

**THE ADMISSION OF MINISTERS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
1560-1652. A Study in Presbyterian Ordination.**

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S U M M A R Y.

This study is an examination of the practice employed by the Church of Scotland in admitting men to the Ministry between 1560 and 1652; it is an attempt at gaining an understanding of the thinking that lies behind Presbyterian Ordination and a look is taken at some of the problems with which the Reformers were faced; problems, some of which still concern us today.

In the Introduction, I have attempted to put the need for reform which arose within the Church of the 16th century, into focus by drawing attention to the corruption, worldliness and ignorance that existed amongst the clergy of that time; the efforts at reform which were made and the events which gave rise to the complete Reformation of religion within Scotland. In any discussion of the Scottish Reformation, however, outside influences cannot be ignored. This is particularly true when we consider that many of the new ideas arriving in Scotland at this time had their origin in the Europe of John Calvin. These ideas affected the nature of the Ministry as much as anything and so it is against this background that our study of Ordination must be fixed.

Calvin's teaching on the Ministry reveals the importance he attached to it and in his Institutes, he spends a lot of time explaining the different ministeries spoken of in the Scriptures. These fall into two categories, viz. ordinary and extra-ordinary ministeries and/

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and it is what Calvin has to say about the former that concerns us in this study. The Pastoral office can be divided into those who preach the Word and administer the Sacraments and those who teach. In either case they must be suitably qualified and Calvin is firmly of the opinion that Ministerial appointment ought to depend entirely upon the candidate receiving a "Call". Throughout our study "the Call" is understood as being an outward ecclesiastical procedure aimed at confirming the action of God with whom the initiative always lies. The seriousness of the matter is stressed by the way in which the Church is instructed to carry through the process of examining, testing, electing and admitting ministers, viz. in an atmosphere of prayer and fasting. In Apostolic practice, admission to the Ministry was always carried through in this way and accompanied by the Laying on of the hands of those already in the Ministry. Calvin believed this to be a useful symbol and commended its use.

Speaking generally, the practice and procedure of the Continental Churches examined in this thesis follows the example and teaching of Calvin. So too, does the practice and procedure of the Church of Scotland. The early documents of the Reformed Church are unanimous in emphasising the place of Scripture and in abrogating the ceremonies of the Roman Church. The teaching and proposals for a Reformed Church contained in these books were/

S U M M A R Y. (Contd)

were made effective in Scotland. For example, admission to the Ministry was made dependent upon the candidate receiving an "Ordinarie Vocatioun." To receive such a Call the candidate had to be elected by the people and examined "befoir men of soundest jugement" before being solemnly admitted. Not everyone was happy and willing to accept these new ideas, however. One such person, Ninian Winget, a staunch supporter of the old Church, tried to persuade Knox and his followers concerning the error of their ways. The examination of Winget's arguments undertaken in this thesis, serves to highlight the main points of divergence on matters which were and are of fundamental importance.

The old Ecclesiastical organisation of the Scottish Church was felt to have been defective in many ways. The Episcopate did not commend itself nor did the attendant theory of a personal Apostolic Succession. The system had failed, but, there was something much more serious than that of concern to the Reformers. They did not believe that bishops should constitute an order superior to that of the presbyterate; this being so they could never accept that only Episcopal ordination was valid.

It is true that a system of Superintendentships was introduced in Scotland but this did not last long and was really only a measure of expediency, much needed at a time of great change and while there was a severe shortage of/
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of qualified ministerial candidates. The Superintendents were not, however, bishops in the line of the Prelatic Succession. In actual fact the Reformers sought to revive the conception of the Church as the Christian community in the completeness of its whole membership. Ordination was a concept little known or thought of and in the practice of the Church at this time the emphasis fell on admission to a Ministerial charge. In these early days, the Superintendents took the lead in organising the Church and in the placing of ministers throughout their own areas. When they disappeared from the scene, however, the Scottish Church settled down to having what amounted to a Presbyterian system of government.

The years 1567-1625 brought many difficulties to the Church. The problem of appointment to ecclesiastical office at other than parish level very soon arose and throughout this time there was a great deal of political manoeuvring. This displeased many within the Church including John Erskine of Dun who fought to maintain the Church's right of appointing its office-bearers without royal interference. In 1572, a Convention met at Leith and the appointment of titular bishops was agreed. This suited the Earl of Morton who when he became Regent, developed a policy of seeking "Conformity with England"; bishops were useful instruments in the exercising of royal/

S U M M A R Y. (Contd)

royal control over the Church. Ere long, however, there arrived in Scotland from Europe, one, Andrew Melville and from 1575 onwards controversy raged over the lawfulness of Episcopacy and the parity of ministers. The views of the Theologian, Theodore Beza, were sought and his views were taken to heart by the leaders of the Church in Scotland. A Second Book of Discipline was drawn up. In this, parity of ministers is held forth as Scriptural and the doctrine of the lawful calling of ministers is restated. A Presbyterian system of Church-government is set forth and Ordination, instead of being understood as a conferring of Apostolic privilege is defined as "the seperation and sanctifying of an individual to the service of God and His Kirk."

Difficulties soon appeared in the way of the Church of Scotland becoming fully Presbyterian, however. These were attributable largely to the desire of King James VI to have an Episcopal Church in Scotland as well as in England. It is certainly true that in 1592, the government of the Scottish Church was, by an Act of that year, firmly placed on a Presbyterian basis, but James persevered and by 1610 Ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been returned to the hands of the bishops. Episcopal ordination became once more the order of the day but the essential nature of Ministerial admission remained unchanged. In 1638, the National Covenant appeared and when/

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when the General Assembly met at Glasgow that very same year, Episcopacy was abolished, this time for good. Within a few years, the Westminster Assembly of Divines had met and produced some very important documents. Instrumental in this was, among others, Alexander Henderson and his own work entitled "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland" . . . demonstrates clearly the Presbyterian nature of the Kirk from its earliest days. He tells how ministers were admitted and draws attention to the fact that they were never admitted "at large." This is also the position adopted by the Westminster "Form of Church Government" and by the time we reach the end of the historical part of our study we find that Ordination is to be "by (the) imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters, (orderly associated), to whom it doth belong."

Section two of the thesis opens with a discussion on the attitude of the Reformers towards the Bible - their source-book. There follows an examination of the Ministry of the Early Church - the Apostles, prophets and teachers; thereafter a look is taken at the Ministry as it developed in the later Apostolic period. This, of course, involves having a look at how the Apostles were succeeded, the place of the presbyters and bishops and the actual method of appointment to office in the Church as far as these can be discerned from the writings of the New Testament.

