town's great ordnance to be all shot in signification of the town's love and respect carried to the defunct and (the) House of Drum." Sir James Balfour has preserved an account of the funeral of Walter the first Earl of Buccleugh in 1634 from which it appears that there could be great display of such affairs. In this case there were no less than 47 "saulies" attired in black gowns and hoods, carrying black staves at the head of the processions. There were a number of trumpeters "sounding sadly" Eight gentlemen of the Clan Scott carried banners showing the arms of the paternal and maternal ancestors of the deceased. The coffin bore the "defunct's helmet and

2. B.U.K. 431. This seems to have been a usual form of Mort Cloth.
4. "Saulies" were hired mourners who preceded the coffin. Some derive the word from "Salve Regina" but this is unlikely.
coronet overlaid with cypress "and was carried under a fair pall of black velvet decked with arms." And so "with the conduct of many honourable friends marched from Branxholm to Hawick Church where after the funeral sermon ended the corpse was interred amongst his ancestors."

In 1621 an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed limiting the parade at the funerals of the great, other than Earls Lords and their wives. By this act no "dute weeds" (mourning habits) were to be given to Herald Trumpeters or Saullies except at the obsequies of the nobility and even then "Saullies" were to be limited according to the rank of the deceased.

It may have been a desire on the part of the poorer people to imitate the pomp of the nobles which led the Assembly in 1598 to prohibit pictures or images being carried at burial under pain of censure of the Kirk.

In 1604 a painter in Aberdeen was charged with painting a crucifix for the funeral of the Lady of Gicht. Fourteen Years later a somewhat similar case occurred though on this occasion the Magistrates of the Northern city had prohibited the carrying of the painting.

As early as 1563 the General Assembly took steps to see that the funerals of the poor were not neglected. In that year the following resolution was

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3. Calderwood, 707.
4. Selections from Ecc Records of Aberdeen (Spalding Club) 8 - 4.
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passed "Touching the burial of the poor. In every parish to landward it is ordained that a bier be made in every parish to carry the dead corpse to burial, and that village or house where the dead lie and the next house adjacent thereto or a certain number of every house shall convey the dead to the burial and eird it six foot under the eird(earth)."

In 1595 we find the Session of St Andrews renewing an older act providing that for "conveying of the dead to burial as well poor and rich it is statute that all inhabitants of the city especially in that quarter where the person is departed they with the elders and deacons of that quarter with their wives convoy the dead to burial under the pain of Vld to be uplifted of each person disobeying and that none be buried but between the sun rising and downpassing thereof and that none be buried neither time of sermon nor dinner."

Thomas Morer an English Chaplain who had been stationed with his regiment in Scotland circa 1680-90 mentions that the orders of the funeral procession was as follows. "First divers ranks of men walk before, then comes the dead person carried ...... on poles. After the corpse follows a greater number of men than what was in the front but in rows of files without any confusion at all.

1. B.U.K. 43 As will be seen women attended funerals as well as men but it was not customary for them to go any further than the Churchyard Gate. At the end of the 17th Century the ladies were accustomed to put on their gayest attire at a funeral. Grey Graham Social Life in Scotland in 18th Century 54. Strangely enough it was not customary for the husband to attend his wife's funeral. Boswell mentions that he was an exception Boswelliana - 151 see Morer Short Account of Scotland 58.

2. Register of Kirk Session of St Andrews 810. At Elgin the fine which was threatened was one of 70 shillings.
and in the rear a promiscuous company of women who... go without any order!

As is noted above Burial was to be during the day time. In 1591 a beadle and his assistant got into trouble at St Andrews for burying a child under cover of darkness. Probably this was due to a fear lest crime should be hidden and it is likely that the same reason accounts for two cottars being summoned before the Session at Elgin in 1628 for burying a child out of the Churchyard for legally there is no more reason for burying in a churchyard than anywhere else. The people were warned to attend funerals by the bellman a functionary of the church who went through the streets with his bell intimating the decease of the party and the time of the funeral. Hand bells were used in the Mediaeval Church to intimate when special masses were about to be said, and they may also have been used then for intimation of funerals also. The custom is mentioned in Glasgow as early as 1577 but the casual way it is referred to shows that it was then no new thing. In 1594 the bellman was ordered by

1. Short Account of Scotland 67, 68. The book was published anonymously in 1702 but republished with Author's name attached in 1715.
2. At Elgin in 1619 an act was passed prohibiting burial before the Prayer Bell in the Morning Records II.160.
3. Records II.206.
5. In 1594 the Presbytery of Glasgow claimed the office of the "dead bell ecclesiastical according to the ancient canons and discipline of the reformed kirk". The Town Council did not admit the claim and continued to appoint to the office. Maitland Miscellany I.62. At Ayr in 1708 a somewhat similar dispute the Town Council on this occasion claiming the bell and the Session trying to retain it.
6. Cameron Leas St Giles 49.
7. Scottish National Memorials 212.
the Session of the Town not to ring after sunset or before sunrise while three years later "time of preaching or prayers" was added to the prohibited hours. On the day of the interment the bellman preceded the cortège ringing his bell. This was a very old usage which the Reformers took over from the Roman Church. Chaucer makes one of his characters tell of three young roysterers who while sitting in a tavern

"heard a hand bell clink
Before a corpse being carried to his grave."

In 1621 the Kirk Session of Dumbarton ordered their beadle to "ring the mort bell before all persons deceased within the town" while twenty years later the Council of Glasgow got a new dead bell "to be rung for and before the dead". At Inverness in the 17th Century there were two sets of funeral bells for which differing charges were made "big bells" for the rich small bells for the poor.

Ray mentioned that he had witnessed the bell being rung before the cortage (in 1662) at Dunbar, Dumfries and other places. Kirke another English traveller (whose visit was in 1679) also mentions the custom. He has preserved the formula used at the intimation of the

1. Life of Weems 14. 15.
2. Knight's Tale.
4. Extracts from Records of Glasgow IV 454.
5. Edgar Old Church Life II, 257.
6. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland 139.
death "I let you to wot that there is a faithful brother lately departed out of this present world at the pleasure of Almighty God". He tells us that when the name of God was uttered the bellman took off his bonnet a rather interesting survival of an older usage. It was perhaps just because it was an ancient custom that in 1652 when the Covenanting fervour was at its height the Glasgow Bellman was ordered to eschew the repetition of the name of God, just as some years earlier the Covenanting Minister of Aberdeen Andrew Cant managed to stop the practice of the bellman tinkling his bell as the funeral procession passed along the street. Yet with other times the old usage was revived and existed in some places for many years thereafter. Boston of Edrnick mentions incidentally in his diary that he heard the Dead bell go in Hawick in 1715. The bell was continued there till the beginning of last century and in some places even later.

One is somewhat surprised to find that suicides were not allowed to be buried in the churchyards. In 1582 the Session of Perth ordered that a man who had drowned himself in the Tay should be buried at the Little Island (an islet in the river) within the water seeing that the churchyard was the burial place "for the faithful that depart in fear of the Lord". This custom existed long in some parts of Scotland.

On the boundary between Lanarkshire and Dumfrieshire at a spot where three lairds' lands met there was a something of the nature of a suicide's burial ground to which the bodies of

1. Ibid. 259.
2. Life of Weems 15.
4. Memoirs of Mr Thomas Boston (1899) 281.
5. The Bellman always lifted his hat and he made the intimation
those who had taken their own lives were brought often from
considerable distances.

While suicides were thus shut out from Christian burial so were those who "deceased by sickness without advertising the Minister reader or one elder in their absence." Such were to be forbidden the convoy of the faithful to their burial and the bellman was not to be allowed to "knell the hand bell or any other bell." Those who died excommunicated were likewise denied the convoy of the faithful the latter being strictly forbidden to attend the funeral of any excommunicated person. Traces of Mediaeval customs with regard to the burial of unbaptized children are to be found. In 1641 the Synod of Fife forbade the burying of such in a place apart which seems to indicate that such a practice was in existence. Spalding mentions a case which helps to confirm such a belief. He tells us of a father who brought a weakly child to the church in 1643 to be baptized but the minister would not perform the rite until the usual hour of preaching "but before the lecture was done the silly (weak) infant deceases in the cummer's arms at the pulpit foot without benefit of baptism. The people fell all in murmuring at the doing of their ministers and the father and friends convened, waxed wonderful sorrowful, but Mr John Oswald who said the lecture, perceiving the bairn to be dead said since the bairn is dead in the Kirk, cause bury it in the Kirk."

1. Brown History of Sanquhar - 19. See also Dr John Browns "Enterkin".
2. Records of Elgin II - 16. The date is 1591. The entry indicates that both the hand bell and another bell - in all probability that in the Church Steeple - were rung ordinarily at funerals.
3. Records of Elgin II. 40. The date is 1596.
4. Records of Synod (Abbotsford Club) At the same time the Synod forbade the carrying of the dead "about the Church" pointing to a pre-Christian custom of carrying the dead in the direction taken by the Sun.
5. History of Troubles. IV. /#4
Several entries in the Records of Elgin indicate that a collection was taken at funerals. The probability is however that if this were done, it would only be when a funeral sermon was preached, and this was not customary on every occasion. Perhaps the entries mean no more than that the relatives made a gift to the church ad pia usus, at the obsequies.  

Two other customs may be noted which have come down from Mediaeval times to our own day. The one is the laying of flowers upon the coffin. Morer mentions that it was in use in Scotland in his day (circa 1685) as it was usual to place herbs and flowers on the top of the coffin and doubtless the practice was in earlier. The other is the ringing of the church bell as the cortege nears the churchyard. This had been the custom in the Mediaeval Church and was carried over into the Reformed. In 1643 we find the Town Council of Aberdeen including the tolling and ringing of bells among the "superstitious rites used at funerals" which were to be discharged. Spalding asserts and in all probability with good ground that this was due to the action of "Andrew Cant and his fellows" who as stalwart covenanters objected to anything "popish" The ringing however continued as is shown by Session Records of somewhat later date fixing the fees to be paid "by those persons who desire to have the Church bell rung at the

1. Records of Elgin II. 201. No convention (of the Session) because of funeral of Jean Lesley Collected 51/- etc. I have not noticed any similar entries elsewhere.
2. A Short Account of Scotland 67. It was customary in the Mediaeval church to put a garland of herbs and flowers on the head of a young person deceased.
3. Extracts from Records II - 6.
4. History of the Troubles II. 69.
In concluding this section one may note an interesting statement made by Morer who as has already been stated was a Chaplain to an English Regiment in Scotland. While stationed at Dunbar an officer of the regiment died and the Chaplain in order not to offend Scottish susceptibilities by reading, memorised the Anglican Burial service and delivered it by heart. So far from offending the inhabitants he found that his action was greatly appreciated. He so well satisfied many of the Scotch of that town that they could not forbear calling it a Christian burial and said that theirs was like the burial of a dog in comparison with others.

