

## OVERVIEW OF CHURCH HISTORY IN 36 ILLUSTRATED LECTURES

### LECTURE 25 – THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION; (2) THE COVENANTERS; (3) CHURCH GOVERNMENT AFTER 1560

We'll start with a prayer from the period to be studied. The prayers of the Scottish Reformer, John Knox, were biblical, humble, pastoral and practical - and often very lengthy.

Honour and praise be given to you, O Lord God Almighty, most dear Father of heaven, for all your mercies and loving-kindness shown to us, for creating us after your image, for redeeming us with the precious blood of your dear Son, for sanctifying us with your Holy Spirit, for helping us in our needs and necessities; for saving us from dangers of body and soul. O Lord, strengthen our faith; kindle more ferventness and love towards you and our neighbours, and grant us always the assistance of your grace, that in heart, word, and deed we may sanctify and worship your name, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen      John Knox

The rest of this page is an outline of this Lecture.

1. SCOTTISH REFORMATION
  - 1.1 Scotland's contributions to world scene
  - 1.2 Distinctives of Scottish Reformation
  - 1.3 Background
- 2 JOHN KNOX (1514-72)
  - 2.1 Biography
  - 2.2 Scotland ready for change – but to what?
  - 2.3 Scottish nobles send for Knox
  - 2.4 Protestant and Presbyterian

#### TOPIC - PRESBYTERIANISM

- 2.5 Permitted or not forbidden?
  - 2.6 Education
  - 2.7 Mary, Queen of Scots
3. ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE BISHOPS ON SCOTLAND
    - 3.1 First attempt, 1572
    - 3.2 Second attempt, 1637
    - 3.3 National Covenant, 1638
    - 3.4 Covenanters, 1660-85
    - 3.5 Presbyterianism confirmed, 1690
  4. CHURCH GOVERNMENT AFTER 1560
    - 4.1 Episcopal structure
    - 4.2 Congregational structure
    - 4.3 Presbyterian structure

In preparation, read Cairns, 312-5, 333; Olson, 432; Lion, 390-92; Vos, 99-100; Lane, 157-8 (John Knox); Hanks, *Great Christians*, 127-13 (John Knox).

## 1. SCOTTISH REFORMATION

### 1.1 Scotland's contributions to the world scene

If you ask whether it's the best use of our time to spend a whole Lecture on the Reformation in Scotland and its consequences, there are four answers:

- (a) it produced the Presbyterian form of Church government, not just Protestant but Presbyterian Protestant. We'll see in the Topic what 'Presbyterian' means. Calvin's Geneva was a Presbyterian city, but Scotland was the first Presbyterian country, with a form of Church government that is now found worldwide.
- (b) it adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith, which was our Topic in the last Lecture (24), and which is now widely used as a statement of the Reformed faith. It would probably have disappeared into history if the Scottish Reformation hadn't adopted it as its Constitution and so given it wide (now international) recognition.
- (c) it created a new and distinctive relationship between Church and State. The Lutherans and the Swiss Reformers and the English Reformers all opted for a State Church, where the State supports the Church and the Church supports the State. When Prince Charles is crowned king, he will become Head and Supreme Governor of the Church of England, nominally appointing its leaders. But not so in Scotland. The Reformation in Scotland gave this country a different and unique Church/State relationship, a national Church, the Kirk, recognized by the State but autonomous, independent of the State in spiritual matters.

Queen Elizabeth II's coronation oath included a promise to 'defend the security' of the Church of Scotland, but when she attends the annual General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, she sits in the gallery, no more than a spectator, and she takes no part unless invited. If she doesn't come in person, she sends a Lord High Commissioner, who reports to the Queen what has taken place, but who has no authority over the General Assembly. It is said - I can't vouch for it - that when the Pope visited Great Britain in 2010, the Queen received him at Holyrood, because in Scotland she received him as Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, whereas in England she would have received him as Head of the Church of England, its Supreme Governor, which would have been offensive to Rome's claim to be the only true Church.

- (d) it changed more than religion - it began a new era in education, aiming to have a school in every parish, and for years it made Scotland the best educated country in the world, as we'll see when we come to section 2.6.

So, what were the:

### 1.2 Distinctives of the Scottish Reformation

While Reformations were taking place in Germany and Switzerland and England and elsewhere, Scotland was a separate nation, usually at odds with England and often at war with England. When Elizabeth I, Good Queen Bess, died in 1603, the King of Scotland became also the King of England, but the two countries still had their own Parliaments until 1707; for the years we are considering in this Lecture, Scotland and England had fundamentally different approaches to Reformation, because:

The Reformation in England was imposed by King Henry VIII and his Tudor successors (Edward, Elizabeth); it was top down; it was Episcopalian; the king told the archbishops what to do, the archbishops told the bishops, the bishops told the parish priests and the priests told the people.

The Reformation in Scotland took place because the people in the pew were dissatisfied with the Catholic Church, and equally dissatisfied with the English Church, so the Scottish Reformation was from the bottom up, led by the people, going up through Elders and Presbyteries - we'll expand on that in section 4.3.

### 1.3 Background

To understand the Reformation in Scotland is like an athletic doing the long jump - you need to start a long way back from the jumping-off point to get the momentum for the event itself. The Reformation came to Scotland in 1560, but the story starts in 1300, when the English king, Edward I - 'the hammer of the Scots' - tried brutally to bring Scotland under the English crown. He was unsuccessful, but the Scots protected themselves for the future by making an alliance with France - England's traditional enemy - known as 'the auld alliance'.