At/

At the outset of Section three, opportunity is taken of drawing together such factors concerning the Apostolic Church as are relevant to our examination of Scottish attitudes towards Ministerial admission. These factors concern the Succession of the Ministry from Jesus down to the present day; the gifts which were sought in candidates for the Prophetic ministry; the role of the people; the office of presbyter; their selection, testing and admission by the laying on of hands. The Apostolic origins of these items are important since it was the aim of the Reformers to restore the Church to its Apostolic simplicity and if we are at all serious about maintaining that simplicity, they ought still to be important to us. It is for this reason that this thesis ends by having a look at various theories of Apostolic Succession, the Laying on of hands and the nature and efficacy of Ordination.

The theories of Succession with which we have to deal fall, broadly speaking, into two categories; that which depends upon the tracing back of an unbroken series of occupants of the same official ministerial position in the Church, to an Apostle who first occupied that position and that which involves the transmission of office from consecrator to consecrated, beginning with consecrations to the Ministry by the Apostles in consequence of which there is conveyed down through the line of consecrations,

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a mysterious Apostolic quality. Such theories are not without difficulty and, of course, the Reformed Churchmen of 16th century Scotland and Europe totally rejected them as they stood at that time. As we have already noted, however, the Westminster Divines confined the action of ordaining to the Ministry, solely to the "preaching presbyters." By so doing a new kind of Succession doctrine was affirmed. Upon examination, this is seen to be what has been called a Doctrinal Succession. It is a Succession of the "series" type but it has nothing whatsoever to do with a Succession of men in the same office or place. On the contrary it is a series of all those in the official ministry of the Church who, from the earliest to the latest, have held forth and still hold forth the Word of God; deriving it not from their predecessor or predecessors back to the Apostles in any mechanical sort of way - (an insecure business altogether) - but from Christ and the Apostles; from the most authentic sources available at any time, and of course, from the Scriptures in so far as they might be known.

The re-discovery of the Church's Spiritual nature made it incumbent upon the Church to rid itself of many ideas, the true meaning of which had become distorted. In the case of Ordination, its true nature had to be re-asserted and the actions involved shown to be symbolic actions - in no way efficacious in themselves. The Call
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S U M M A R Y. (Contd)

of God was given a central position in the procedure adopted by the Church in admitting men to the Ministry, a procedure which was and is necessary as "a valuable testimony" - corroborating the Call of God whilst not being of the essence of Ordination. Ordination itself, whether carried out by a Bishop, Superintendent or Presbytery, came to be regarded as the action of Jesus Christ, exercised through His whole Church.

To minister was to serve. To this end the idea of Ordination admitting someone to an Order - to a caste apart - was got rid of and with it went the sacerdotal conception of the Church. As a direct result of this there came about a rediscovery of the whole Church as the Body of Christ. The fear of some that this change might lead to a diminishing of the Minister's role did not materialise; and in fact it might even be said that the Ministerial office was enhanced by the change. Men were chosen and admitted to it as a direct result of the prayerful consideration of the whole Church and by the Apostolic practice of hands being imposed - there was given to them the sure pledge of God's good grace.

P R E F A C E

"There is one General Church visible, held forth in the New Testament". (1) "The Ministry, oracles, and ordinances of the New Testament, are given by Jesus Christ to the general Church visible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this life ..." (2) In terms such as these The Assembly of Divines at Westminster sought to define the Church and its Ministry. Since the Reformation at least, The Church of Scotland has consistently placed the Ministry very high in any discussion of what things are necessary "to make the face of a Christian Church". (3) Indeed, the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647) seems to affirm (4) that the Ministry is a safeguard of the Church's purity but this in turn pre-supposes a Ministry which is itself pure and in keeping with the Spirit of Christ and the Apostles. This is the Apostolic Ministry, defined by Prof. R.H. Story as "A Ministry exercised in the spirit and after the example of the first planters of Christianity, and transmitted from them to us in an orderly and recognisable succession". (5)

Those who hold to the view that the essential note of Apostolic Ministry is organisation and not character will not, of course, be satisfied with this definition. It is sufficient at this point to state that, in its Confessional Standards at least, the Reformed Church of Scotland has never accepted the idea of an Apostolic Succession calculated in terms of order or status; it has however, always believed that the foundation stone of the Ministry lies in Christ's own calling, training and commissioning of the Apostles.

Our present task, then, is (i) to examine the Church of Scotland's teaching on the Ministry as it can be seen in the historical documents/

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documents and practice of the Reformation and immediate post-Reformation era; and especially as the position of our Church is discernible in her understanding of the meaning and nature of 'Ordination'; (ii) to establish the validity of the Church of Scotland's teaching in the light of Scriptural evidence and Apostolic Church practice and (iii) to apply our findings to the contemporary Church scene.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

Events in Scotland prior to 1560 represent a curious intermingling of religious, political and social factors. As a consequence any study of the Reformation Movement is unavoidably complicated. When all is said and done, however, it is almost proverbial that in the immediate background of the desire for reform lay widespread corruption and while the clergy were not the only people responsible for the existence of this corruption they cannot be lightly exonerated for the measure of their involvement in it. John Major, whose "HISTORY OF GREATER BRITAIN" was published in Paris in 1521, traced the growth and persistence of this corruption to the Church's wealth. (1); this wealth was responsible for attracting men into the Church who sought not a spiritual life but a life of ease and luxury. In the words of Major himself, the wealth that had been bestowed upon the Church was "the offspring of a truly pious sentiment, but piety, the mother, was smothered by luxury, the wanton daughter" (2).

Whatever the cause of the corruption (and it is not our present purpose to investigate it in detail), it is sufficient simply to say that its effect on the Church was far-reaching and destructive. The clergy often led disreputable lives to the neglect of their spiritual office and the impoverishment of their peoples' souls (3). This neglect was particularly characteristic of the bishops and abbots but they in turn cared little for the humbler clergy within the parishes, where the priests were very often ignorant and underpaid. Prof. Dickinson in the introduction to his edition of John Knox's "History" tells us that "successive Provincial Councils of the Scottish Church had passed enactments in which the clergy were enjoined to preach the Word of God to the people" for "the little ones asked for bread/

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bread and there was none to break it to them." (4) As the Professor points out, however, the very fact that re-enactment was necessary proves that the injunctions were of small effect.