If Woodrow is to be trusted in other parts of Scotland sentiment was very different for he mentions that when in 1711 the Episcopal Burial Service was read by a clergyman wearing canonicals there was nearly a riot in the Churchyard the Episcopalians being as keen as the Presbyterians in putting an end to what they apparently regarded as a popish practice. He tells us however in his correspondence that in August in 1708 the Episcopalians "bury their dead with the Liturgy and the clergy in their habits and the nobility and gentry are very fond of these new fashions."

The Pre Reformation Churchyards in Scotland seem to have exceeded in number those which still exist. In

1. See for Several examples Edgar Old Church Life in Scotland II. 255.
2. Short Account of Scotland - 68.
3. Analecta II. 30.
4. Correspondence I. 77.

- 17 -

burial of their dead."
those days many chapels had burying places attached but as the chapels fell into disuse the ancient burial places were likewise deserted, and in some cases almost every vestige of these old God's acres has vanished. The Old Churchyards which remain are almost entirely those attached to Parish Churches for though the writers of the Book of Discipline rather frowned on burying the dead near the place of worship sentiment proved too strong for them and the "rude forefathers of the hamlet" were laid to rest where their ancestors had been laid before. In every old Churchyard the writer has visited the graves are placed "East and West" It is said that this was due to the belief that our Lord should come from the East on the day of Judgement and that His saints would then rise to meet Him.

It is only in rare instances that the North section of the Churchyard appears to have been much used until the beginning of the 18th Century or thereby. The writer has looked carefully in many churchyards (Chiefly in the South of Scotland) and he has failed to find as old tombstones in the North side as in the other three. A plan of Crail Churchyard (prepared by the Late Dr Erskine Beveridge) shows quite a number of 17th Century monuments in the South East and West but the North is quite blank the earliest stone there being dated 1787. The reason for this is also said to be connected with the day of Judgement. The ancient entrance to a Church was

1. In the writer's parish there were two chapels to which burial grounds were attached but of which not a trace now remains on the surface.
3. Vice President Scottish Society of Antiquaries.
4. Pew Scottish Churchyards can show dated Memorials earlier than the 17th Century. In St Michaels Churchyard Dumfries which probably contains more tomb stones than any other provincial Churchyard in Scotland the earliest date on a stone is 1620. Mc Dowall Memorials of St. Michaels 2 - 3. It has to be remembered that families able to put up enduring memorials usually buried their dead within the church.
either at the West or at the South near the West.

Consequently when the Great Judge walked up the Church to the Altar, He would have those on the North on His left hand. Whatever may be the reason the custom was wide spread. It is said that in earlier days that the northern part of a Churchyard never was consecrated being reserved for those who died unbaptised excommunicated or who had committed suicide, Wordsworth refers to this in his poem:

"'Tis said that some have died for love
And here and there a churchyard grave is found
In the cold North's unhallowed ground
Because the wretched man himself had slain
His love was such a grievous pain."

At Crail as late as 1756 the North part of the Churchyard was the part set aside for the burial of strangers.

NOTE: An interesting survival of Mediaeval practice may still be seen at St Michael's Dumfries. When a funeral arrives at the gate the coffin is taken from the hearse set down on trestles and allowed to remain there for a minute or so before being carried into the Churchyard. This custom is not observed at the newer cemeteries in the neighbourhood and the old people will tell you that it has always been so at St Michaels. It doubtless originated in the custom of beginning the burial service at the Churchyard gate.

1. Wilson, Memorials of Sanquhar Kirk 154.
2. The section was called the "Strangers North." Churchyard Memorials 272. In some old Churches e.g. Kirkbrcide (in Nithsdale) there were no windows in the Northern Wall.
THE ORDER OF THE PUBLIC FAST

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The later editions of the Book of Common Order contain the "Order of the General Fast" which first made its appearance in 1566 when it was printed by Lekprevik with the title "The Ordour and doctrine of the General Faste". It was issued as a pamphlet by itself and a later edition was published in 1574 contains some additional matter. It does not appear in the "Psalm Book" until 1587 when Vantrollier printed it in the edition he issued in that year. The order proper consists of a preliminary statement regarding the way in which the fast should be kept. (This was preceded by a long treatise on fasting in general and with reference to the present troubles. ) The Abstinence was to start on Saturday at eight o'clock at night and was to extend until Sunday after the exercise at afternoon. Bread and drink only were to be used and that with great sobriety. Men were not to use any games on either of the two days. Gorgeous apparel was to be abstained from not only during the time of the "abstinence" but during the whole time of "humiliation" which was from the one Sunday in the morning to the next Sunday at even. The time to be spent on public religious exercises on the Sunday was to be left to the wisdom of the discreet ministers who could judge what the hearers would hear but three hours or less in the morning and two hours in the

1. This treatise is left out of Dr Sprott's reprint (Church Service Society). It will be found however in the 1868 edition and also in John Knox's Liturgy Glasgow University Press 1886.

2. This indicates that Sabbath observance was not so strict as it afterwards became.
afternoon were thought to be sufficient. In towns there might be exercise of doctrine on the Saturday "before the Sunday of Abstinence" but in villages this might be treated on the Sunday before. The order proper begins with "the confession that shall go before the reading of the law and before every exercise." It is of no great length and concludes with a doxology. This confession ended the minister or reader was to read distinctly the 27th and 28th chapters of Deuteronomy. There after the people were to be exhorted to examine their own consciences and then minister and congregation were to prostrate themselves and "remain in private meditation a reasonable space as a quarter of an hour or more." Another exhortation and prayer of confession follows, the latter ending with the Lord's Prayer. The sermon is then preached and that ended "the common prayer shall be used that is Contained before in this book beginning thus God Almighty and Heavenly Father." The 51st Psalm was then to be sung whole and the people dismissed with the blessing.

The afternoon was to be on similar lines, after public prayer by the minister there was to be secret prayer by

1. This was the first Sunday of the week of humiliation.
2. Probably this is the only order of service published by order of the Church of Scotland where definite scripture lessons are prescribed.
3. Lekprevik's original edition has the words "In the Psalm book the 46 page thereof." This is an indication that the Book of Common order was meant to be more than a Directory.
every man and woman for a reasonable space. The preacher was advised to take his text from the 119th Psalm.

"where the diligent reader shall observe the properties and conditions of such as in whose heart God writeth his law, or if that be thought over hard he may take the text of John 'God is Light and in Him there is no darkness'"

At this diet of worship the prayer after sermon is referred to the minister and after the singing of the 6th Psalm the service was to be ended with the blessing and "exhortation to call to mind Whereof that exercise is used.

In cities and towns the exercise was to continue for a whole week, congregations being expected to meet for an hour in the forenoon and at the hour accustomed to common prayers, and "somewhat longer in the afternoon." Psalms and Old Testament lessons are provided for all twelve services while for the Sunday (sic) which was the "last day of this public exercise" the order prescribed for the first Sunday was to be used except that the 26th chapter of Leviticus was to be read and "for the prayer shall be used that " beginning "Eternal and everlasting"

For this Sunday afternoon the 78th Psalm and the 9th chapter of Daniel are prescribed, and after exhortation and prayers the 90th Psalm was to be read. (Attached to this order is a list of portions of Scripture - all from the Old Testament which were used by

1. Cowper remarks in his Draft that the 119th Psalm was anciently used in the afternoon in the Church of Scotland.

2. The text is quoted from the Geneva version of the Scripture.

3. Apparently he might "conceive a prayer" or read one as he thought fit.
the ministers of Edinburgh in the "time of God's visitation by the Pest". These are divided into three groups for use (a) in time of pest (b) in time when impiety aboundeth (c) in time of famine. This was added to the original publication in 1574.

Fasting was regarded by the Reformers - as by the whole Church Catholic - as an authorized adjunct to Divine Worship and as a lawful means of profitable discipline. While they were strongly opposed to the "superstitions observance of fasting days" by which they meant the practice of keeping the appointed fasts in the Pre Reformation Church yet they were quite as strict as ever were the Roman priests in enforcing this discipline upon their flocks, whenever they thought it necessary to do so. The Reformed fasts like the Roman meant real fasting i.e. abstinence from food for a certain time or at least food of a certain kind. Thus we find a session "discharging all preparations of meats" on a fast day, and a little later threatening with pains and penalties those who on such an occasion were "deprehendit in surfeit and ryot." Only bread and drink were allowed on days of abstinence. No games were allowed at these seasons and one of the objections taken to such old plays as Robin Hood was that they caused profanation of Fast days as well as of Sabbaths.

1. Records of Elgin II. 43. 85.
2. Lee Lectures 391.
4. B.U.K. II 410. 748.
Another Roman custom which was adhered to was that of prohibiting marriages during the period of the fast. This may have been of course in part due to the merry making which was associated with these events. It is more difficult to explain why baptism was refused at such a time yet so it was. At Elgin in 1625 the Session gave license for a child to be baptized (the parent a stranger being ignorant that it was a fast day) "this nowways to be a preparative (precedent) to others in times coming". This is all the more strange when we find that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was on occasion linked up with a National fast. In 1566 when the General Assembly appointed a public fast on account of the dangers to the kirk on the last two Sabbaths of July they added to their Act the words "the Lord's Supper to be ministered upon the same day if it can be done conveniently." Following the same order the Session of Edinburgh in 1574 on the appearance of the pest ordained with the celebration of the Holy Table a public fast and humiliation for the space of eight days" Two years earlier the Session of St Andrews had united their communion season with a period of public fasting.

1. Selections from Ecc Records of Aberdeen 17.
2. Records of Elgin II. 189.
3. Calderwood II 324.
4. Lee Lectures II. 391.
5. St Andrews Register. 371.
THE ORDER OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND PUBLIC REPENTANCE.
This order is remarkable from the fact that it contains several distinct orders for excommunication, public repentance and absolution. The order proper is preceded by a long paragraph setting forth "what crimes be worthy of excommunication and what of public repentance." The first order (which might be labelled that for summary excommunication) seems to have been intended for such as committed crimes "which by the law of God deserve death." If the person refused to abide an assize or having been brought before one, was convicted then the sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced against him. Likewise if the magistrates were negligent and refused to prosecute or if the guilty person "procured pardon or eluded the severity of justice" then the church was to pronounce the offender excommunicate. (If however execution was ordered by the magistrate and made to follow hard on the crime the minister and elders were to give all consolation and also pronounce the sentence of absolution according to the criminal's repentance and faith). The dread sentence was to be read by the minister in the public audience of the people and it was calculated to strike terror to the hearts of all who heard it. "It is clearly known unto us that N. sometime baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost and so reputed and counted for a Christian hath fearfully fallen from the Society of Christ's body by committing of cruel and wilful murder . . . . Therefore in the Name and authority of the Eternal God and of His Son Jesus Christ we pronounce the said N. excommunicated and accursed in that his wicked fact." The concluding clauses call upon the
faithful to pray that God would move the hearts of the "upper powers" to punish such malefactors and also that God would touch the heart of the offender that repenting he might avoid eternal condemnation. If the person so dealt with wished to return to the fold the church was not to receive him at his first request but he was to wait for forty days at the end of which time some were to be appointed to try whether his repentence was genuine. If he was admitted a penitent he was to stand for not less than three several Sundays at the Church door barefooted and bareheaded clothed in base apparel, stating his desire "in conceived words" - to be received into the church. On the third Sunday he was to be conducted by some of the elders to the Minister who was to recite to him the grievousness of his sin and the mercies of God. If the church did not desire any further satisfaction on the part of the penitent then the minister was to pronounce his "sin to be remitted according to his repentance."