In 1500, Scotland was still staunchly Catholic, loyal to Rome, but the Catholic Church in Scotland was dysfunctional, more corrupt and inefficient than in most other countries - and people were fed up with it. There was therefore considerable interest when Martin Luther's books were smuggled into Scotland, through merchants who traded with the Continent, and through Scots who studied there. By 1525, so many of Luther's books were circulating in Scotland that Sheriffs were ordered to confiscate them and to imprison everyone caught reading them.

A Scot, Patrick Hamilton, from one of Scotland's leading families, studied under Luther in Germany, and came back full of Protestant ideas. Hamilton, like Luther and Zwingli, challenged not just abuses within the Catholic Church - nepotism (giving jobs to your family), simony (selling positions in the church), pluralism (accepting several posts, to get their stipends, but not doing the work), immorality, etc - but Hamilton challenged also doctrines which differed from the New Testament - e.g., that people needed a priest to mediate with God, that forgiveness for sin was obtained by doing penance, etc. When the Catholics burned Hamilton to death at St Andrews in 1528, his dying words were: 'How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm?' People asked, 'Why was this young man, aged 24, so brutally killed? What was he saying? Tell us more.'

Other Scots continued Hamilton's teaching; twenty were burned at the stake and more died in prison, but copies of Tyndale's 1526 English translation of the New Testament began circulating in Scotland, underground except in the year 1542. That was because while the infant Mary Queen of Scots was growing up, a Regent, the Earl of Arran, governed Scotland, and he was briefly sympathetic to the Protestant position, so in 1542 he sanctioned printing the Bible in English and in Scots, and it was said that copies of the New Testament were 'lying upon almost every gentleman's table'. As people read the New Testament for themselves, they realized how far current Church practice had departed from it. However, the Catholics regrouped, and a year later Arran went back to Catholicism, with its three key dogmas about the Bible:

- (a) that the Vulgate, the Latin translation of the Bible used by the Catholic Church, was the only authorised version of the Bible. Some mistranslations, which favoured the Roman Church's teaching, were noted in Lecture 18, at page 11 - it translated 'repent' as 'do penance', and it encouraged prayer to Mary.

(b) that tradition had equal authority with the Bible, so its teaching was buried under layers of human tradition, and

(c) that the Vatican and the Vatican alone had the right to say what the Bible meant.

At the same time as Arran went back to Catholicism, 1543, George Wishart (1513-46) returned to Scotland from exile on the Continent. He had been a teacher at Montrose Academy, where he taught his pupils from the Greek New Testament. When his life was threatened for this, he fled to Germany and Switzerland, and came back, via England, emboldened and even more convinced that Scotland needed to follow what was happening in the European Reformations. He found a ready listener in:

## 2. JOHN KNOX (c1514-72)

Cairns, 312-5; Olson, 432; Lion, 390-92; Vos, 99-100;  
Lane, 157-8; Hanks, *Great Christians*, 127-131)

### 2.1 Biography

George Wishart's open-air preaching, constantly moving from place to place to avoid arrest by the Catholic Church, attracted a young man called John Knox, born at Haddington, near Edinburgh, who had been a student at St Andrews, who had been ordained a Catholic priest at the age of 22 (1536), and who was now, seven years later (1543), tutor to a family in Longniddry. He was challenged and excited by Wishart's preaching. Here was a man of his own age, with a real Christian experience. Knox accompanied Wishart around East Lothian, acting as his bodyguard. When Wishart was tipped off in 1546 that an armed group was coming to arrest him, he sent Knox away, saying: 'One person is sufficient sacrifice.' Wishart was accused by the Catholic hierarchy in St Andrews of following Zwingli and Calvin, and after a mock trial, was burned at the stake, leading even more people to ask 'Why? - he was a good man - what's this all about?'