On the eve of the Reformation gross ignorance prevailed in quarters where it might have been least expected. In 1549, a General Convention and Provincial Council of the Church was held in Linlithgow. The STATUTES passed by this Council have not been preserved but they were re-enacted and expanded at a new or adjourned Council which met at Edinburgh's Church of the Blackfriars in November of the same year. According to Prof. J.H.S. Burleigh, "the opening narrative of the Edinburgh Council sets forth that 'the present Convention has been assembled in the Holy Ghost, conformably to the precept of the Apostle Paul (Acts 20:28) for the glory of God ... to restore the tranquility and preserve the integrity of the ecclesiastical estate ...' " (5). The Statutes passed by this Council were prefaced by the confession that the CRASSA INSCITIA of Churchmen of almost all ranks was ONE of the causes of the troubles and heresies of the time (6), while "the diagnosis" of the Church's malady "could be illustrated in detail not only from the writings of satirists (e.g. Sir David Lindsay) and Protestants, but also from those of devoted friends of the old church, e.g. Winget, Kennedy, Hay and others".(7)

Another Provincial Council met in 1552. This Council admitted that neither the prelates nor the inferior clergy had as a rule "such proficiency in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures as to be able by their own efforts, rightly to instruct the people in the Catholic faith and other things necessary to their salvation." (8) Clearly positive teaching was required at this of all times^{and} so the Council gave approval to a Book submitted to it by the Primate - Archbishop Hamilton's "CATECHISM". (9) This volume was to be "put into the hands of rectors,/"

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rectors, vicars, and curates, as much for the instruction of themselves as of the Christian people committed to their care." (10)

It was even felt necessary to instruct the clergy that in reading it from the pulpit, Sunday by Sunday they should do so "with a loud voice, clearly, distinctly, impressively, solemnly." (11) Moreover, this Catechism was written in the Scots tongue and yet it was necessary to remind the rectors, vicars and curates to "prepare themselves with all zeal and assiduity for the task of reading (in public), by constant, frequent, and daily rehearsal of the lesson to be read, lest they expose themselves to the ridicule of their hearers, when, through want of preparation, they stammer and stumble in mid-course of reading." (12)

Undoubtedly there was a growing feeling among many within the Church, that only a complete reformation of religion could restore the Church to its Apostolic simplicity and purity. That the desire for reform came from within the Church is surely quite remarkable. After all, those concerned had been brought up under the ministry they now condemned; many of those who criticised were themselves in Mediaeval Church Orders before they were Reformers but pressure on their religious convictions compelled them to examine the nature and character of the Ministry as manifested in the Scriptures and then to act upon what they found there. For those who were already in the unreformed ministry (such as Luther, Calvin, Knox and others) it was a momentous decision they had to reach.

Reformation doctrine began to find acceptance in Scotland almost as early as anywhere (13) and the influx of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was a major factor in the movement towards reform; "With the reading of the Gospel, (there) arose a great yearning/

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yearning for 'the unsearchable riches of Christ'. A new belief and a new faith stirred in men; and the Reformers could justify their preaching by the printed Word". (14)

The Reformation was brought about by many factors but when it was accomplished the desire was for the new Church to preach The Faith so recently re-discovered and to do so free from all the man-made ceremony and invention that had characterised the Roman Church.

As early as 3rd December, 1557, some of Scotland's leading noblemen calling themselves the "Congregation of Christ" had subscribed a Common Bond (later referred to as a "Covenant") binding themselves with all diligence "continuallie (to) apply (their) whole power, substance, and (their) verie lives, to mainteane, sett forward, and establishe the most blessed Word of God, and His congregatioun; AND TO LABOUR at (their) possibilitie TO HAVE FAITHFUL MINISTERS, TRUELIE AND PURELIE TO MINISTER CHRIST'S GOSPELL AND SACRAMENTS TO HIS PEOPLE" (15).

In the period immediately following the "Covenant" "the lords and barons, professing Christ Jesus, conveened frequentlie, and agreed upon these heads:- First, That in all parishes, the Commoun Prayer be read weekelie, on the Lord's Day, in publick, with lessouns of the Old and New Testament, conforme to the order of the Books of Commoun Prayer. If the curates be qualifeid, to caus them read the same; if not, or if they refuse, that the best qualifeid in the parish reade them. Secundlie, That doctrine, preaching, and interpretatioun of Scripture, be used in privat housses, without great conventiouns of people, TILL GOD MOVE THE PRINCE TO GRANT PUBLICK PREACHING BY FAITHFULL AND TRUE MINISTERS." (16)

This new eagerness for preaching and the things of the Spirit resulted in the brethren agreeing to assemble, at certain times and in different/

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different places up and down the country, " to the commoun prayers and reading of the Scriptures, TILL IT PLEASSED GOD TO GIVE THE GIFT OF EXHORTATIOUN TO SOME, FOR COMFORT AND INSTRUCTIOUN OF THE REST."

(17) This beginning was extremely weak but within a very short space of time "the face of a Church was erected in sundrie places. Elders were chosin, to whome the whole brethrein promised obedienc... (and) zealous men, exhorted according to the measure of grace given them". (18)

Very soon thereafter, the brethren "beganne to deliberate upon some publick reformatioun; for corruption in religioun was so great, that their consciences, now illightened, could no longer susteane it "(19) The outcome of their deliberatioun was a petition to the Queen Regent. This spoke of "the most unjust tyrannie used ... by those that be called the Estate Ecclesiasticall" (20) and of the dire need for reformation "so that the grave and godlie face of the primitive church may be reduced, (21), ignorance may be expelled, (and that) true doctrine and good maners may once again appeare in the Church in this realme". (22)

In a letter sent by "The Faithfull Congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland" to the Queen Regent and dated at Sanct Johnstoun the 22nd of May 1559, we again read of the desire for the Word to be "truelie preached" and the sacraments "rightlie ministred" (23). This desire was not without its fulfilment in the passage of time. By 2nd September, 1559, John Knox could write to Mastresse Anna Locke in these terms:- "Christ Jesus is preached even in Edinburgh, and His blessed sacraments rightlie ministred in all congregatiouns, WHERE THE MINISTRIE IS ESTABLISHED: and they be these; Edinburgh, Sanct Andrewes, Dundie, Sanct Johnstoun, Brechin, Montrose, Stirling, Aire,. And now, Christ Jesus is begunne to be preached upon the South borders, nixt unto you, in Jedburgh and Kelso, so that the trumpet soundeth over all/
all/

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all ..." (24)

The trumpet may indeed have been sounding in 1559 but it was in 1560 that the Reformation of religion became acknowledged fact. In the front line of battle was John Knox and his impassioned oratory was the source of strength behind the whole movement, not least when it seemed to be on the verge of collapsing. In the words of Prof. J.H.S. Burleigh, Knox's "positive preaching appealed to serious-minded people, and was the seed from which the Reformed Church was to grow."