The second order of excommunication is probably that which was most often used. According to the preparatory statement a small offence or slander might justly deserve the highest penalty by reason of the contempt and disobedience of the offender. In other words this was meant to be used as a last resort after all other private and public admonitions have proved in vain. The Sunday after the third public admonition the Minister was to address the congregation telling them the causes for which the erring person was to be excommunicated, and pointing out the commandment and authority by which the Church through its office-bearers acted. After the first public admonition prayer was to be made for the obstinate that he might repent this prayer ending with the Lord's Prayer. The "second

1. The form of which is given.
Sunday after Sermon and Public Prayers the minister in audience of the whole church was to ask the elders and deacons - who were to set in an "eminent and proper place - "whether the obstinate had offered obedience." If the answer was "Nay" then the minister was to give a short address, and "the former prayer" was to publicly said. The "third" Sunday the same question was again to be put and if the answer was the same, then after a short address the "last prayer before the excommunication" was to be offered. This prayer differs from the former one but like it ends with the Lord's Prayer. After the prayer, the erring brother apparently was summoned for the last time if he did not appear then the minister was to call upon the congregation to join in the act of excommunication ending his exhortation with the words, "and that we may do the same not of our own authority but in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ before whom all knees are compelled to bow let us humbly fall down before Him and on this manner pray and pronounce this sentence." Then follows the "invocation" which is a prayer of some length in the middle of which the sentence comes. "Here I in Thy name and at the Commandment of this Thy present congregation cut off seclude and excommunicate from Thy body and from our society as a person slanderous, proud, contemnor and a member for this present altogether corrupted and pernicious to the body. And this his sin (albeit with sorrow of heart) by virtue of our ministry we bind and pronounce the same to be bound in Heaven and earth." After this prayer the minister was to admonish the congregation to hold the excommunicate as an "ethnic" that no man use his familiar company." The Assembly was then dismissed with "the accustomed benediction after they have sung the 101st Psalm or some portion thereof."
The order for Public Repentance is meant apparently for such who not excommunicated had nevertheless given offence to the church. The offender being presented before the "public church upon a Sunday after the Sermon and before the prayers and psalm" the minister was to deliver a short address - which is given - regarding public repentance and its use. This was followed by a prayer in which special petitions were offered for the offender that while he makes outward confession he may do so without hypocrisy. This prayer ends with a doxology and thereafter the minister addressed the offending brother who was then required to make his confession. If "confounded with shame" he could not do so, the minister was to do so for him; the penitent assenting to the statement made. The congregation were then asked if anything further was required and if not the minister was to deliver another short address to the penitent urging him to resist evil in the future and another to the congregation urging them also to beware lest they fall into condemnation. A prayer of thanksgiving was then offered and when it was finished the minister having asked the penitent if he will submit to the discipline of the church should be offered again, and having received a satisfactory answer "shall say in manner of absolution." If those unfeignedly repent thy former iniquity and believe in the Lord Jesus then in His name pronounce and affirm that Thy sins are forgiven not only in earth but also in Heaven according to the promises annexed with the preaching of His Word and to the power put in the Ministry of His Church." The elders deacons and minister were then to take the penitent by the hand "and embrace him in sign of full reconciliation" and the service ends with the singing of the 103rd Psalm.

The "Form of Absolution" is a somewhat short office and
its second title "The form to receive the excommunicate again to the Society of the Church" indicates its purpose. After the excommunicated person had appeared before the session "and given such satisfaction as they think most expedient" on a given day the elders were to bring him to the "place appointed for penitents" before the pulpit and to present him as one who desired to be reconciled to the Church. "Then shall the Minister" says the rubric "render thanks to God for that part of his humiliation and also desire the Church of God to do the same with him." Thereafter the penitent was to give "his peculiar confession "for each of his faults. Then the "prayers appointed to be said at the receiving of the penitent" were to be read and the prayer of his "receiving to the church." This finished the Absolution was pronounced in the following words. "In the name and authority of Jesus Christ I the minister of His blessed evangel with consent of the whole ministry and church absolve thee N from the sentence of excommunication from the sin by thee committed and from all censures laid against thee for the same before according to thy repentance, and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in Heaven and thee to be received again to the Society of Jesus Christ to His body the Church to the participation of His sacraments and finally to the fruition of all His benefits. In the Name of the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit. So be it." After pronouncing this absolution the minister with others of the church was to embrace the penitent and call him brother, the service ending with a psalm of thanksgiving. At the end there is a short rubric to the effect that the order might be enlarged or contracted as the wisdom of the discreet Minister might think expedient "For we rather show the way to the ignorant than prescribe order to the learned that cannot be amended." A short prayer follows
but it does not seem to have much connection with the order at all.

What must strike every reader of the order is the great power claimed by the Scottish Ministry in the matter of excommunication but more particularly in the matter of absolution, while in the former case the Minister was only supposed to act as the mouthpiece of the church in the latter he acted as having the direct authority of the Lord Jesus Christ. Not one of the forms of public absolution used in the contemporary books of the church of England allows such a power to the priest as the Minister here claimed for himself. Even the form used in the order for the visitation of the sick in the Anglican Book which is the "highest" of all English forms is not so high as that which appears in the Scottish book where the Minister claims as a right of his office to declare sins remitted both in Heaven and in earth.

This order of service was drawn up by Knox in 1567, and revised by a Committee of the Assembly in the following year. Unlike any of the other orders in "Knox's Liturgy" the names of the leading revisers are affixed to it. It is not however a native production for it was compiled or rather abridged by Knox from two works of John Alasco "MODUS AC RITUS EXCOMMUNICATVIS" and "FORMA AC RATIO PUBLICAE PENITENTIAE." It is to this fact I think that we owe the somewhat involved form of the order as given in the Scottish book.

Previous to this form being compiled we read of penitents being released from sentence after a formal manner. The

1. Calderwood II, 424
2. "This book is thought accessory and profitable for the Church and commanded to be printed by the General Assembly Setforth by John Knox Minister, and sighted by us whose names follow as we were appointed by the said General Assembly. John Wallock, M. John Craig, Robert Pont John Row, David Lindsay, Guilelmus Christesonus, James Craig &c.
3. Alasco was minister of a congregation of Flemings in London in the reign of Edward VI. A relic of his work is still to be found in the Anglican prayer book where the second sentences in the Words of distribution "Take and eat this etc" are taken from the Liturgy he drew up for his congregation
4. "Summary Excommunication. (2.) Absolution. (3) Public
penitent had on his knees to ask "God mercy and the congregation forgiveness" the minister first repeating his offences. Then the minister and elders were to take him by the hand and embrace him in welcoming him as "their brother to the unity of the kirk and last of all the minister shall give thanks to God for his conversion and make public prayers for his continuance according to the purpose as the Spirit of God shall move his heart."

How far the various forms were used in later days it is impossible to say. Calderwood mentions the order as still extant in "our Psalm book" but says nothing as to whether it was still being observed in his day. The part relating to Public Repentance seems to have been modified considerately for while we have abundance of references to penitents making confession of their sins in face of the congregation there is nothing to indicate that any special form of service was used at such times. Indeed the services would soon have ceased to be "special" for in some cases penitents must have appeared practically every Sunday. On the other hand the form of excommunication seems to have been used more or less on the lines laid down by Knox. For example in 1622 we read of the "third day of prayer" for one who had been summoned before the Session and had refused to do so, while some eight years later we find a man and his wife being loosed from their excommunication by the Minister during Divine Repentance.

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1. St Andrews Register 205 - 6. The [...] continues "These premises were duly fulfilled in all points."
2. History II. 424.
3. Records of Elgin II.173. (Minute)
So also with Absolution. A Minute of St Andrew's Session of date 1586 giving the procedure to be adopted at the "receiving of the penitent 'to the unity of the kirk" goes on the lines of the form provided in the Book of Common Order though instead of appearing on three Sundays the penitent had to appear on two Sundays and a Wednesday.

The case of Lord Hume in 1594 presents similar features. He was absolved by the Assembly in that year after he had made his submission and appeared twice before the Court craving to be relieved from the sentence of excommunication passed upon him by the Synod of Fife in 1593. On the day appointed Lord Hume again appeared expressed his contrition for his fault and promised amendment for the future "wherefor thanks being given to God and prayer made he was solemnely absolved from the said sentence by the said Mr David (Lindsay) and receavied by him in name of the said brethren and embraced as a member reconciled to the kirk."

The case of the Marquis of Huntly points the same way. At the Assembly of 1608 the question was asked as to whether he had been excommunicated to which the Bishop of Aberdeen answered that the process had been closed and that nothing remained but to pass sentence. This the Moderator did "after a very solemn manner."

The Marquis afterwards went to England where the Archbishop of Canterbury released Him from the sentence and

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1. Ibid 213.
2. Register 571. On this occasion a number of the elders were deputied by the Session to receive the penitent along with the minister.
5. Calderwood VI. 752.
allowed him to receive communion. This matter was discussed by the Assembly of 1616 who obtained something like an apology from the Archbishop. The Assembly afterwards allowed the Bishop of Glasgow to absolve the Marquis on his subscribing the Confession of Faith.

Preaching before the excommunication of the Bishops at the Assembly of 1638 the Moderator (Henderson) cited the order of excommunication in the Psalm book as being authoritative and drew a distinction between "Summar" excommunication which that order allowed in some cases and the more lenient course allowed by the other section of the order. The words of the sentence however are not taken verbatim from either section but seem to be adapted from both. 4

The First Book of Discipline has a whole "Heid" devoted to the question of Ecclesiastical discipline and the rules laid down there were afterwards incorporated in the order we are discussing.

Henderson in his "Government and Order" devotes sections to excommunication and absolution indicating the various steps which were taken and these correspond to those laid down by Knox and his brethren.