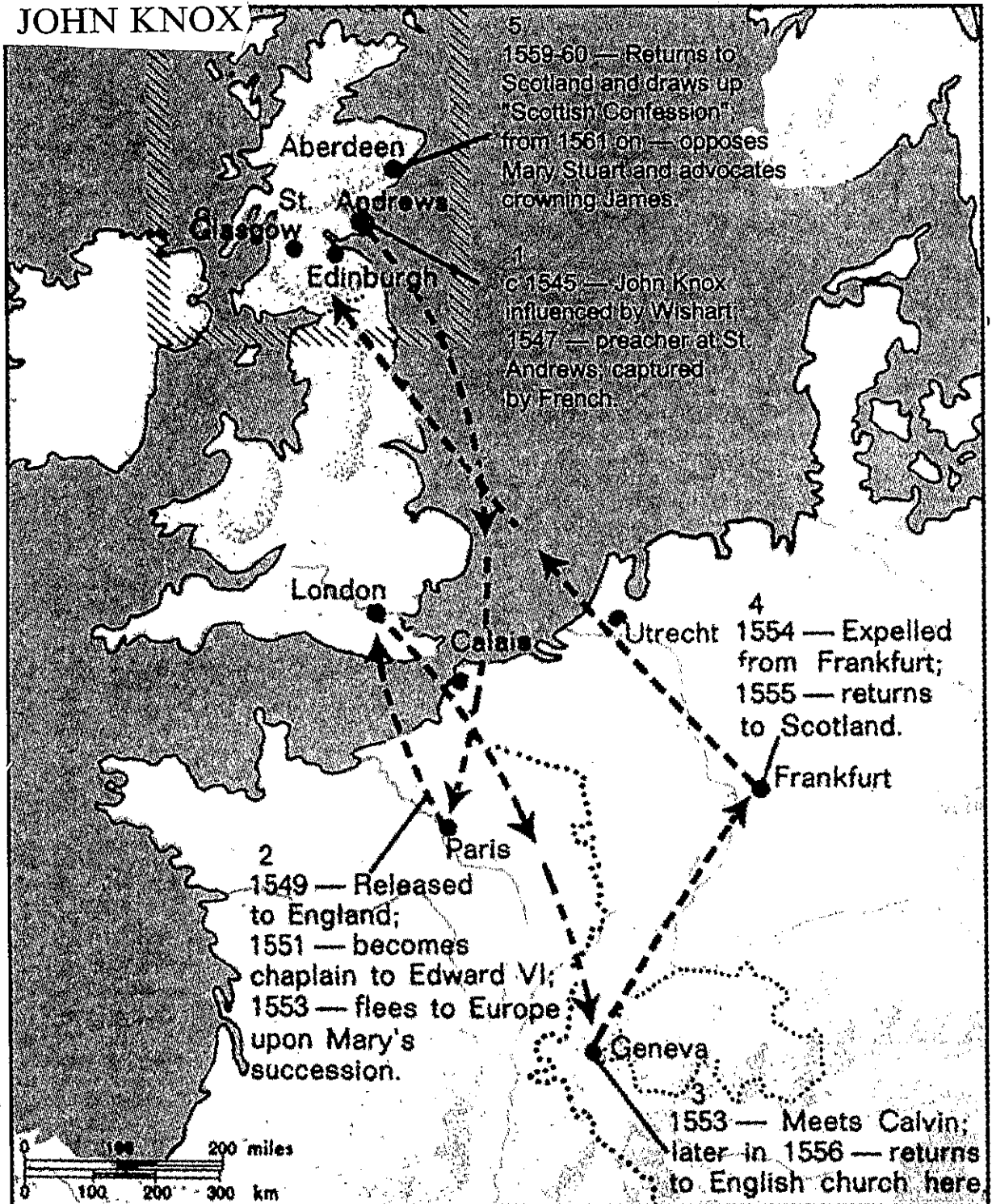
JOHN KNOX

Some Protestants avenged Wishart's death by breaking into St Andrews' Castle, the residence of the Catholic Archbishop of Scotland, Cardinal David Beaton in May 1546, murdering him and taking over the Castle. Knox carried on teaching Wishart's Protestant beliefs, which meant he was in constant danger; after being chased around Scotland for ten months, he made for St Andrews, where Beaton's killers were still occupying the Castle. He joined the Reformers there, became their leader, and they persuaded him to become a Protestant minister. (Item 1 on the map on the next page.) His first sermon set the tone for his life's work: 'No pope, no purgatory, no prayers for the dead, no Mass, no saints, no bishops, in Scotland.' When Knox preached, it was said: 'others clip the branches, but Knox strikes at the root'. He denounced indulgences, pilgrimages, fasts, clerical celibacy, etc, and preached justification by faith alone.

St Andrews was the religious capital of Scotland, so Protestants occupying the Archbishop's residence were an affront to Scottish Catholics, and they asked France in June 1547 for help. Twenty-one French galleys anchored off St Andrews, and their soldiers recaptured the Castle. Knox and others were taken as galley slaves in the French ships. Incidentally, one of my ancestors, Gilbert Balfour, was among the 'other' galley

slaves. Knox later wrote that Gilbert Balfour 'had neither fear of God nor love of virtue' - he was not in St. Andrew's Castle for religious reasons, but, politically motivated, he had been one of Cardinal Beaton's assassins and he had stayed on.<sup>1</sup>

## JOHN KNOX



After nineteen brutal months as a galley slave, Knox was released (map, item 2). He later studied under Calvin in Geneva (map, item 3). Calvin was at the height of his powers, and Knox was very impressed - calling Geneva 'the maist perfyte schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the apostillis'. These were the happiest years of Knox's life, and they got him dreaming what his native Scotland could be like if it adopted Geneva's pattern of Church.

<sup>1</sup> [www.ianbalfour.co.uk](http://www.ianbalfour.co.uk), 'Family', 'Balfour Family Tree', item 1.

## 2.2 Scotland ready for change - but to what?

While Knox was on the Continent, more and more of the Scottish nobility were becoming sympathetic to a Protestant view of the Church, for three reasons:

- (a) they now saw it as a viable alternative to the corruption, greed, drunkenness, simony and concubinage of the Catholic priests.
- (b) the future Queen of Scotland, Mary, was in France and engaged to marry the heir to the French throne, and
- (c) Mary's fanatically Catholic mother had taken over from Arran as Mary's Regent. When the French sent 5,000 soldiers to Scotland, the Scots rightly thought the Auld Alliance had become too one-sided, and that Scotland was being turned into a province of France.