(25) "It was the leadership of Knox that settled matters in the

end". (26) The Parliament of 1560 immediately commissioned certain of the ministers to produce a Statement of the Protestant Christian Faith (27) and soon Knox himself was able to claim that no other realm on the face of the earth had doctrine preached and sacraments

administered in such purity as Scotland. For this Knox took no credit to himself or his fellow labourers. It was, he said, the strength given unto them by God, because they, "esteamed nott (them) selves wyse in (their) awin eyes, but understanding (their) hoill wisdome to be but meare foolishnes, befoir the Lord ... (they) layed it asyd, and followed onlie that whiche (they) fand approved by

Himself".(28) Their sole aim was to build a Kirk "Upoun the infallable trewth of Godis Word" (29) and so they "took not their pattern from any Kirk in the world, no not fra Geneva itself; but, laying God's Word before them, made Reformation according thereunte both in doctrine first, and then in discipline ..." (30)

Dr. Ainslie, in dealing with the sources used by the Reformers, has this to say. "From the New Testament and the Scriptures as a whole came the chief formative guidance in the work of instituting the Reformed ministry. The Reformers found in the Bible that which convinced them that there was Divine Sanction for/

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for the Ministerial Order in the Church. They also believed that they were provided in it with authoritative information as to how the Ministry was to be formed and regulated. Its nature and its functions were set forth in the Bible. They formulated their doctrines concerning it, and tried to draw up their regulations for it from the Scriptures. In the New Testament especially they sought to discover whatever might direct them with regard to Church polity and the office of the Ministry."(31)

The word 'especially' is significant. John Row's statement mentioned above must be considered a reliable account of how the Reformers approached the work of Reformation - after all his father shared in the preparation of the 1560 Confession of Faith and Book of Discipline - but it does not disprove the assertion that the Reformers were influenced by the Confessions and practices of other Reformed Churches. All that is suggested by Row is that the framers of the Confession and Book of Discipline did not follow any other Church IMPLICITLY or BLINDLY but having the Bible open before them always, made this the criterion for judging the merits of the other Confessions and practices with which they must have been acquainted. (32)

Thus the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland when in London in 1644, could say of their reforming predecessors - "They had no other rule and patterne of reformation but the Word of God, and the practice of the Apostolicke Churches in the Word Our chiefest Reformers had indeed their education in other churches, which was the goodnesse of God to them and us: there did they see examples of reformation, and conversed with other Reformers by whom they were taught from the Word in the wayes of God, and thence did they bring ... models of church-government, that comparing one with another they might fix upon that which was builded upon the foundation of the Apostles." (33)

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It was, then, the Scottish Reformers' aim to build a Kirk based in doctrine and in practice upon the Scriptures. In pursuit of this objective, however, they were unavoidably influenced by what was taught them by the eminent contemporary Theologians of the Continent, and while the Bible was their principal source book, the practice of the Early Church Fathers must have been known to Knox at least since his mentor in so many things, John Calvin was one of the most eminent scholars of his time in Patristics.

Prof. J. Mackinnon has written of Calvin in terms which superbly demonstrate the Patristic sources which were available to the compilers of the Reformed Confessions of the 16th century who followed the Calvinist school of thought. (54)

The present writer is of the opinion that it was impossible for the Scottish Reformers completely to ignore the Confessions and practices of the Reformed Churches established in Europe, the influence of which was already spreading abroad. Continental influence upon the Scottish Reformed Church is almost beyond a doubt. Dr. Mitchell has shown that while the Confession of 1560 had characteristics all of its own, it coincides not infrequently in expression, and agrees generally in its definitions of doctrine, with the other Reformed or Calvinistic Confessions. (55)

As early as 1546, the Reforming thought of Switzerland had begun to penetrate Scotland through the person of George Wishart and "this thought was much more uncompromising than Lutheranism, following Zwingli's tendency to reject all rites and ceremonies not explicitly sanctioned by Scripture." (56) Also despite what Dr. Janet McGregor has to say (37) the present writer feels that Knox was very much influenced by the teaching of Calvin, referring to Geneva as "the most perfect

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perfect School of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles". (38) Thus, The Order of Geneva used in the English congregation at Geneva of which Knox was a Minister was bodily incorporated in the Scottish Book of Common Order (39) and so it seems but logical to begin this examination of the Ministry of The Scottish Church of the Reformation with an examination of Calvin's teaching at Geneva and the practice of Reformed Churches both on the Continent of Europe and South of the Border, in England.

S E C T I O N O N E

The influence of the Church of Spain
 and the Church of Portugal on the
 colonies of the Americas was of a
 nature which cannot be over-estimated.
 It was not only the religion,
 but also the laws, the customs,
 the language, and the literature
 of these countries, which were
 derived from the Mother Country.
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CHAPTER ONE

"The Continental Influence".

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The Confessio Helvetica 1536.

The Confession of Faith of the Churches of Switzerland (usually referred to as the Former Confession of the Helvetic Churches) appeared on the European scene as early as February, 1536. Its aim was to establish common ground on all the principal points of the Christian religion, not only within the Swiss Cantons but with Protestant Churches in other countries; it was submitted to a conference at Basel, in March, 1536, unanimously received and signed by the representatives of different Swiss churches, and given even wider acceptance by an Assembly at Wittenberg and by the Protestant princes at Smalkald in February, 1537. (1)

In dealing with the closely related subjects of Church and Ministry, this Confessio Helvetica refers to the Ministers of the Church as "co-operators of God" . They are God's instruments, God using them to give knowledge of self and the remission of sin; their ministry is to convert men to God, to raise them up and to comfort them etc. but they are able to do these things not by virtue of anything that is in them as individuals; the efficacy of their ministry belongs to the Lord who dispenses it "lyberally and frely, whosoever, and whensoever, He shall please, for, 'He that watereth is nothyng, nor yet is he that planteth any thyng, but he that g@ueth the encreasement, whiche is God' (I Cor. 3: 7)." (2)

The Minister's task is to preach repentance and remission of sin, to pray for the people, to study diligently the Word of God, to resist the devil with the Word of God, as with the sword of the Spirit, to reprove and compel the faulty and to exclude from the Church those who wander from the pathway - always with the consent and agreement of those who are chosen by the ministers and magistrates for this purpose.

(3) In all things the ministry is subject to Christ as the only true/

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true Head of the Church; (4) but authority to preach God's Word and to feed the Lord's flock - "the whiche properly is the Power of the Keyes" - is not given to everyone. It is to be committed only to suitable persons, persons chosen directly by God Himself, "or elles by a sure and aduysed eleccion of the Church". Such people are to be knowledgeable in the law of God "and of innocent lyfe" (5).