It is however somewhat remarkable that practically no mention is made of the "Lesser Excommunication" which meant exclusion from sealing ordinances. Rutherford indeed indicates that as a means of discipline "debarring from the Lords Supper" was used and that it was known by some

1. Calderwood VII. 218.
4. Records of the Kirk 147-150
as the "Lesser Excommunication" though he adds that it was not excommunication proper.

The Westminster Confession when dealing with Church Censures agrees however with Rutherford for it mentions as the means to be used by the Church officers, Admonition, Suspension from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and Excommunication from the Church.

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1. Due Right of Presbytery. 283.
2. Chapter XXX Of Church Censures.
I. ORDINATION OF MINISTERS

II. CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS

III. ADMISSION OF ELDERS AND DEACONS.

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ORDINATION

The section of the Book of Common Order dealing with this is headed "The Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent which may serve in election of all the Ministers." It is really the form which was drawn up for the admission of John Spottiswood to the Superintendentship of the Lothians and as printed the prayer of institution contains the clause "Our brother whom ... we have charged with the chief care of Thy church within the bounds of L". It was first used in March 1560-1 when Spottiswood was inducted "John Knox being Minister."

After a sermon which dealt with the necessity of ministers and superintendents the people were first asked if they accepted Spottiswood and whether they would obey him as Christ's minister. Thereafter a series of questions were put to the superintendent elect and after satisfactory answers had been given the people were again asked whether they would receive him. The people's answers must have been given by some one deputed for the purpose because, as printed in the order they are much too long to be spoken by the whole congregation.

1. Knox II 144, (In some copies "Moderator").

2. This was the case at St Andrews where in 1572. Mr William Cocke, Bailie in the city "answered in name of the people" when Douglas was inaugurated. Calderwood III. 207.
A short exhortation "to the nobility" followed and then prayer was offered to the "Lord the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father" for a blessing on the person being set apart to the office. This prayer concludes with the Lord's Prayer and thereafter the ministers and elders present are to take the elected by the hand. A benediction comes next and then the last exhortation to the elected, the final direction being "Sing the 23rd Psalm". It will be noticed that nothing is said of the laying on of hands which was not necessary in Spottiswood's case as he was already in Anglican Orders. The First Book of Discipline may indicate that this ceremony was not always used. "Other ceremony than the public approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister we cannot approve for albeit the Apostles used the imposition of hands ... the using of their ceremony we judge is not necessary." This taken literally would rule out prayer also at ordination and it is worth noting that in the whole of this chapter on the "Admission of Ministers" nothing is said of prayer at the function at all. It seems to the writer that what must have been in view was the admission of those who were already priests to benefices.

This supposition is strengthened by the words which occur a little later in the same chapter "Neither judge we that the sacraments can be rightly ministered by him in whose mouth God has put no sermon of exhortation," for many of the priests

1. Knox II. 193
2. Knox II. 194.
who for years had administered the sacraments were not able to preach and so were not allowed to remain as Ministers in the Reformed church. (Many of them as we have seen became Readers.) In Sweden to this day induction to a benefice is given by the laying on of hands of the Bishop and Presbyters notwithstanding the previous ordination of the person inducted.

If however the compilers of the Book of Discipline meant that they laying on of hands was not to be used in ordination to the ministry then it was not long until they changed their views for in 1566 the Assembly approved the Helvetian Confession of faith. In this confession it is said that "the apostles ordained pastors and teachers in all churches by the commandment of Christ who by such as succeeded them have taught and governed the church unto this day." Candidates for the ministry are to be "ordained by the presbyters with public prayer and laying on of hands."

Now it will be remembered that the Assembly in accepting this confession deliberately refused their sanction to the part dealing with "holy days" like Christmas etc, and this makes it all the more certain that they approved the other sections. In 1570 the General Assembly took steps to see that the admission of pastors to office should be by "public and solemn form of ordination." Unfortunately this "form" has vanished. It is mentioned in the Preface to the

1. Transactions Scottish Ecclesiological Society. Vol X. 141
2. See Page 107. The Confession which George Wishart translated and which apparently he meant for the congregations he established in Scotland mentions among the ceremonies at the "choosing of Ministers" imposition of hands on the heads of the priests. Wodrow Society Miscellany - 17
Ordinal drawn up fifty years later as a "good and commendable order" of which the essentials should be preserved and as the ordinal of 1620 makes prayer and laying on of hands the main portions of the ceremony it may be taken that such also appeared in that of 1570. By the Convention of Leith (Jan 1571-2) which claimed to meet "with the force and power of an assembly" an agreement was come to between the church and the State" that the names and titles of Archbishops and bishops are not to be altered . . . but to stand and continue as they did before the Reformation of religion and at the last until the king's majority or consent of Parliament."  

In accordance with this agreement John Douglas was appointed to the Archbishopric of St Andrews and on the 10th February was inaugurated by the laying on of hands of Bothwell Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswood Superintendent of Lothia and Mr David Lindsay. Apparently the form used was in print (or manuscript) for according to Scot of Cupar - who was a boy of twelve at the time - Douglas read his answers "out of write". The second Book of Discipline prepared in 1577 and agreed to by the Assembly of 1578 states that Ordination is the separation and sanctifying of the person appointed by God and His kirk after he be well tried

1. B. U. K. I. 207
2. The first of the "six Johns" who drew up the Scots Confession of Faith.
3. "Inaugurated" is the term used by Calderwood III. 206.
4. Apologetical Narration - 25
5. Calderwood III. 399 - 527.
and found qualified. The ceremonies of ordination are Fasting, earnest Prayer and Imposition of hands of the eldership. It seems likely that this simply confirmed existing usage for John Erskine of Dun writing in an "Epistle to the Faithful" in 1571 describes the method of admitting men to the ministry to be "by imposition of hands by the pastors with admonitions, fasting and prayers passing before." (An interesting question arises here. Had Erskine himself ever been ordained? It is usually said that he was a layman when he was appointed superintendent of Angus; and Mearns but from his own statement here it would seem probable that he had been set apart to the ministerial office by Pastors.) This seems all the more likely when it is remembered that the Assembly of 1571 decided that those who would not enter the ministry "according to the order set down by the Kirk" were not to be admitted at all. Among the charges made against Mr Robert Montgomery in 1581 was one, that while he approved the inward calling of the ministry he left the "outward and ordinary" calling in doubt. Here may also be quoted the well known testimony of Archbishop Grindal to the practice of the Scottish Church in the second decade after the Reformation. John Morrison who was minister of Bara in 1574 went to England and in licensing him to preach and administer the Sacraments in the province of Canterbury in 1582 the Primate

3. Erskine was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1564, 1565, 1566, & 1572. (It does not follow from that that he was a minister as there is no indication that in those days ministerial office was necessary before one could moderate in a church court)
5. Now united to Garvald.
6. Morrison was not by any means the only Scots Minister who went South. Neal (History of the Puritans I. 303) mentions that previous to the middle of the 17th century there were many such to be found in English benefices.
states that as Morrison had been "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," he (the Archbishop) "ratifies and approves the form of his ordination done in the manner aforesaid.""1"

On the other hand there were those who held that the laying on of hands was "not essential and necessary but ceremonial and indifferent in admission of a pastor". This was the answer returned by a conference of Ministers belonging to the Synod of Fife held at St Andrews in 1597, to the question, "Is he a lawful pastor who wanteth IMPOSITIONEM MANUUM?" Two other answers have been preserved and these indicate that there were others besides the Ministers of Fife who held such views.3

It was probably to meet those views that the Assembly of 1597 decided that there should be "a uniformity in the ordination of the ministry throughout the whole country, Imposition of hands."4

The case of Robert Bruce indicates that while such views as those of the brethren in Fife may have been held they were not often acted on for Bruce's case would not have attracted the attention it did had the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery been laid aside as a general practice. According to John Livingstone, Bruce when an expectant or probationer had arranged to preach at an after communion

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1. Sprott Worship and Offices 190
2. Calderwood V. 584-6
3. Ibid 597-9. The one answer was returned by Patrick Galloway who afterwards changed his views. Who gave the other is not mentioned. Gillespie (in 1641) while mentioning that ministers were ordained by imposition of hands held that this was not an act but a sign of ordination and not a necessary sign. Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian Armoury 1) 38.
4. Calderwood V. 642.
service - probably the thanksgiving - and was sitting beside the officiating minister at the Lord's Table when the latter had to leave after he had served several tables. Bruce was called upon by the elders to take over the minister's duties and he proceeded though reluctantly to administer the sacrament to the people. "For this cause" says the writer "he would not therefore receive in the ordinary way the imposition of hands seeing before he had the material of it to with the approbation of all the ministry and had already celebrated the communion which was not by one new ordination to be made void."

Wodrow in his "Life of Bruce" adds that this was the "only instance of anything of this kind" that he knew of. There was however at least one other case that of James Balfour (minister of Edvie and afterwards of Edinburgh) who received imposition of hands along with Bruce in 1598 when King James insisted that the latter should receive such before he was inducted to the charge of the New Kirk in Edinburgh.

When Episcopacy was restored in 1610 the Scots Ministers who were consecrated Bishops were not reordained nor did they re-ordain any who had in Scotland already received the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. As late as 1626 there were some who were admitted without Episcopal ordination.

1. Select Biographies (Wodrow Socy). I. 305-6
2. Bruce's Sermons and Life (Wodrow Socy) 14
3. Calderwood V. 723. Bruce refused to regard the act as ordination but said he was willing to receive of hands either as a "ceremony of entry to a particular flock or else a ceremony of confirmation in his calling." (Calderwood \textit{V}, 712) The historian tells us that Bruce insisted on going in the pulpit on the day the brethren had met to give him imposition of hands, to make his defence to the people so that there were two ministers in the pulpit at once "which was an uncouth sight." (V.714)
4. Spottiswood History III. 209
Row mentions that ordinations by Bishops began soon after these "being in a new and uncouth form" but he does not indicate in what the "newness" or "uncouthness" consisted. There seems evidence that some Bishops were not inclined to magnify their office in any way for even after the ordinal of 1620 had been published there were some who clung to the forms given in the Book of Common Order. When William Row (grandson of the Reformer and nephew of the historian) was ordained at Forgandenny in 1624 the Bishop of Dunkeld "professed two things (1) he came there not as a Bishop but as a member of Presbytery (2) he should not ask a word but what was in the psalm book." (The Bishop was not alone in this matter for both Livingstone and Blair tell similar stories of their own ordinations which however took place in Northern Ireland). Spottiswood notes in 1615 that a uniform order for electing Ministers and their receiving was one of the requirements of the church of Scotland but there is no further mention of the matter until the new ordinal was published.