What could the Protestants in Scotland do? There was no thought of following the Protestant Reformation in England, where the monarch controlled the Church through subservient archbishops and bishops. Furthermore, Scotland was (rightly) suspicious that the English were just as keen as the French to annex Scotland for its own purposes. So:

## 2.3 The Scottish nobles send for Knox

The leading Scottish nobles, discontented with Catholicism, wary of France and equally wary of England, decided that the answer lay in John Knox. He was respected internationally, he understood the Lutheran and Swiss and English Reformations, so in 1557, they asked Knox to come home and:

- (1) overthrow French influence in Scotland, and
- (2) overthrow the Catholic Church in Scotland, replacing it with a Protestant Church as on the Continent.

Knox was not a one-man Crusade. It is sometimes said that the Reformation in Scotland was brought about 'by a fanatic who single-handedly destroyed the Catholic Church here'. That's not so; during Knox's years in exile, Protestant views had spread widely among all classes in Scotland. The seed sown by Wishart and others had borne fruit; Knox came back to a nation ready for change - new wine was flowing and it needed new wine skins, and a new charismatic leader.

The details of Knox's first months in Scotland are outside this Lecture - he travelled around Lowland Scotland, accepted everywhere as the leader of the Reformation in Scotland. His strong personality, his volcanic sermons, his shrewd judgement, and his plain language, appealed to the masses. There were enough powerful nobles to protect him, and Dundee, Perth and Ayr declared themselves Protestant. When Knox came to St Andrews in June 1559, it was solidly Catholic, but after he had preached for four consecutive days, a majority of the citizens, followed by a large number of the Catholic clergy, declared themselves Protestant.

The Catholic hierarchy again called on France for help. Large numbers of French troops occupied Leith in July 1559, advanced into Edinburgh in November), drove out the Protestants, who fled to Stirling, but Stirling fell to the French at Christmas 1559. The Protestants scattered, pursued by French troops.

So the Scots nobles did the unthinkable - they asked Elizabeth of England for help. Reluctantly, but to prevent the French controlling her northern border, Elizabeth sent troops and ships in January 1560. They blockaded the Firth of Forth against any more French troops arriving and then, together with the Protestants here already, cleared the French out of Fife and the Lothians and drove them back to the Port of Leith, where

stalemate developed. The combined English/Scottish forces couldn't take the citadel of Leith, and the French couldn't break out, so in July 1560, they signed the Treaty of Edinburgh; France and England both agreed to back off, and to leave Scotland alone. Parliament was to decide the religion of Scotland.

Now that the country was free, politically, John Knox turned to his other remit, to overthrow Catholicism.

#### 2.4 Protestant and (embryonic) Presbyterian

The Scots Parliament met in July 1560 in Parliament Hall, where the Court of Session now sits, just behind St Giles Cathedral. Its first business was to instruct Knox and five others to draw up a Scottish Confession of Faith. By coincidence, all six of them had the same Christian name, so they were known as 'the six Johns'. They presented their *Confession of Faith* to Parliament on 17 August. It had 25 Articles - as we've seen, all the Reformers wrote their distinctive ideas into Confessions of Faith - Knox's was based on what he had learned in Geneva, so the Scottish Reformation was Genevan/Calvinistic rather than Lutheran, but with a distinctive Scottish tinge.

The Scottish Parliament adopted Knox's *Confession*, and that began the legal establishment of the Reformer Church of Scotland. It remained the primary Scottish Confession for ninety years, until it was replaced by the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, which said the much same thing but in more detail, in 1647. (see Lecture 24, Topic.)

A week later, on 24 August, Knox persuaded the Scottish Parliament to pass the two Acts of Parliament: The Papal Jurisdiction Act abolished the authority of the Pope in Scotland and forbade the celebration of Mass. There was nothing remarkable in that - other countries, all over Northern Europe, had already done so.

However,

The other one, the Confession of Faith Ratification Act, was unique in Christendom at the time, as it began to make the Church in Scotland not just Protestant, as on the Continent of Europe and in England, but Presbyterian Protestant. This didn't happen overnight - the process was completed by Andrew Melville 18 years later in 1578 with the *Second Book of Discipline*, making Scotland the first nation with Presbyterian Church government.

THE TOPIC - PRESBYTERIANISM - was taken at this point in the Lecture; here, it is printed at the end of the Notes for this Lecture.

Geneva was only a city, but Knox adapted what he had learned in Geneva into something new - a nation with Presbyterian government for its Church - what that means is described on page 13 of this Lecture. There was no permanent office higher than the parish minister; the elected Moderator of the General Assembly held office for a year, but in no way was he the Head of the Church of Scotland. If asked who that was, Knox would have replied, 'Christ'.

Just to be clear, 'Presbyterian' is not a Denomination, it's a form of Church government. The Church of Scotland is Presbyterian, the Free Church of Scotland is Presbyterian, and many Denominations now use the Presbyterian form of Church government. What was novel in Scotland in 1560 was a national Parliament accepting Presbyterian government for a whole nation.

Knox also prepared an Order of Service for public worship in the Church - metrical Psalms, Scripture readings, a sermon, an offering and a benediction (it was important that the offering came after the preaching of the Word) and, occasionally, the Lord's Supper.