Once chosen, candidates are to be admitted to the Ministry by the laying on of hands. This practice was used in Zurich in 1532 (6) but what was understood by it is not at all clear. In the First Helvetic Confession it seems to be simply a way of expressing the Church's approval or condescension to what is clearly the action of God in calling a man to the Ministry. (7)

Now let us turn to the position of John Calvin as outlined in his Institutes. (8)

In outlining the distinguishing marks of the Church, Calvin states that the essential features are the sincere preaching and hearing of the Word of God and the administration of the sacraments according to the institution of Christ (4:1:9). These two marks are so important to the Church that should they ever be lost "the true and genuine distinction of the Church" (4:1:11) will be lost as well. The Ministry ordered by Christ is essential to the very existence of the Church; without it "the whole edifice must fall" (4:1:11). A Church may "teem with numerous faults" (4:1:12) but it is through the preaching of the Gospell and the administration of the Sacraments... (that) "the power of the Keys, which the Lord has bestowed on the company of the faithful" is especially manifested (4:1:22). A pure Ministry of the Word of God and Sacraments is therefore essential to the existence of the Church. For Calvin this Power of the Keys, this/

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this 'Ministry' is given by God to men. It is because the Lord "does not dwell among us in visible presence, so as to declare His will to us by His own lips, (that) He..... uses the Ministry of men, by making them, as it were, His substitutes, not by transferring His right and honour to them, but only doing His own work by their lips, just as an artificer uses a tool for any purpose" (4:3:1) (9)

Moreover, the words of Ephesians 4:4-16 are understood by Calvin as demonstrating that the ministry of men employed by God in governing the Church, is "a principal bond by which believers are kept together in one body" (4:3:1 & 2). It is the Ministry which guards the Church (4:3:2) and it is through the Ministry that God dispenses His gifts to the Church "and thus exhibits Himself as in a manner actually present by exerting the energy of His Spirit in this His institution, so as to prevent it from being vain or fruitless" (4:3:2)

Clearly Calvin's opinion of the value of the ministry to the Church can only be described as 'high' - it is a Divine Office, appointed by God and used by Him in the upbuilding of His Church and indispensable to its very existence. If we belittle the Ministry or seek its abolition we are in the process of destroying the Church. (4:3:2) (10) His viewpoint is further illustrated in his commentary on Ephesians (11) and a little later on in the Institutes he advances the assertion that God intends us to hold the Apostolical and pastoral office in high regard; in fact "as among the most excellent of our blessings" (4:3:3). He affirms that the words spoken by Isaiah "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings good tidings, who publishes peace" (Is.52:7) are a declaration by God that in raising up teachers He confers a special benefit on men. It is also Calvin's firm conviction that the office of the Ministry is nowhere given a higher position than when the Lord commissioned the Seventy and said to them

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"He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you, rejects me ..."
(Lk.10:16) and he points out that Paul, writing in II Corinthians, contends that there is nothing in the Church more noble and glorious than the Ministry of the Gospel "seeing it is the administration of the Spirit of righteousness and eternal life"(4:3:3). This 'high' opinion of the importance of the Ministry is also to be seen in the various Confessions of the Churches on the Continent. Thus, as early as 1537 the Genevan Confession stated "we receive the true ministers of the Word of God as messengers and ambassadors of God, to whom it is required to hearken as to Himself, and we consider their ministry is a commission from God necessary in the Church" (12).

Similar strong views are to be found expressed in John A'Lasco's Church Order of 1550 and in the French Confession of 1559 (13).

Having established the importance Calvin attached to the Ministry we must now turn to the question who are these Ministers of God?

In referring to the list given in Ephesians 4:11 viz. Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers - Calvin states that only the last two mentioned have an "ordinary" office in the Church; the other three are raised up by God only "when the necessity of the times requires" (4:3:4). The nature of the Apostolic function is clear from the command given in St. Mark's Gospel 16:15, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation". In the fulfilling of this commission Calvin suggests, the Apostles were like "the first architects of the Church", laying its foundations throughout the World (4:3:4).

We need not spend time here examining in detail Calvin's understanding of the particular functions of Apostles, prophets and evangelists./

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evangelists. Their offices were "extraordinary", having "no place in Churches duly constituted". (4:3:4) The same is not true of Pastors and Teachers, however. They are indispensable in the Church and differ in that "teachers preside not over discipline, or the administration of the Sacraments, or admonitions, or exhortations, but the interpretation of Scripture only, in order that pure and sound doctrine may be maintained among believers". Nevertheless, "all these are embraced in the Pastoral Office" (4:3:4).

By way of elucidation Calvin constructs a picture which may be presented thus:-

Ancient Prophets → Teachers
Ancient Apostles / Evangelists → Pastors

He holds that, while the Prophetic office was more excellent in respect of the special gift of revelation which accompanied it, the office of Teacher is almost of the same nature and has altogether the same end. Likewise, while the Twelve Apostles excelled others in rank and dignity, the Pastors have the same function to fulfil. (4:3:5)

The Nature of the Pastoral Office or Function.

Our Lord commissioned the Apostles to preach the Gospel and baptise those who believed for the remission of sins. Previously He had instructed them to distribute the sacred symbols of His body and blood, after His example. (Mt 28:19, Lk 22:19) "Such is the sacred, inviolable, and perpetual law, enjoined on those who succeed to the place of the Apostles, - they receive a commission to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments". (4:3:6) This is what the Pastoral office is all about. In I Cor. 4:1, Paul tells his readers "This is how one should regard us, as servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God". In Titus 1:9 a bishop is described as one who must "hold firm to the sure word as taught, so that he may be able to give/

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give instruction in sound doctrine and also to confute those who contradict it". For Calvin, the authorship of Titus presents no problem, he attributes both these passages to the one man, Paul and suggests that in them and in similar passages we can see clearly the two principal parts of the Pastoral office, viz. preaching of the Gospel and administration of the Sacraments. Private admonition is also part of the Pastoral office the whole aim of which is stated thus: "to train the people to true piety by the doctrine of Christ, administer the sacred mysteries, (and) preserve and exercise right discipline"(4:3:6). Put very briefly, it is Calvin's conviction that "what the Apostles did to the whole world, every Pastor should do to the flock over which he is appointed". (4:3:6)

This last statement goes right to the heart of our subject matter for this thesis. The question that we must now concern ourselves with is this:- What is Calvin's attitude towards Ministerial appointment?