Dr John Forbes the greatest of the Aberdeen Doctors and perhaps the greatest figure on the Episcopal side in the controversies of the 17th century was ordained by a Dutch Presbytery in 1619 just before his return to Scotland where his father was Bishop of Aberdeen, and by whom he was appointed
Professor of Divinity at King's College in the Northern City. So far there had been no form of ordination put forward for the use of the church other than that of the Book of Common Order and it seems to have been in constant use for in the paper of reasons given in by the Anti-Prelatic party to the Perth Assembly against the five articles it is stated that the Ministers of the church had been ordained according to the form inserted in the Psalm book.

It was not until 1620 that a new Form and Manner of ordaining Ministers was introduced. This "form" was printed by His Majesty's Printer with License but it is somewhat curious that it is not so much as mentioned by any 17th century writer. The "order" owes much to the contemporary English order and this is not to be wondered at as there is reason to believe that some of the Bishops used that form in ordination. At least such is the statement of Dr Balcanquhal, Dean of Durham in 1639 and as he was a Scotsman he was quite likely to know all the more so if Baillie be correct in stating that the Bishops of Ross and St Andrews helped him in the compilation. The order has a preface wherein as has already said mention is made of an order of public and solemn ordination drawn up by the Assembly of 1570. The new order had been compiled in order that there might be "a special form of ordaining ministers and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops to their places" and

1. Irenicum (Selwyn) 26. His uncle John Forbes banished by King James was a member of the ordaining Presbytery. The Bishop himself had been ordained by the Bishop of Moray in 1611.
2. Calderwood VII. 330
4. It is reprinted in the Miscellany of the Wodrow Society 591-615. Grub says that no doubt this ordinal was strictly enforced (History II. 361) but he is in error. See page 374.
5. Kings Large Declaration - 20
6. Letters and Journals I. 208
7. One might have expected "to their offices" here.
it was to be used in future "by these that have power to
ordain or consecrate". The opening paragraph of the order
indicates that after sufficient trial of the expectant by
"those to whom his trial was committed" the Bishop is to
appoint a certain day for the ordination and cause an edict
to that effect to be "published in the parish church where
the minister is called to serve" but there is no indication
that the ordination is to take place there also. The usual
Presbyterian rule was to have it in the church to which the
probationer had been appointed and this was continued in some
districts. But in others the rule seems to have been to
ordain and give collation in the Cathedral of the Diocese.
Thus George Young who was appointed to Mauchline in 1635 was
inducted in Glasgow. Calderwood indeed declares that it
was the regular practice of Bishops "to admit and ordain not
in the bounds, let be in the congregation whence the person
presented or seeking admission is to serve, but in any part
of the Diocese he pleaseth". When the day appointed came
"a sermon was to be made declaring the duty and office of
ministers with their necessity in the church and how reverently
the people ought to esteem of them and their vocation. After
the sermon "the Archdeacon or his deputy had to present the
candidate to the Bishop the words of presentation being simply

1. It would almost seem as though this somewhat ambiguous
expression was used in order to meet the opinions of both
parties in the church. "These that have power to ordain"
might be either Presbyters or Bishops.
2. Calderwood Pastor and Prelate. 28.
3. Row Historie 326, 7.
4. Edgar Old Church Life II. 291.
5. Pastor and Prelate - 28
6. Compare the Directory for the Ordination of Ministers in
the Westminster Form of Church Government. "One appointed by
the Presbytery shall preach to the people concerning the office
and duty of Ministers of Christ and how the people ought to
receive them for their work's sake" or those of the Anglican
ordinal "A sermon ... declaring the duty and office of ...
priests how necessary that order is in the church and also how
the people ought to esteem them in their office."
7. It would be interesting to know how many Archdeacons there
were in Scotland in 1620.
those of the Book of Common Prayer, "this Brother here present" taking the place of "these persons present" and the "Holy ministry" being substituted for the Order of Priesthood.

The second question relates to the qualifications of the probationer the Archdeacon answering that "they to whom his trial was committed" think him qualified and that the edict regarding the ordination has been duly served. Thereafter the people are asked if they know any impediment or notable crime in the candidate and if so to declare it.

The oath of the Kings Supremacy is then administered, the person taking it "upon his knees". The Bishop then addresses the candidate, his exhortation being with a few alterations the same as that in the Anglican book. The same may be said of the questions and answers which follow as well as of the short prayer offered by the Bishop at the end of them.

The Prayer of Ordination which follows is preceded by a short preface addressed to the congregation in which they are all invited "to join in prayer to Almighty God" that what is to be done may be to the Glory of His Holy Name."

The Prayer of Ordination is taken almost verbatim from the Book of Common Order being that used at the inauguration of Spottiswood the words of "this our brother whom we have charged with the chief care of Thy church within the bounds of L ..." being omitted and the following substituted "This

1. A similar rubric occurs both in the Book of Common Order and the Book of Common Prayer.

2. It is somewhat remarkable that Calderwood who objected to several other of the oaths to be taken had no objection to this one, holding that it was quite allowable. Pastor & Prelate. 27.
our brother whom in Thy name we are now to admit into the ministry of Thy church." This prayer ended the Bishop with the ministers present lay their hands upon the ordinand "he in the mean while humbly kneeling upon his knees," and the Bishop repeats the formula of ordination "In the name of God and by the authority committed unto us by the Lord Jesus Christ we give unto Thee power and authority to preach the word of God to minister His Holy Sacraments and exercise discipline in such sort as is committed unto Ministers by the order of our church and God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who has called thee to the office of watchman over His people multiply His graces with thee, illuminate thee with His Holy Spirit comfort and strengthen thee in all virtue, govern and guide thy ministry to the praise of His Holy Name to the propagation of Christ's kingdom, to the comfort of His church, and to the discharge of thy own conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus, to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour praise and glory now and ever more amen."

The Bishop then delivers a Bible into the hands of

1. Calderwood speaking of the troubles which arose over the laying on of hands on Robert Bruce (see page 395) expresses the opinion that the holding of this ceremony as necessary was meant to pave the way for Episcopacy and that soon only ordination by Bishops would be allowed which he adds "the event has made manifest." History V-723. Dr John Forbes the champion of Episcopacy held however that even in an Episcopal Church Ordination might be given "by Presbyters alone with the approval and consent of the Bishop" Irenicum Book II Chap XI. 105. He quotes both Augustine and Ambrose to that effect.
2. Kneeling was also the customary attitude among Presbyterians, Gillespie Popish ceremonies 105.
3. This is an echo of the words of the Book of Discipline Knox II.
4. From here to the end the Bishop's words are taken almost literally from the Book of Common Order.
the newly ordained Minister while all the brethren take him by the hand. A short exhortation is then given by the Bishop to the ordained this being taken literally from the Book of Common Order even including the sentence so much more appropriate to a Superintendent than an ordinary minister "Usurp not dominion nor tyrannical authority over thy brethren". The 23rd psalm was then to be sung and a short prayer concluding with the Apostolic benediction ended the ceremony.

It is possible if not probable that the delivery of the Bible was a Scottish practice though it may have been borrowed from England. That the practice existed in Scotland is undoubted for in 1587 mention is made of Andrew Dalrymple being admitted to the chaplaincy of St Duthacs in St Giles Edinburgh by deliverance of "ane Psalm book as use is". In a collection of "styles" drawn up by John Carmichael circa 1595 for the use of the Presbytery of Haddington the practice of giving the Bible is spoken of as if it were in regular use in cases of induction.

In a form of "collation" we get the following "Give the said lawful institution of the said vicarage .... by placing of him in the pulpit of the said kirk if any be and delivering of the Book of God called the Bible into his hands."

1. This is also the psalm mentioned for this ceremony in the Book of Common Order.
2. No benediction is mentioned in the order in Knox's book probably because the ceremony would be united with "Common Prayers".
3. The benediction ends "with us all" as in the Book of Common Order.
4. Cameron Lees. St Giles 333.
5. Carmichael who seems to have been a leading Presbyterian Minister was believed by Dr David Laing to be compiler of the "Book of the Universal Kirk of Scotland". Wodrow Society Miscellany 412.

6. This indicates that in some churches there were still no pulpits.
And in a form of "Institution" we have almost the same words
(In the Pre Reformation church - Western - the TRADITIO
Instrumentorum had been generally though not universally
considered an essential part of the ordination service. In
King Edward's first book this was continued the Bishop being
directed to give the chalice or cup with the Bread - the old
instruments - as well as a Bible. In the second book
however the delivery of chalice and bread was wholly struck
out and the giving of the Bible remained. In Scotland the
giving of a Book of the Gospels was sometimes used at
induction to a chaplaincy.)

The ceremony of giving the Bible continued after 1638.
It is noted in 1640 that the Presbytery of Strathbogie gave
induction to a minister "by delivering the Bible unto him as
use is in such cases." The ceremony was still in use in
Perth in the year 1700. The Prelates do not seem all to
have adhered to the terms of this ordinal and Calderwood has
preserved the record of one case where the ceremony had to be
repeated by reason of the slackness of Bishop Cowper who had
ordained some one in his own bedroom.

1. Wodrow Society Miscellany 530-1
2. Dowden Further Studies in the Prayer Book -300-5
3. Cameron Lees St Giles 333
4. Presbytery Book of Strathbogie (Spalding Club) -26
5. Wilson Presbytery of Perth 127
Presbyteries however still maintained their right to ordain as is shown by a minute of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy drawn up when Episcopacy was still the law of the church.

"The Presbytery having the power of ordination and admission JURE DIVINO being also after the Reformation invested therewith JURE NOSTO PARLIAMENTAIRO being also after the Reformation invested therewith JURE NOSTO PARLIAMENTAIRO and never deprived of the same by any posterior Act either of Parliament or General Assembly, have admitted and ordained the said Mr George Gillespie into the ministry of the said kirk according to the form of admission set down before the psalm book, by taking his oath of allegiance to His Majesty and giving to him imposition of hands with full powers to preach the word, minister the sacraments, exercise kirk discipline and do all the offices of a complete minister there." There is reason to believe that this minute owes much to Johnston of Wariston who was at that time the leading legal adviser of the Covenanting Party. His opinion was asked by the Presbytery on the matter and his views were afterwards approved by the Lord Advocate. The Presbytery of Kirkcaldy was not however the first to assert its right as against the Bishops for a fortnight before this admission

1. In 1682 the Assembly passed an act claiming that "by Act of Parliament the examination and admission of ministers within the realm is ordained to be in the power of the kirk" Calderwood III 613.
2. Gillespie uses language very similar to that in the minute English Popish Ceremonies. 166-7
3. Presbyterie Book of Kirkcaldie 130
the Presbytery of Haddington had met at Prestonpans and ordained Mr Robert Ker to be "conjunct minister with his father". These ordinations and admissions by the members of the Presbytery without the consent of the Bishops gave great offence to the King who felt that in taking the steps they did presbyters were engaging in something like rebellion. Though there is no definite information on the point it is probable that Ker's ordination would take place according to the Order of the Psalm book. His father John Ker was one of the first to protest against the introduction of the Service Book and probably would have no love for the New Ordinal.