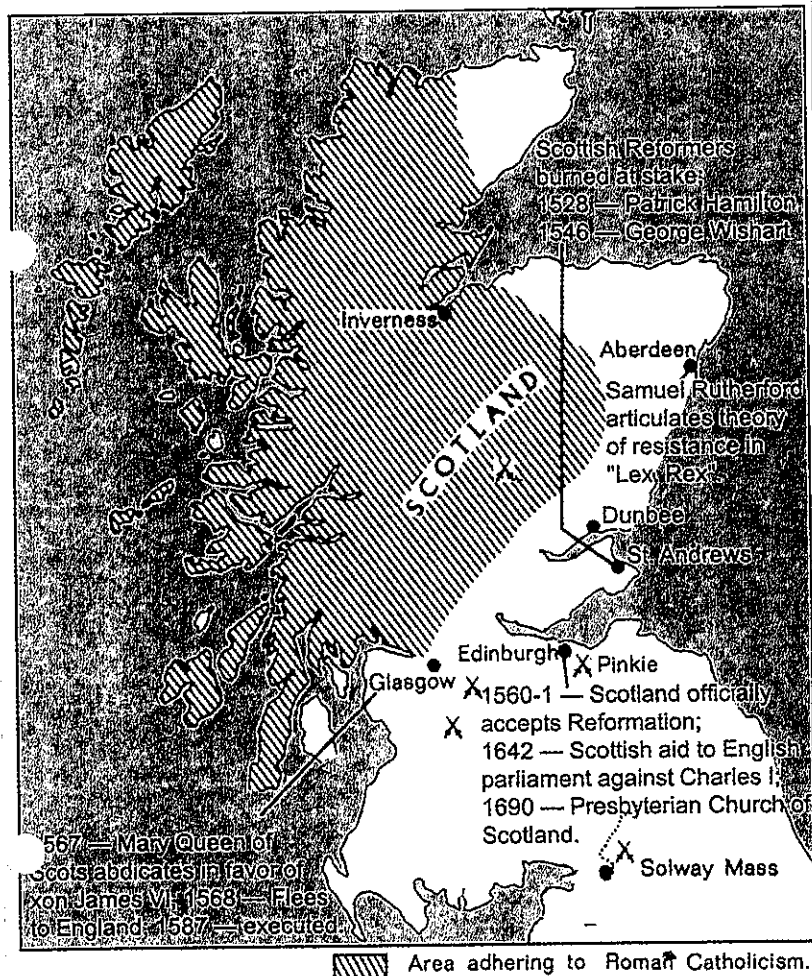
## 2.5 Permitted or not forbidden?

Modelling the Church on Calvin's Geneva made Scotland fundamentally different from the Lutheran and Anglican Reformations in its use of Scripture. We've noticed this twice already, in earlier Lectures, but it's so fundamental that it is worth repeating. The Swiss Reformers insisted that worship, doctrine and practice must be based on what is expressly sanctioned in Scripture - whereas the Lutheran Church in Germany, and the Anglican Church in England, insisted that what is not forbidden in Scripture, is acceptable in the Church. That's a huge difference in attitude.

For example, Lutherans and Anglicans maintained the richly-decorated style of Church buildings, because that wasn't forbidden in Scripture. The Swiss Reformers cleared the buildings of everything that wasn't specifically allowed in Scripture, concentrating

on Bible reading and the sermon. Reformed churches have been described (as I said when we were looking at Zwingli in Zurich) as 'four bare walls and a sermon'. That's the popular image of Presbyterians - when the Press want to be negative about some dour Scot, they say, 'Of course, it's his Presbyterian upbringing.'

Coming back to Knox: under his leadership, lowland Scotland quickly became both Protestant and Presbyterian. Because there been so much discontent with Catholicism in Scotland, the Reformation here was more thoroughgoing in lowland Scotland than in England, but not in the North and West, as on this map. It was partly the language barrier - the North and West spoke Gaelic, which the Reformers didn't, and partly the poor roads; the Lowland Reformers couldn't easily get into Highland areas.



## 2.6 Education

While this was going on, John Knox was pursuing his second vision for Scotland. He wanted Scotland to have 'a kirk and a school in every parish' - universal free education - the first such provision in the modern world, fuelled by Knox's desire that everyone should be able to read the Bible - plus a secondary school in every town and a university in every city. Kirk and school were two sides of the same coin. Teachers were officers of the church, and the purpose of education was not just to impart knowledge but to teach moral standards in conformity with the Protestant faith.

Before the Reformation, there were only 100 parish schools throughout Scotland, and education was for the privileged few. Within seventy years (between 1560 and 1633), 800 more parishes had their own school. Scottish people generally became the best



educated in the world, with the highest literacy in Europe for the next three hundred years. For example, 200 years later, in 1830, there were less than 3,000 students at the only two English Universities combined - Oxford and Cambridge; the four Scottish Universities had 4,400 students, despite the population of England being eight times that of Scotland.

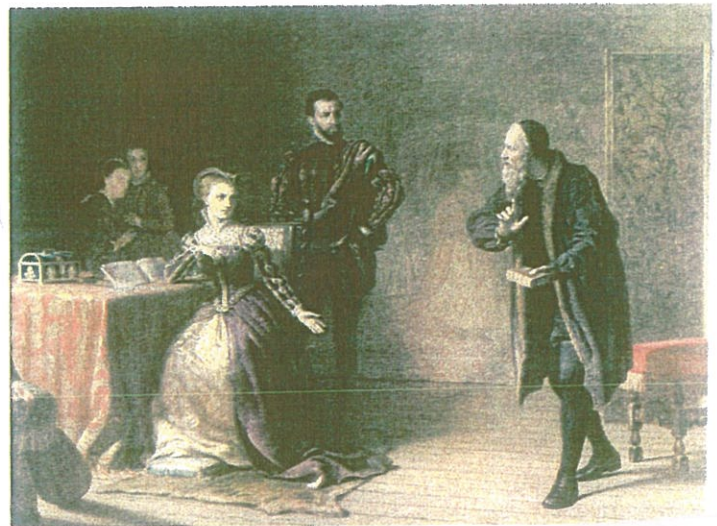
Knox also had a visionary social welfare programme, built on a sense of community. All this was to be financed by taking over the wealth of the Catholic Church; that was Knox's dream, but when the nobility got their hands on the money, many kept it for themselves. Nevertheless, Knox's scale of poor relief for Scotland was unparalleled in Europe until the creation of the Welfare State in Britain in 1948.