Calvin was apparently very concerned about the suitability of some ministers who had been admitted to his own Church at Geneva (14) and this was in keeping with the thoughts expressed in the Institutes. Thus "lest restless and turbulent men should presumptuously push themselves forward to teach or rule", he cites Heb. 5:4 and Jer. 17:16 as testimony to the fact that "no one should assume a public office in the Church without a call". (4:3:10) The Geneva Ordonnances of 1541 state that "in order that nothing be done confusedly in the Church, no one ought to intrude himself into this office without a call" and these sentiments are practically repeated in the Ordonnances of 1576. (15)

For Calvin, Ministerial appointment depends entirely upon the candidate receiving a call. What this means in practical terms we must/

must now examine.

The subject is dealt with under four heads - who are to be appointed Ministers, in what way, by whom and with what rite or initiatory ceremony?. It is made clear, however, that what is being treated in the Institutes is the external and formal call which relates to the public order of the Church; the secret call of God - of which every Minister ought to be conscious - is assumed.

Dr. Ainslie reminds us (16) that Calvin, in common with other Reformers, in using the word 'call' in an ecclesiastical sense, refers not to the inner call of God to the Ministry - this is always pre-supposed - but to the outer public and constitutional procedure. Who are to be appointed?

Calvin, by referring to Titus 1:7 and I Timothy 3:1, is of the opinion that only those who are of sound doctrine and holy living should be chosen to serve in the Ministry. They must not be such as will bring disgrace to themselves or their colleagues but reputable and suited in every way to the task. (4:3:12)

The answer to the question, in what way are Ministers to be chosen does not aim at providing us with an exact statement of procedure; it tells us only about the religious fear which Calvin feels ought to be observed in the election.

He refers to Acts 14:23 as evidence that when the faithful of old elected Presbyters, they did so with fasting and prayer. Since these people felt that this business was the most serious in which they could engage, they acted with great reverence and solicitude, being earnest in prayer, imploring God to give them "the spirit of wisdom and discernment". (4:3:12) Clearly Calvin is of the opinion that this approach ought always to be adopted by the Reformed Churches.

By/

By whom, then, are Ministers to be appointed? This question cannot be answered by reference to the practice of appointing Apostles. As theirs was an extraordinary Ministry so their call was received directly from the mouth of the Lord. "It was not, by any human election, but at the sole command of God and Christ, that they prepared themselves for the work". (4:3:13) This being the case, when we read in Galations 1:1 of Paul being called "not OF MEN", in following Calvin, we understand that he had the consent of God as indeed all pious ministers of the Word should; but the words "BY JESUS CHRIST and GOD THE FATHER" speak to us of his PECULIAR call as an Apostle (4:3:13)

The REGULAR mode of lawful calling, however, is for bishops (and Calvin, incidentally, believes the terms bishop, presbyter and pastor to be synonymous - see Bk 4 Ch. 3 Par. 8) to be designated by men "there being numerous passages of Scripture to the effect" says Calvin (4:3:14) before going on to cite the case of Paul, who, despite being selected "by special privilege", was still subjected to the discipline of an ecclesiastical call. (This, apparently, is how Calvin understood Acts 13:2). In response to the inevitable question, why was this separation and laying on of hands necessary after the Holy Spirit had previously designated Paul an Apostle?; Calvin can only affirm his belief in the desire of the Early Church to preserve and show forth the practice of appointing ministers by men. There can be no exception to this even with one such as Paul. As far as Calvin is concerned "God could not give a more illustrious proof of His approbation of this order, than by causing Paul to be set apart by the Church after He had previously declared that He had appointed him to be an Apostle of the Gentiles". (4:3:14)

Having then, by this and other arguments vindicated the human appointment/

21.

appointment of ministers, Calvin treats of the question, should a Minister be chosen by the whole Church or only by colleagues and elders who have the charge of discipline?; or may he be appointed by the authority of one individual?. He counters the claim that one individual can exercise the right of appointment by stating that those who refer to Titus 1:5 and I Timothy 5:22 as evidence to support their position, are mistaken in their understanding of the position occupied by Timothy at Ephesus and Titus in Crete. As far as Calvin is concerned, Timothy and Titus were not able to do as they alone pleased; "They only presided by previously giving good and salutary counsels to the people, not by doing alone whatever pleased them, while all others were excluded" he says; Calvin seeks to justify this belief by suggesting that when we read in Acts of Paul and Barnabas appointing elders Luke tells us that they did this by suffrage. By way of an example Calvin refers to the words used in Acts 14:23 - ΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝΟΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ . . . ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΤ' ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ. These imply that Paul and Barnabas selected at least two candidates and that the whole body, "as was the custom of the Greeks in elections," declared by a show of hands which of the two they would have (4:3:15) Calvin then concludes that since it is not credible that Paul should concede more to Timothy and Titus than he assumed to himself and since we see that his custom was to appoint bishops by the suffrages of the people, we must interpret the above passages (Tit. 1:5 and I Tim. 5:22) as allowing for the right and liberty of the whole Church being exercised in the appointing of its Ministers. (4:3:15)

Cyprian of old, in referring to the election of the Levitical priests and their being brought forward in view of the people before consecration, to Mathias and to the seven deacons of Acts 6:2, as examples of early church practice had suggested that in them evidence was provided "that the ordination of a priest behoved not to take place, unless/

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unless under the consciousness of the people assisting, so that that ordination was just and legitimate which was vouched by the testimony of all". In his Letters (Book 1 EP 3,) Cyprian had stated that there was Divine authority for suggesting, "that the priest be chosen in (the) presence of the people, before the eyes of all, and be approved as worthy and fit by public judgment and testimony" (17). Calvin identifies himself with this position and concludes that "Ministers are legitimately called according to the Word of God, when those who may have seemed fit are elected on the consent and approbation of the people". (4:3:15) The principle here enunciated answers the question, by whom are Ministers to be appointed?

Finally, Calvin deals with the form of ordination. He remarks that when the Apostles appointed anyone to the ministry, "they used no other ceremony than the laying on of hands". He believes that this practice was derived from the custom of the Jews, "who, by the laying on of hands, in a manner presented to God whatever they wished to be blessed and consecrated". (4:3:16) (18) When the Apostles employed this ceremony, Calvin understands them as giving expression to the idea that they were making an offering to God of the one whom they were admitting to the Ministry. It is recognised that they did the same thing over those on whom they conferred the visible gifts of the Spirit (Acts 8:17 19:6), but Calvin feels quite certain that this was the regular Apostolic practice in admitting anyone to the sacred Ministry. In this way pastors and teachers were consecrated (4:3:16).

Calvin suggests however, that there is no fixed precept concerning the laying on of hands but that its common use by the Apostles should cause us to regard it in the light of a precept. He tells us it is a useful symbol for commending the dignity of the ministry to the people and for reminding the person so ordained that he is no longer his/

his own but is bound in service to God and the Church.