Presbyteries sometimes deputed the duty of ordination to Commissioners being members of the court. In 1643 the Presbytery of Ayr nominated five of the brethren "as commissioners from them to admit and give imposition of hands" to the minister elect of Galston while three years later the minister of Mauchline was admitted to the cure after a similar fashion.

As has been said the Second Book of Discipline mentions Fasting among the ceremonies of ordination. This may have been used throughout the whole period we are considering but strangely enough there is very little trace of it. Perhaps among the great number of fasts which were held the fasts in connection with ordination passed unnoticed. Note is made however of a fast in connection with the appointment of elders and when such was used then, it is very probable that it

1. Ibid 338 Scott. Fasti.I.388.9.
2. Large Declaration 116.
3. As already noted Gillespie was ordained according to that order. So was Robert Bruce at Ballingry in 1641. Presbyterie Booke of Kirkcaldie 198.
4. Scott Fasti 388.
5. Edgar Old Church Life II. 358 - 9.
6. No mention is made of Fasting in the ordinal of 1620.
would be used on the much more important occasion of the ordination of a minister. **Henderson** mentions that in his time circa 1641 a fast was always kept on the day of ordination. The practice was continued in the **Directory for Ordination in the Form of Church Government** ordering that "upon the day appointed for ordination . . . . a solemn fast shall be kept by the congregation."

In later days **Pardovan** suggested that it would be better to make the fast day before the actual day of ordination a custom which was in use in the Presbytery of Ayr in 1695. (The Custom may have died entirely out though the writer knew one minister now deceased who never took part in an ordination service unless fasting.)

"The Form and Manner of Consecrating ane Archbishop or Bishop" printed along with the **Ordinal of 1620** has also borrowed considerably from the English Book. The preface to the "Form" provides that - following the rule of the early church - three Bishops must be present at the consecration of another. If it is an Archbishop who is to be consecrated four were required which is somewhat surprising as there is no such stipulation in the Anglican order nor do the "spiritual" powers of the Archbishop differ from those of the Bishop.

Prayers were to be said publicly before sermon, which was to be upon the office and duty of a Bishop. The consecration was

1. At that time elders were appointed yearly.
2. **Government and Order** 30.
3. **Collections Book** Lit. 1. Par 20.
4. **Edgar Old Church Life** II. 369.
5. It appears that before the production of the **Ordinal** the Bishops were consecrated according to the forms of the Church of England. Speaking of the Three Scots Bishops who were consecrated in London in 1610 Calderwood says that after their return to Scotland they consecrated the Archbishop of St Andrews "after the same manner that they were consecrated themselves as near as they could imitate" History VII. 152. When in the beginning of the following year several others were consecrated objection was taken by some of them "at the form and Order of the consecration" 154.
6. It may be noted that nothing need be said in the sermon of the necessity of Bishops as was the case in the Sermon regarding the Ministry.
to take place in "some solemn place" and the congregation were
to be called three several times to object if they knew
anything against the Bishop elect. If no objections were
forthcoming then two bishops were to present the "godly and
learned man" to be consecrated Bishop. The oaths of
supremacy and obedience were then administered and the
questions of the Anglican order put and answered.

The questions ended the Archbishop offers a short
prayer as in the Anglican Book and then "shall be sung this
song."

"Come Holy Ghost Eternal God etc to the end."

The consecration prayer followed being prefaced by
a few words to the people. The prayer resembles that of the
English Book but is somewhat fuller and more definite, including
as it does the petition "Grant we beseech Thee to this Thy
servant whom we are now to receive to the office of Bishop
within Thy House such grace that he may evermore be ready to
preach the great tidings of reconciliation . . . and so endue
him with Thy Holy Spirit that he . . . may be a wholesome
example."

Then the consecrating Bishops laid their hands on the
head of "the elected Bishop" and the Archbishop repeated the
formula of consecration. "We by the Authority given us of God
and of His Son the Lord Jesus Christ give unto Thee the power

1. The Anglican order has here "ordained and consecrated."
   Does the omission indicate anything?
2. This was of course to be omitted when an Archbishop was
   consecrated.
3. There are slight verbal alterations.
4. This may have been due to Scottish practice (see page 180)
   but the preface given here is modelled on that which precedes
   the Litany in the English Order.
5. The Corresponding part of the Consecration Prayer in the
   Book of Common Prayer "Grant we beseech thee unto this thy
   servant such grace that he may evermore be ready to spread
   abroad Thy Gospel and glad tidings of reconcilement to God."
The Scots form supplies what some have considered to be
wanting in the contemporary English form viz a definite
appointment to the office of Bishop.
Ordination Imposition of hands and Correction of manners within the Diocese wherein thou art or afterwards to be called concluding with a benediction.

The "Book of the Holy Scriptures" was then delivered to the newly consecrated and the exhortation of the Archbishop in connection therewith is again that of the English book with slight-verbal alterations.

The last rubric directs that the communion should then be celebrated, the Archbishops and Bishops with the new consecrated Bishops and others of the Assembly Communicate "and after communion the blessing shall be given and so the action end."

At the end of the order is printed an "Advertisement touching Archbishops and Bishops translated" from which it appears that when a Bishop was inducted to a new Diocese the edict was ready, objections called for and oaths administered as at a consecration. Then after the oaths the Archbishop was to exhort the newly translated to fidelity and diligence in his charge "and conceive prayer for the blessing of God upon that action." Thereafter proclamation was made that all things had been done in accordance with the law and the Bishop pronounced to be Bishop of such a See "and a command given to the Archdeacon of the Metropolitan church to induct him by himself or by his sufficient procurator into the same which is afterwards done. The concluding direction being:

"Last the 23rd Psalm is sung and so they break up"

Nothing is said in the Scottish Ordinal about the Ordination of Deacons. At that time the only Deacons were those laymen who attended to the needs of the poor.

1. This proclamation or "sentence" as it is called resembled the "narrative" which is still used at inductions to Parish churches in Scotland mentioning as it did the circumstances under which the See had become vacant and the steps taken to fill it. Only at the present day the narrative is read not after but before the induction.
In 1637 the practice of ordaining Deacons, as in the church of England, seems to have commenced as Trotter the Minister appointed to Dirleton in that year by the Bishop of Edinburgh is said to have been the first Deacon ordained in the Church of Scotland. The year before Laud had written to Bishop Wedderburn of DWblane stating that the Scots ordinal was defective in that it made no provision for the ordination of Deacons, and it probably was that his words had borne fruit. He also objected that the "very essential words of conferring orders "were left out" in the form of ordination to the ministry. He adds that His Majesty was much troubled about these things and that he had been commanded to write to the Scots Bishops bidding them either improve their ordinal in the parts where it was "short and insufficient" amending the "two gross oversights" or admit the Anglican Book. (These "very essential words" were doubtless those of the English Book of Common Prayer. "Receive Ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins Ye remit etc" but no early form of ordination is found to possess them and when first they did appear in an ordination service it was when the church had fallen very low so far as ecclesiastical learning was concerned. Laud might have known that his "essential words" were not in use in the Eastern Church at all and had only been in use in the Western for a few hundred years).

As to whether the Ordinal was amended in accordance with the desire of the King and Archbishop Laud cannot now be ascertained. There is some reason to believe that a new Book

2. The letter is preserved In Prynne's Hadden works, It will be found In Dr Cooper's Edition of Laud Liturgy XXVIII.
3. Dowden Further Studies in the Prayer Book 310. The Episcopal Church in the United States which may be considered the daughter Church of the Scottish Episcopal Church allows ordination to the priesthood without the words in question.
4. Wedderburn had drawn Land's attention to the two defects in the Scottish Ordinal.
of ordination was issued before the end of 1636 - mention is made of such in the Canons of that year - but the matter is doubtful.

Trotter was censured by the Synod for receiving the "Order of a preaching Deacon" but nothing is said as to how that "order" was conferred. Probably however it would be according to the Anglican rite. His ordination as a Deacon came immediately before that as a Presbyter.

Nothing is said either in the ordinal or elsewhere about the dress candidate for the ministry or episcopate were to wear but in a letter of date 1633 Charles ordered every Bishop to wear "his whites" over a taffeta gown without sleeves (a chymer) at the time of his consecration.

The Book of Ordination was dealt with by the General Assembly of 1638 and like Laud's Liturgy and the Book of Canons was condemned by the unanimous vote of the members, Andrew Ramsay referring to it as a superstitious book and Andrew Cant likening it to the "beast in the Revelation with which none could buy or sell." Before its condemnation the ordinal was "sighted" by a small committee of which Baillie Rutherford and Ramsay was members.

They seem to have drawn up a somewhat lengthy report regarding the Book but it has been lost, though the following decree of the Assembly is no doubt a summing of it. "That the book of consecration and ordination was framed by the Bishops

1. Grub (Ecclesiastical History II) 368 is quite certain that the Book was published as authorities he quotes from one of Baillies Letters and from one of Bishop Juxons, but these do not bear out his conclusion. Baillie merely mentions that in the New Service Book a Deacon was to present "the offertorie" while Juxon only refers to the Book of Common Prayer and the Book of Canons saying nothing whatever about a New Ordinal. The fact that the Ordinal is mentioned in the 2nd Canon does not carry us very far for these canons also mention the Book of Common Prayer though it was not published until a considerable time afterwards.
2. Scott Fasti I. 359.
3. Earl of Stirling Register of Royal Letters 693.
4. Stevenson History 328.
6. Ibid. 164. Rev XIII-17. The reading should be "without which none could buy or sell."
7. Ibid 152.
and introduced and practised without warrant of civil or ecclesiastical authority, that it established offices in the Church of God which are not warranted by His Word, that it is repugnant to the discipline and constitutions of our Church a bar in the entry of worthy men to the ministry and impeded the discharge of ministerial duties for which they also rejected and condemned it.

1. Stevenson History 328. It is possible in "Offices in the Church of God which are not warranted by His Word" the office of Preaching Deacon is included but it is more probable that the phrase refers to Bishops and Archbishops.
ADMISSION OF ELDERS AND DEACONS.

With regard to the Election of Elders and Deacons an interesting little order has been preserved. According to the Preface attached to it it was drawn up for the use of the "privy kirk of Edinburgh in the beginning when as yet there was no public face of a kirk nor open assemblies but secret and privy conventions in houses or in the fields." It was first printed in 1569 but only one copy of that edition is known to exist.

It was approved by the General Assembly of April 1582 as an order which might be used elsewhere. After the election of Elders and Deacons the names were read in the hearing of the congregation and objections called for. If none were offered, on the Sunday appointed for their admission the minister exhorted them to consider the dignity of the vocation to which they were called, the duty they owed to the people and the danger of being found negligent in their office, the people also being exhorted to do their duty towards the office bearers. "Which being done this prayer shall be read." The Prayer which follows is of no great length and it concludes with the Lord's Prayer. The "Rehearsal of the Belief" follows and then is sung "this portion of the 103rd Psalm verse 19. The Heavens high are made the seat."