## 2.7. Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-87)

The Reformation went smoothly for the first year, but in August 1561, the (now) widowed 19 year-old Mary returned from France, as Queen of Scots, fanatically Catholic, determined to bring Scotland back into the Roman fold, fanatically Royalist (insisting that she, as queen, was in charge). She was a beautiful and fascinating woman. Very few men, apart from John Knox, could withstand the spell of her feminine wiles. This was her undoing for, conscious of her power, she followed courses which led to her ruin.



Knox confronted both Mary's beliefs and her morals. After one of his harangues, Mary said coldly: 'My conscience tells me otherwise.' Knox replied: 'Conscience, madam, requires knowledge, and I fear that of right knowledge you have none.' And so it went on – on one occasion, Knox reduced Mary to hysterical tears by his blunt condemnation of first, her beliefs, holding Mass in the palace, encouraging others to do so, and, secondly, her morals, her double-dealing, promising freedom of religion at the same time as working to destroy Protestantism.



For three years, most of the leading Scots, bewitched by Mary's wiles, tolerated her promotion of the Catholic faith, despite Knox's regular warnings from the pulpit of St Giles Cathedral, but in the Spring of 1565 they grew wary of her for two reasons: (1) her

promotion of herself as absolute ruler and (2) her overtures to Catholic Spain, to help her make Scotland a Catholic nation. Her marriage to the Catholic Lord Darnley, and her insistence that he be called 'king', rallied the Scottish nobles behind Knox; they imprisoned her in Loch Leven Castle and forced her to abdicate. To make sure that Scotland was now officially Protestant, Knox persuaded the Parliament to re-enact the 1560 legislation that had started it off. That was important because Mary had steadfastly refused to give the Royal Assent to the Reforming legislation, so technically it had never passed into law.

### 3. ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE BISHOPS ON SCOTLAND

Autocratic C16+C17 kings didn't like Presbyterian Church government, because it was democratic – they preferred the Episcopal system, where they controlled the bishops, the bishops controlled the clergy, and the clergy controlled the pews.

#### 3.1 The first attempt, 1572

The first royal attempt to impose bishops on Scotland came immediately after John Knox's death in 1572. It was resisted, successfully, by Andrew Melville (1545-1622), the Principal of St Andrews University, who had taken over from Knox as the Scottish Reformed leader. Scotland was still a separate country from England, where Elizabeth ruled with a rod of iron, but King James VI of Scotland also wanted bishops. Melville told James his face:



King James I of England, VI of Scotland.

‘There are two Kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King, and His kingdom the Kirk, whose subject you are, and of whose Kingdom you are not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member.’

However, James chipped away at the Presbyterian position, and by the time he died, 22 years later in 1625, the Church of Scotland had bishops and archbishops, and the General Assembly met only when convened by the Crown.

#### 3.2 The second attempt, 1637

Scotland tolerated this compromise between Calvinist doctrine and Episcopal government, until James' son, the tactless Charles I, tried to impose not only bishops but also the English style of Church service. He instructed the Archbishop of Canterbury (senior bishop in the Church of England), William Laud (1573-1645), to compel the Church of Scotland to use a modified version of the English Book of Common Prayer. As well as introducing liturgies unacceptable in Presbyterian

Scotland, it changed church government from Presbyterian to Episcopal, and declared the King to be the Head and Supreme Governor of the Church in Scotland.

This led to the well-known incident in St Giles Cathedral, here in Edinburgh; when the minister first read from the English Prayer Book, a parishioner, Jenny Geddes, hurled the stool on which she had been sitting at the head of the minister and shouted ‘dare you say mass at my lug’ (ear)’. The objection to Mass was justified, because the version of the Prayer Book, imposed on Scotland, contained phrases from the first English Prayer Book of 1549, which, as we saw in our look at the English Reformation, was only half-Protestant, and implied transubstantiation, the real present of Christ in the Eucharist, so Jenny Geddes' protest was valid.

This was not an isolated incident - there were protests all over Scotland. In Brechin, the minister read the new Prayer Book with a loaded pistol in his other hand, in case the congregation tried to storm the pulpit.

So the cry went up throughout the Reformed parts of Scotland: ‘We'll have no bishops in the Kirk’. It wasn't just bishops - it was who was the Head / Supreme Governor of the Church.

### 3.3 The National Covenant (1638)



The signing of the Scottish National Covenant in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, on 28th February, 1638. Some wrote 'until death' after their signature; some 'did draw their own blood and use it in place of ink'

The Scots responded to Laud's *Prayer Book* by signing a National Covenant in 1638, which outlined the Reformed faith, especially Presbyterianism. It's worth remembering that while the Scottish Reformation was about religion, it was also about democracy.