If not superstitiously abused, the ceremony of appointment will not be fruitless nor will the laying on of hands be an empty sign if restored to its genuine origin. This action, however, is not the prerogative of the whole people but only of the pastors, - those already in the office of the Ministry. In this we can see the maintenance of a succession although Calvin, himself, is a little uncertain as to whether or not several Ministers always participated in the ceremony. (4:3:16).

The Admission of Ministers in other Reformed Churches of the Continent.

Speaking generally, all the Reformed Churches following Calvin held the Ministry in high esteem - so much so that admission to it was rigorously controlled. In the early years, the inducements to be lax were very strong because of the scarcity of men suitably qualified to undertake the work of the Ministry and we have already noted Calvin's personal concern. (19) In the face of a grave shortage of candidates, however, none of the Reformed Churches allowed the flood-gates to be opened and it was consistently emphasised in their Confessions that no man ought to thrust himself into the Ministry (20). The importance of having a Call to the Ministry was stressed time and time again. Thus Zwingli in an article on the Preaching Office wrote "All these offices without exception a sincere Christian has never taken upon himself, unless first he has been sent of God, or chosen by the Church or the Apostles, which also is nothing else than a call and a commission". (20). The French Confession (1559) affirmed in Article 31 "we believe that no one ought to intrude himself on his own authority to govern the Church, but that that ought to be done by election, insofar as it is possible and God permits it". (21) The Canons of the Church of Holland (1577) stated, "No person shall presume/

24.

presume to intrude into the Reverend and Holy office of the Minister, until he be chosen, called or sent" (22) The same sentiments were expressed in the English 'Directory' of 1583 as well as in the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566 (23).

"From all the foregoing, it is quite plain that for admission to the Reformed Ministry, the 'Call' was considered most important, in fact, essential", says Dr. Ainslie (24). What was meant by it?

The Reformed Churches did not think of the 'Call' in the narrow sense that we speak of it today. For them, it comprised the whole process of election and inauguration. Generally speaking, the term did not, in Reformed Church etymology, refer to the inward awareness of an impulse to serve God but to the ecclesiastical, public and constitutional procedure of admitting a man to the Ministry. Perhaps the most explicit definition of the term 'call' as then used appeared in the Scottish First Book of Discipline. It stated, "Ordinarie vocation consisteth in Election, Examination, and Admissioun".(25) The Reformed Churches of Europe were one in emphasising the need for a 'Call' to the Ministry. The 'Call' in its completeness consisted of various elements, viz. selection as a candidate, trial or examination, actual election to a charge and solemn installation; in short, the 'Call' contained the conditions to be fulfilled by all who sought to enter the Ministry.

In Geneva the selection of candidates was the duty of the 'Company' of Ministers. (26) In Holland the selecting was given over to the Ministers and Magistrates where possible (27). Clearly, in this area there seems to have been little uniformity of procedure. "Those deputed to act in this matter varied at different times and in different places". (28)

"With/

"With regard to the 'trials' or examination of candidates for the purpose of testing their fitness for the Ministry" however, "great stress was laid on this in all the Reformed Churches" (29). Emphasis was laid on the candidate's spiritual qualifications, his ability to preach etc. but learning was also of importance; and Zwingli laid much stress on this aspect of things (30). Moreover, "the standards of ministerial learning set up in Geneva became an example and an incentive to other Reformed Churches", as can be observed by reference to the French Discipline. (31)

When the Examination had been satisfactorily completed, the candidate was in a position to be elected to a vacant charge. In actual fact most of the Reformed Churches were against admissions "at large" and so "the part of the procedure belonging to the 'Call' which had to do with vows, promises, answers to certain questions and the actual installation could only be carried out when there was a vacant charge to which the Candidate had received an appointment or been elected". (32) The French Discipline laid it down in these words: "Ministers cannot be elected without being assigned to a particular charge, and they shall belong to the flock which has been entrusted to their care". (33) We learn from Ruchat that the Church of the Netherlands held the same position as the French on this issue, but that the Swiss Reformed Church allowed a more lax approach to the whole issue - an approach evidently distasteful to Ruchat but justified by Ainslie on grounds of expediency. (34)

Turning then to the question of who had the right of election, we find that here there was a variation in practice under the different 'Disciplines'. In Geneva the Ministers of the "Venerable Company" selected the candidates and presented them to the Council which could either/

either accept or reject them. The names of those selected were then made public "in order that if they have any moral defect which may be unknown, everyone may be able to report it within eight days. Those who are approved by the silent votes of all, we recommend them to God and to the Church" (35). The ratification of the selection of candidates for the Ministry by the Council was also part of the procedure in other Swiss cities e.g. Berne, (36) but if we compare the above procedure with Calvin's thought as expressed in the Institutes (4:3:15), (37) we find that his ideal of giving full right of election to the people was not wholly realised during his lifetime. In commenting on Acts 14:23 Calvin observed that "in ordaining pastors the people had their free election" with Paul and Barnabas sitting as "chief moderators". Again this expressed the Reformers' ideal of having the people - as distinct from the Council - elect their Minister(s); the 'Ordonnances' of 1576, in which the "Common consentement de toute l'eglise" was required, made an advance towards the attainment of this ideal.

Ainslie suggests that this ideal was probably more fully realised within the French Church where a candidate for a vacancy had first to satisfy the "Colloquy" (Presbytery) or Provincial Synod, of his suitability for the Ministry. His name was probably presented to the Colloquy by the Consistory (Kirk-Session) of the vacant charge desirous of having him as their Minister. The "Discipline" (1675 edn) mentions that a document was given to the candidate after his 'trials'; this was probably a formal invitation to him from the Consistory concerned. He had, thereafter, to preach to the congregation of the vacant charge on 3 Sundays in order to give the people the opportunity of approving or disapproving and no candidate could be inducted against the will of the majority.(38)

In the Reformed Church of the Netherlands (as elsewhere) the members of all the churches in a town formed one congregation. This congregation was governed by one Consistory composed of the ministers and elders of the town churches. The Synod of Dort, 1619, stated that the election of a man to fill any vacancy in the Ministry of a town, belonged to the Consistory and ministers "though not without a good and Christian understanding with the Civil Magistrates of the respective places; and likewise the advice and knowledge of the Classis (Presbytery) where that has been the practice", and also with "the approbation or consent of the Government," and afterwards with the approbation of "the Members of the Reformed Church of the place".(39)

Finally, we note that the English Reformed Churchmen of Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) strongly advocated the election of the Minister by the people. Thus Udall concluded "election by the Church (the congregation) is the best, and all other kinds of elections unlawfull." (40)

We have observed elsewhere Calvin's understanding of how the election of a Minister should be approached. He apparently approved of fasting in this connection, as a method by which the people could be made aware of the seriousness of what they were doing when engaged in the procedure of 'Calling' a Minister. In some of the Reformed Churches fasting in such circumstances even became the subject of an injunction (41). The Synod of Dort of 1618-19 in dealing with the 'Call' of Ministers approved of, for their election, "a previous fasting and prayer" (42). Similar approval was given to the practice of fasting by the English Reformed Churchmen (43) and the Scottish 'Second Book of Discipline' as we shall observe later, connected fasting with the actual ceremony of ordination. (44).