A short - very short - exhortation (admonition it is called)

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1. Knox II. 151-4. The M.S. in which it was preserved dates circa 1586.
2. Dickson and Edmond Annals of Scottish Printing 239.
3. Calderwood VII. 617. Sprott Book of Common Order (Church Service Society) 200 says it was not bound up with the Liturgy but it will be found in editions of 1571 and 1584.
4. There is no indication that this form of prayer might be departed from.
is then made to the elected and the service ends somewhat strangely with a short prayer for the "Kings Majesty... in his Young Age" for the Regent and such as assist him the concluding petition being "And either fruitfully convert or suddenly confound the enemies of true religion and of this afflicted common wealth." How far this order was used in other churches we have now no means of ascertaining but Gillespie writing some eighty years later states that after election elders "receive an authoritative or protestative mission or deputation of them into their presbyterial functions together with public exhortation with them and prayer in all the church for them."

At Elgin it seems to have been customary at one time to have a fast in connection with the election and receiving of Elders. Although Elders and Deacons were elected annually there seems to have been the idea that once a man was an office-bearer he was always such, though he might cease from acting as such for a time. A paper of date 1597 states that they were elected ad vitam unless deprived for just causes, but that they could not leave their occupations to serve the church and so they were elected annually that one party might relieve another"but all remain church officers." It is doubtful however whether such views were always acted on. During the troubles in Edinburgh in 1619 the ministers brought in ex-office bearers to serve at the Communion but they are simply termed "other honest men" Gillespie was of opinion that elders should be elected for life and his words imply that he knew of cases where there were only chosen for a season.

1. The admonition only amounts to about 60 or 70 words. It may however only be meant to give: the "heads" of the address.
2. The wording of the Prayer indicate that the order had been in some respects altered from its original form.
3. Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian Armoury I) 38.
4. Records 11.67. The date is 1598.
5. This paper consists of answers given by brethren of the Synod of Fife to a series of questions proposed by the King. The particular question answered as above was "Why should not..."
NOTES: (Continued from Page 24).

elders and deacons of ilk particular session be elected ad vitam of the other two acts of answers given by Calderwood one is similar to the above, the other takes it for granted that elders are not elected ad vitam. Calderwood V. 598, 597-601.


7. Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian Armoury I) 68.
APPENDIX I.

CHURCH FURNITURE.

APPENDIX II.

ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS.

APPENDIX III.

VERSION OF SCRIPTURE USED.
APPENDIX I.

Church Furniture.

The only articles of church furniture mentioned in the Book of Common order are the pulpit, the Bason for Baptism and the Communion Table. Of the two latter we have already written. The pulpit seems to have been wanting in some of the Pre-Reformation Churches for among the things which are mentioned as being necessary in every church is a pulpit. There is not much evidence as to what was the form of the pulpit of Reformation days though in some cases the old stone pulpits remained for some time. A pulpit shown as John Knox's is now seen in the National Museum Edinburgh. It is of somewhat rough workmanship being made of oak spars without any attempt at ornament. It is quite open consisting simply of a rail fixed on uprights. A much finer pulpit is that which was placed in Parton Parish Church in 1598 and which was removed to Edinburgh about the middle of last century. It is octagonal in shape, of oak beautifully carved with a handsome back and canopy. On the latter is carved the text FEIR THE LORD AND HONOR HIS HOU3 with the date 1598 and the armorial bearings of Glendinning of Parton the patron of the Church. Neither of these pulpits has anything in the way of a book board probably because the Bible would be placed on the Letter or Reader's desk. A third pulpit said to belong to the Church was furnished with Bells to call the people together. Knox II 252.

1. That is of indoor furniture Churches were to be furnished with Bells to call the people together. Knox II 252.

2. It is now in the National Museum.

3. It would appear that it was not always found in a Reformed Church, see page 399.
Reformation period is that preserved in St. Salvator's College Chapel St. Andrews. It is specially interesting in that it has the Readers desk affixed to it. In King's College Chapel Aberdeen may still be seen the Pre-Reformation pulpit which was made for Machar's Cathedral in the time of Bishop Stewart (1531-1545). Some "superstitious devices" had been carved on it and these have been cut out, but traces of one - a crucifix - may still be observed. The pulpit which was placed in Dunfermline Abbey in 1634 is now at Abbotsford. It was also of carved oak with the text "WHO IS SUFFICIENT FOR THESE THINGS" on the back.

In some parishes the "three decker" pulpit was in use pointing to a threefold division of the service, prayers lessons and sermon. One is not surprised to find such a pulpit at Inverkeithney where it dates from the times of Episcopacy but it is somewhat surprising to find one at Yarrow.

In the Session records we have numerous references to the covering of the pulpits and it is somewhat noteworthy that green cloth seems to have been the favoured colour for that purpose. In 1594 the Session of Glasgow got "cloth of a green" colour to cover the pulpits in the High and Blackfriars Kirks. In Perth some twenty years later the pulpit was covered with a "sad green cloth" that it might be like that in the Kirk of Edinburgh. One wonders why green should have been so popular. Can it be because it was

1. Turreff, St Machars Cathedral 21.-2.
3. Transactions Scottish Ecclesiological Society I.282. It is possible that the Yarrow pulpit may have been imported from England.
6. The table in Holyrood at the Coronation of King Charles on which the regalia and Great Seal were laid was covered with green velvet. Bute Scottish Coronations 78.
the colour of the National badge - the thistle? In 1594 the pulpit of the Chapel Royal was covered with cloth of gold at the baptism of Prince Henry. The Hourglass was usually (though not always) attached to the pulpit though sometimes as at Sanquhar it was affixed to the Reader's Desk. This latter seems always to have been near the pulpit. At Kinghorn in 1647 the Session "thought meet that a new pulpit should be made with a range of seats about it, and new lettern for the exercise higher and more commodious than this." It was from the "Reader's place" that Mr James Lawson addressed the congregation of St Giles on the return of John Durie. The Bible appears to have been laid on the lettern and not in the pulpit. In the "Life of Robert Blair" mention is made of his going to the "lettern" and taking the Bible. Another article of church furniture may be mentioned i.e. the penitent stool. In some churches this appears to have been a "three decker" also for there are references to the "highest degree of the penitent stool" "the utmost stool of repentance" and "the midgree" thereof, while we also find delinquents having to be admonished to ascend and descend modestly. In addition to the stool at Glasgow there was also the "pillar" for distinction is made there between those who had to appear on the one and those who had to appear on the other, the "pillarites" being those guilty of the more heinous faults. Probably the pillar there served the same purpose as the "highest degree" of the stool elsewhere.

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1. Calderwood V. 343.
2. Simpson History of Sanquhar. 75.
3. Extracts 45.
5. The Common Bible which was to be in all churches was probably meant for the use of any parishioner who cared to come and read it. Records Synod of Fife. 10.23 etc.
6. Life 159. See also Weems 60.
7. St Andrews Register 785, 426, 378, 441 etc.
Another article of church furniture was the "Poor Box" in which were placed from week to week the contributions of the faithful. In olden days Kirk Sessions had to be their own bankers and so the box was a necessity. Unfortunately only a few survive, There is a beautifully carved specimen in the possession of Monzie Kirk session.

(It was thought by the late Dr. Cooper that the "Darnley Cenotaph" depicted the interior of a Scottish Church in the decade following 1560. The picture shows an altar raised on three steps. It is vested on the front top and sides while at one end is depicted a "riddel" or hanging curtain. It is very questionable however whether this is a Scottish Church. The picture was painted in London and probably represents some English Church.)

1 Book of Common Prayer (Lent & Liturgy) 200.
APPENDIX. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS.

Neither in the Book of Common Order nor the Book of Discipline is there any mention made of Ecclesiastical garments. In 1566 Knox at the request of the Assembly wrote to the Anglican Bishops asking that the Puritans who disliked "surplices, corner cap and tippet" might be tenderly dealt with. Knox refers to these articles of English ministerial dress as "Roman Rags" but while he asks that those who disliked them should not be forced to wear them he does not attempt to force those who did wear them to lay them aside. Indeed he makes the very sensible remark (which might well have been repeated many times since) that the matter was being agitated "with greater vehemency than well liketh us."

Even at this time however the surplice had not entirely disappeared in Scotland for in 1574 the Reader at Logierait was charged with having conducted a funeral service "with the supercloth upon him in popish manner." About the same time the Assembly began to be concerned about the apparel of the Ministry and passed an Act regulating the same but it refers more to outdoor than to indoor garments. The forbidding of "all using of plaids in the Kirk by readers or ministers namely in the time of their ministry and using of their office) seems to point to the fact that some of those who officiated were not too particular as to how they appeared

1. So says Calderwood but his name does not appear among the signatories although those of the other five Johns do.
2. Calderwood II. 332.
3. Ibid. 303.
in the pulpit. Yet there were ministers who wore the gown. James Melville speaking of John Durie (the friend and companion of Knox) "who for stoutness and zeal in the good cause" was much thought of; mentions that he wore the gown in church and took it off before proceeding to the fields for sport. In 1584 the Town Council of Edinburgh paid ten pounds for a gown for John Sanderson, then reader in St Giles. In 1609 King James got Parliament to pass an act giving him power to regulate the dress of the clergy and the following year he issued a proclamation by which ministers were ordered to wear black clothes "and in the pulpit black gowns," that Bishops and Doctors of Divinity should wear black casskins (short cassocks) syde to their knee, black gowns above and a black crail about their neck. The gowns of the Bishops were to have 7 lumberd sleeves according to the form of England and when first they appeared so dressed the people flocked together to behold them. This order of the King seems to have been quite well received for at the meeting of the Synod of Fife the following year an act was passed by the Synod to the effect that ministers were to attend the meeting of the court in their black gowns. It would be a mistake however to associate the gown with the Prelatic party. The Yester portrait of Alexander Henderson shows him wearing a gown and a painting of John Bell who preached the opening sermon at the opening of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 shows him similarly attired. Mention is made in the same year of a number of Ministers wearing "black cloaks" going to meet the

3. Cameron Lees St Giles 369.
5. Ibid VII - 54-5.
6. Records (Abbotsford Club) 37.
8. Transactions Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society (1898)276.
Lord High Commissioner and to this day in the South of Scotland the older people refer to a minister's gown as his cloak. Forbes of Corse was evidently referring to the practice of the churches of England and Scotland when he said that it made no difference whether a minister preached in a gown or a surplice. Gillespie would not agree to such a doctrine but while he would not have the surplice at any price he thought the gown distinguished the Minister quite as well. On the Tombstone of John Heriot (who was a member of the Glasgow Assembly and so one of the Covenanters) Minister of Blantyre 1609-1662 it is said that he always behaved:

"In holy order, doctrine sweet and soon,  
As did become his reverent gospel gown"

James Guthrie Minister of Stirling who was ordained in 1638 and executed in 1661 was in the habit of officiating in a gown.