London-based King Charles wanted to stamp this out by invading Scotland militarily, but he didn't have enough money. The next years are complex but (briefly) as we touched on in Lecture 24, Charles so antagonized the Puritans in England that Civil War broke out in 1642. The English Puritans drove Charles out of London and took over the Westminster Parliament.

The English Puritans asked the Scots for help in the Civil War, and putting it briefly, the Scots said to the Puritans in England, 'we'll support you in your war against the King, provided you make the Church of England Presbyterian.'

The Puritans agreed, but it's a pity that the Scots didn't read the fine print. England accepted the Scots offer, on the basis that the Church in England would 'not be Episcopal'. The Scots assumed that if it wasn't Episcopal, it would be Presbyterian, but many of English Puritans, who wanted Scots' help, read 'not Episcopal' as meaning Congregational - not Presbyterian.

As it turned out, neither the Scots nor the Puritans got what they wanted. We saw in Lecture 24 that when the Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell, died in 1658, England was tired of Puritans and crowned Charles' son as Charles II. He picked up where his father had left off, determined to impose Episcopal government on England (not a problem, because the Puritans were out of favour) and also on the Scots, who bitterly resisted, not only because they didn't like bishops, but because it implied the King was Head of the Church in Scotland.

### 3.4 Covenanters (1660-1685)

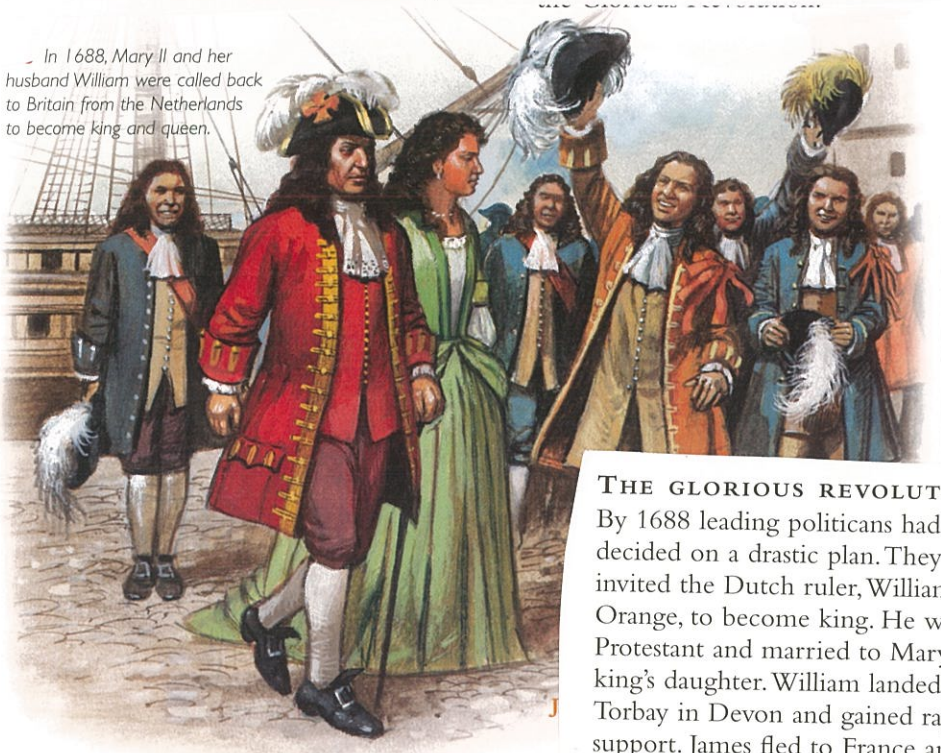
Those who had signed the National Covenant twenty-two years before, in 1638, and the successors of those who had died in the intervening years, led the opposition and the Covenanters' resistance to the third and final attempt to impose Episcopalianism on Scotland is known as the 'killing times' in Scotland.

Charles declared the National Covenant illegal, and imposed Episcopal church government on Scotland. A third of the ministers of the Church of Scotland walked out of their churches and thousands of Covenanters - ordinary people - followed them and met in the hills at gatherings called 'Conventicles'. Charles declared them illegal, and sent the English military to break them up. People passed around the details of their meetings by word-of-mouth - on the moors, miles from anywhere. As time went by, more and more people joined the rebel movement, and at some Conventicles 10,000 people met in defiance of royal authority. The Covenanters were mercilessly persecuted; 18,000 were murdered, many in the south-west of Scotland, and by 1685, Presbyterianism on the verge of extinction.

## 3.5 Presbyterianism confirmed, 1690

When Charles II died, Protestant England (Episcopal England) didn't like Charles' Catholic brother, James VII, so they crowned the Protestant William of Orange from Holland instead. This is known as the Glorious Revolution. In exchange for Scotland supporting him, he allowed Scotland to choose its religion. After one final showdown with Catholics in the North of Scotland, Presbyterianism was confirmed in 1690 as the established religion of Scotland, as it is to this day. Parts of the North were never reformed - to this day.

In 1688, Mary II and her husband William were called back to Britain from the Netherlands to become king and queen.



#### THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

By 1688 leading politicians had decided on a drastic plan. They invited the Dutch ruler, William of Orange, to become king. He was a Protestant and married to Mary, the king's daughter. William landed at Torbay in Devon and gained rapid support. James fled to France and it was agreed that William III and Mary II would rule jointly. This change of power became known as the Glorious Revolution.

#### RULERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

##### House of Stuart

♣ James I of England (VI of Scotland)	1603–1625
♣ Charles I	1625–1649

##### Commonwealth and Protectorate

♣ Council of State	1649–1653
♣ Oliver Cromwell	1653–1658
♣ Richard Cromwell	1658–1659

##### House of Stuart

♣ Charles II	1660–1685
♣ James II of England (VII of Scotland)	1685–1688
♣ William III of Orange	1689–1702
♣ Mary II	1689–1694
♣ Anne	1702–1714



The Ordination of Elders in a Scottish Kirk, by [John Henry Lorimer](#), 1891. [National Gallery of Scotland](#).

## 4. CHURCH GOVERNMENT AFTER 1560

### 4.1 Episcopal structure

From *episkopos*, translated as 'bishop'. Government by bishops, with the hierarchical structure of a pyramid. Authority flows from Archbishops to bishops and then to priests.

Either, as in the Roman Catholic Church, a highly organized institution, led by the Pope, or, as in Anglican Churches, a looser structure under Archbishops. Lutherans and Methodists have a modified form of this, with 'Overseers'.

### 4.2 Congregational structure

Leadership from within congregation – deacons, elders, and government by whole congregation, guided by Holy Spirit. They 'call' ministers/pastors; but 'gathered' believers decide all questions of practice.

### 4.3 Presbyterian structure

From *presbuturos*, translated as 'presbyter'. This model combines Episcopal and Congregational structures - an authoritative body at the top (like Episcopal), but also local initiative (like Congregational).

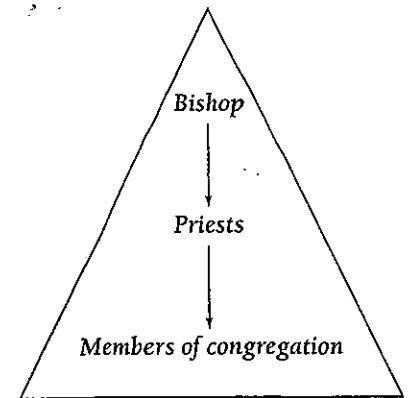
Authority circulates from bottom up (by way of suggested agenda) and from top down (by means of decisions of General Assembly).

Initiative is with the Session, elected elders presided over by the minister, who is called 'the teaching elder', and lay people called 'ruling elders' (number depending on the size of congregation), elected by the congregation. The Session receives and removes members, ordains ruling elders, (page 13) and supervises work of the church.

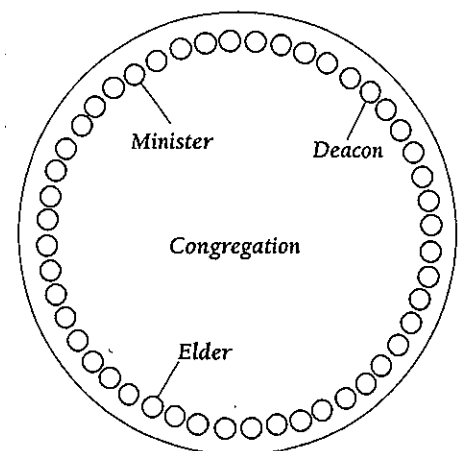
Sessions group together to form Presbyteries, district bodies which approve candidates for ministry and ordain or install them. Presbyteries in geographical areas make up Synods, regional body which co-ordinate projects and cooperation among churches.

The General Assembly is the national body, made up of members elected by Presbyteries. It supervises the whole Church in faith and order, but all changes in Church government or in belief have to be agreed by a certain percentage of Presbyteries before they operate.

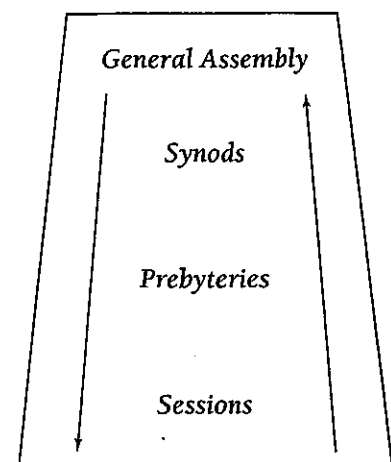
We looked briefly at this in Lecture 6, when we saw how and why Cyprian popularised Church Government through bishops; we come back to it now, in light of developments over 13 centuries.



The episcopal polity



The congregational polity



The presbyterian polity

## OVERVIEW OF CHURCH HISTORY IN 36 ILLUSTRATED LECTUR

### TOPIC FOR LECTURE 25 - PRESBYTERIANISM

There are only passing references to Presbyterianism in Cairns and Olson - see their indices - so you will need to look elsewhere.

Make use, if you wish - but only if you wish - of the diagram and description on page 13 of the handout for Lecture 25, which illustrates how Presbyterian Church government differs from Episcopal and Congregational Church government.

In supplement of that:

Please tell us about whatever aspects of Presbyterianism you think will interest us:

perhaps:

the Biblical foundation for Presbyterianism,

and/or

Andrew Melville and *The Second Book of Discipline*,

and/or

how English-speaking Churches coming out of the Calvinistic Reformation acquired the name 'Presbyterian',

and/or

what documents are important for Presbyterians today (bearing in mind that we looked last week at the Westminster Confession of Faith),

and/or

a look at Presbyterian churches and their daughter churches in different lands today,

and/or

anything else about Presbyterianism that you think is relevant to the Course.