At the funeral of King James in 1625 Spottiswood as Primate of Scotland refused to walk in the procession unless given the same precedence as the Archbishop of Canterbury. This after some debate was allowed provided he would wear his"white sleeves" as the Anglican Bishops did. He declined to do this however, saying that he would go "attired according to the form observed in his own country and that he should never in his person do that scandal to the church of Scotland as to assume their (the English) apparelling and forego his own." As the authorities would

1. Wodrow Analecta I. 106.
2. Irenicum 160
3. English Popish Ceremonies 32, 152
not consent he refused to go at all. Even at the Coronation of King Charles in 1633 while the officiating Bishops wore purple cassocks under white rochets, and cope of cloth of gold, the others were attired in black gowns. Among the latter was the Archbishop of Glasgow who is said to have been pushed aside by Laud because he was not attired in his rochet.

Two years before the date of the Coronation the King had given orders that the surplice should be used in Cathedrals but the order cannot have been carried into effect for when the King went to worship in St Giles on the Sunday after his Coronation Row states that the people marvelled because the service was performed by two English chaplains clad in surplices, while, the Bishop of Moray preached in similar attire. Some months later Charles wrote the Dean of the Chapel Royal ordering him to wear "his whites" at service on "Sundays and such holidays as that church observes." and also whenever he preached.

In 1633 after his return to England the King appears to have again set himself to regulate the dress of the clergy for he sent down a letter to Scotland in the October of that year ordering the ministers to wear the surplices when reading the prayers, administering the sacraments and burying the dead. When preaching they were to wear a black gown. So far as the first part of this order was concerned it seems to have been a dead letter probably because Spottiswood and the other Bishops "were moderate and dealt with the king for

1. Register Privy Council, I - 630 (Second Series)
2. Bute Scottish Coronations 84-91. The Choir also wore black gowns.
3. Cunningham Church History I. 497.
4. Row I. 363.
5. Stevenson History 144.
6. Probably Charles did not know that burial services were non existent in Scotland. Register of Royal Letters 693.
Moderation and did strive to keep off innovations such as surplice liturgy etc.

At the same time His Majesty ordered the Bishops to wear a taffeta gown without sleeves over "their whites" at their consecration, while to wear a "rocket and sleeves" in church and at meetings of the Privy Council. Doctors of Divinity were to wear the tippet while in Cathedrals and the Chapel Royal all the officiating ministers at Holy Communion were to wear copes. At ordinary times Bishops were to wear gowns with "standing caps" such as they wore on the occasion of the king's visit.

Lauds Liturgy it may be noted says nothing whatever that about ecclesiastical garments at all but directs ministers should "use such ornaments in the church as prescribed or shall be by His Majesty or His Successors according to the Act of Parliament provided in that behalf." The Act of Parliament referred to is one passed in 1633 at the request of the King giving him power to regulate the apparel of the clergy as well as that of judges and magistrates. There seems to have been great fear that the king would use his power to bring back sacredotal vestments and considerable objection was made to the passing of the Act.

Mention may also be made of the bands which are still worn by Presbyterian Ministers. These are thought by some to be survivals of the monastic dress of the Middle Ages and they are still worn by members of some of the brotherhoods of the Roman Church. In Sanquhar Parish Church there is an

1. Life of Robert Blair, 137.
2. Earl of Stirling Register of Royal Letters 693.
4. Stevenson History 133.
effigy of a priest in full canonicals showing a pair of bands differing but little from those in use at the present day. Others regard them as being survivals of the large collars worn in the 16th and 17th Centuries by ecclesiastics. Portraits of Cardinal Beaton Samuel Rutherford Archbishop Sharp, James Guthrie, Robert McWard to mention only a few show collars with wide ends which resemble the bands now in use.

We may refer also to the gloves which up to a comparatively recent time were used by most Ministers of the church during Divine Service. They were survivals of part of the Bishops' dress of Mediaeval times and typified in the prelates' case the concealment of good works. When read sermons came into vogue it became necessary to cut out part of the fingers in order that the preacher might turn the pages more easily. Latterly they were only used during the earlier part of the service being removed before the sermon was begun. The writer has seen them used by two different ministers within the last fifteen years. It is somewhat remarkable that a church so long valiant for primitive simplicity should have tolerated a custom so purely Roman and without the slightest vestige of Warrant in Holy Scripture.

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Note: Patrick Forbes Bishop of Aberdeen wrote a little work on Ministerial Dress which unfortunately has not come down to our times. Aberdeen Biographical Collections (New Spalding Club) 105.
APPENDIX. III.

VERSION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

In the early part of the period under discussion the version of the scriptures used seems to have been chiefly that of Geneva, (Each church was expected to have a "Bible in English, but nothing is said as to the version to be used in the Book of Discipline.) This version was published in the City of Calvin in 1560 by a little band of English Exiles with whom Knox was associated and its speedily became a favourite version both in Scotland and in England. (This was in part due to its size which was quarto while the "Great Bible" was folio. The translation was more exact than any of the English versions which preceded while the translators seemed to have spared no pains to get as correct a text as possible. It had a number of marginal notes which doubtless tended to make it popular, these notes having as was natural in the circumstances a strongly anti-papal tendency. "It quickly established its place as the household copy of the scriptures amongst Bible Students."

"The Coppie of the Reasoning betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox in Mayboill" published in 1563 contains a text from this version on the title page although the scripture passages in that work are more often paraphrases than direct quotations. The only sermon of Knox which has come down to our time is also based on the Geneva version of Isaiah XXVI- 13-21. In the sermons of Robert Bruce

published in 1591 as well as of Rollock published some eight years later it will be found that the scripture quotations are usually taken from this version though in some cases there are slight alterations to suit the Scottish idiom.

The Geneva version was the first indeed the only version of the Bible printed in full in Scotland up to the year 1633 when a copy of the Authorised version was produced by Robert Young. In January 1567-8 Lekprevik was appointed Kings Printer for Scotland and three months afterwards received a special license from the Regent to print "all and haeil ane Buie callit the Ingliss Bybill imprintit of before at Geneva." For some reason he never undertook the work probably because of lack of appliances though probably the church would have helped him in this matter as it did in that of the Psalm book. Some seven years later the project of printing the Bible in Scotland was revived by Alexander Arbuthnot who presented to the General Assembly certain articles for the printing of the English Bible by himself, and Thomas Bassandyne. The Assembly were asked to purchase copies and to induce as many others as possible to do the same, advancing voluntarily the price "whole or half at the least in part of payment and the rest at the receipt of their books." Further, the kirk was to undertake to provide an "authentic copy" and to appoint some of the brethren to oversee the work. The Assembly entered into the matter with heartiness and bound themselves as strictly as the printers desired. The Bible took longer to print than was

1. Young was a Lender printer but Edinburgh is the place mentioned on the Title page. See Additional Memorial 74-5. Hart published the New Testament (King James Version) in 1628.
2. B.U.K. 328.
anticipated for in 1575 we find Arbuthnet supplicating the Assembly that they should help him to get in the subscriptions which had been promised. The following year the New Testament was published but it was not until 1579 that the whole Bible made its appearance.

An Epistle Dedicatory was prefixed to this edition of the Bible by the General Assembly. It is dated 10th July 1579 and had been revised by the Moderator and his assessors. Shortly afterwards the Privy Council issued a warrant that all householders should have Bibles. The Town of Edinburgh followed up this by passing an Act requiring all "substantious householders to have ane Bible in their houses" and a month later they ordered all persons who did not comply to be brought before the Bailie of their quarter.

At the Assembly held at Burntisland in 1601 reference was made to sundry errors in the "vulgar translation of the Bible" and it was resolved that the Brethren who had the greatest skill in the original tongues should set themselves to the task of amending what was wrong. They were to report to the next Assembly but the matter seems to have been lost sight of as there is no further reference to it, although at the assembly of 1602 Presbyteries were enjoined to see that every pastor had Tremellius' Translation of the Old Testament and Beza's of the New, with the vulgar English translation.

Notwithstanding the production of the Authorised version the Genevan continued to hold its own for many years. New Editions were issued from time to time and in April 1611 the Synod of Fife in ordering that in each kirk there should

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2. Privy Council Records III.266.
5. Ibid 171.
6. Records (Abbotsford Club) 10
7. By this time Bassandyne was dead. His name is on the title page of the New Testament, Arbuthnet's on that of the whole Bible.
"ane common Bible" concluded that every minister should urge his parishioners to buy "ane of the Bibles lately published by Andro Hart". Hart's edition of 1610 had a revised version of the Geneva text of the New Testament. This had been made by one Lawrence Tomson in 1576. The influence of Beza is strongly marked in this version and after 1587 Tomson's Testament generally took the place of that issued in 1560. Henderson took his text from the Geneva Bible when preaching at the opening of the Assembly of 1639 and quotations from it will actually be found embedded in the Westminster Confession of Faith. It must not be thought however that its use was confined to the Puritan Party for throughout the whole of Bishop Cowper's works scripture quotations are made from the "Breeches Bible" as it is sometimes called. On the other hand one is somewhat surprised to find that Gillespie in his "English Popish Ceremonies" "Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland" and other works quoted regularly from the Authorised version. The scripture quotations in Johnston of Wariston's Diary are also from this version and if Johnston quotes correctly then the ministers whose services he attended must have used no other version than that of King James. It was not however until 1633 that this version was printed in Scotland when it was published by Young of Edinburgh, Archbishop Spottiswood writing a prefatory note to it. The Canons of 1636 ordered that in every church there should be a Bible of the largest volume, this Bible to

1. Milligan English Bible 87.
2. Peterkin Records 239.
3. e.g., Chap.I. Par.8. The word of God dwelling plentifully, in all wisdom. King James version "richly."
4. From the translation of Genesis III.7.
5. Lee doubts whether this was printed in Edinburgh although the name of that city is on the title page, Young was a London printer. Additional Memorial 74-5.
be of the Translation of King James. So far as the writer has been able to ascertain this injunction is the only justification for applying the title "AUTHORISED" — so far as Scotland is concerned — to the version in question as this is certainly the only time it was "appointed to be read in Churches" in the Northern Kingdom. The Scripture passages in Laud's Liturgy are also taken from "King James his version."

The Westminster Confession does not authorise any particular version while the Directory for public worship states that the scriptures were to be "read in the vulgar tongue out of the best allowed translation."

1. Up to the end of the 18th Century the Pulpit Bible in the Parish of Crail was a Geneva Copy. This copy was placed in the General Assembly Library February 1923.