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Ainslie states that preaching was "without exception" part of the ordination service; also exhortations and prayer in every case. As for the ceremony of giving the right hand of fellowship he suggests that "this may have been practised more or less commonly ... (and) may have been originally intended as a substitute for the laying on of hands, though later, both items were included".(45) (Incidentally, Ainslie draws attention to the fact that Zwingli in one passage seems to hold that the clasping of hands could serve in place of the laying on of hands. (46))

It is interesting to find that in the account Knox gives of the Admission of John Spottiswode as Superintendent of Lothian - he mentions the taking by the hand but makes no mention of the imposition of hands. (See Appendix)

Coming now to the laying on of hands itself, we have already observed (47) that the rite was used in the early ordination service of Zurich, 1532. The First Helvetic Confession of 1536 mentioned the practice and the Second Helvetic Confession (approved by the Church of Scotland in 1566) contained the words "Let those who are elected be ordained by the elders with public prayers and laying on of hands". (48) We have already spoken of Calvin's attitude towards the ceremony. For him while no precept existed for the practice the laying on of hands was still a "useful symbol". We deduce from this that Calvin had a slightly ambiguous attitude towards the rite and in the Genevan "Ordonnances" of 1541 the laying on of hands was omitted lest there should be a return to the superstition of the Roman Church's teaching. (49)

Calvin did not disapprove of the laying on of hands but he could never have agreed to the practice being dropped if he felt that it was essential to the true nature of ordination. His attitude seems to have influenced at least some of the other Reformed Churches of/

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of Europe; for example, the French and Dutch churches did not make the laying on of hands a necessary part of the ceremony of ordination; They followed the Form of Geneva rather than that of the German - Swiss Reformed Churches (50).

The first National Synod of the French Church (1559) decreed "Their election shall be confirmed by Prayers and Imposition of Hands by the Ministers, yet without Superstition, or Opinion of Necessity," (51) and the same sentiments were repeated by the Synods of 1565 and 1571. (52)

The Canons of 1577 of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands stated that "At his confirmation (ordination), one of the ministers shall make a discourse concerning the sacred function; after which prayer shall be made, that God would vouchsafe strength to the new Preacher for the due discharge of his office; and this we think sufficient, seeing that the ancient ceremonies are degenerated into abominable superstitions." (53)

Clearly the Reformed Churches of Europe were, to begin with, very largely in agreement as to the optional nature of the ceremony of laying on of hands. Gradually, however, a different attitude towards the rite began to be taken. For example in Holland, the Synod of Dort (1619) included the Imposition of Hands at ordination (54). Even earlier, in the Reformed Church of France, the National Synod of 1601 enacted, "The Ceremony of Imposing Hands in Ordination and receiving ministers, shall be always observed" (55). By the time of the Synod of Gap (1603) the rite appears to have come into recognised use. Thus we read "That Imposition of Hands (should) be given them, not privately in a clandestine manner by a Consistory or Colloquy, but solemnly and publickly in the face of the whole Church" (56). We have noted in passing (Page 14) that the German - Swiss Churches from the first practised the "Imposition of Hands" in ordination. Geneva later

later came to adopt the practice, perhaps realising that it was indeed a "useful symbol".

It remains now for us to look at the Agent or Agents of Admission or Ordination in the Reformed Churches of the Continent.

In the Roman Church, the prelatial bishop ordained priests but the Reformed Churches abolished his office. "Henceforth it is to be a minister or Ministers, at times joined with others, who are to be the agents of ordination". (57) Slight differences of practice characterised the Churches here and Ainslie gives the following items of important information.

The First Helvetic Confession spoke of the laying on of hands "der eelteren" or as the Latin version expressed it "presbyterorum (sacerdotis)", i.e. by ministerial "elders".

The Second Helvetic Confession stated that ordination was to be "a senioribus" while in Geneva, when the practice was introduced, Imposition was to be by the hands of the Moderator. (The Ordonnances of 1541 and 1576 spoke of "un des ministres" giving an address concerning the office to which the candidate was to be ordained and offering prayer). The French Church Synod of 1559 gave the ordination act to the ministers while the 1609 Synod mentioned the Pastor who would be offering the ordination prayer as the one who was to "lay hands" on the candidate. (58)

In conclusion, we note the practice as it was in England at the same period. Here the method of ordination allowed the elders to join with the ministers in the laying on of hands. In the "Second Admonition to Parliament" by Cartwright (1572) we read, "He (the Minister) and the elders shall lay their hands on him (the candidate)". (59) A document of about 1582, supplying "Articles of Discipline" for/

for the Church assigned the ordination act to "some convenient neighbour(ing) Ministers" (60) and in another document of 1587 it was stated that a Minister deputed from the Assembly (Presbytery -?) was to ordain "in the name of all the Assemblie with laying on of hands, to give him charge to preach and to minister the sacraments". (61).

Few people would deny the all - pervading influence of John Calvin's thought upon the development of the Reformed Churches of Europe. Few would deny that Calvinist thought also deeply affected the developing polity of the Church of Scotland. It is not our purpose here to discuss this issue in detail but the present writer believes that it was not without significance that in 1559 the Queen Regent passed the "Articles proponit ... be sum temporall Lordis and Barronis" to the primate asking him to summon a provincial council. Such a council was deemed necessary, "For the tillage of the Lord's field ... to reform deformities ... to remove contentions ... and to consider measures for the conservation, maintenance and defence of the ecclesiastical liberty of the whole Scotican Kirk ..." which "Lutheranism, Calvinism and many other nefarious heresies, everywhere being propogated in the realm, strive to disturb, destroy and subvert" (62)

Calvin's thought had impressed itself upon John Knox. On the Accession of Mary, Knox had gone into exile on the Continent, visiting Geneva, Zurich and Basel before finally accepting a call to minister to a congregation of English exiles in Frankfurt. He did not minister there long, controversy having arisen over the usage of Edward VI's Prayer-book; instead, he went off to Geneva where Calvin was at the height of his power. As we observed in the Introduction Knox later referred to the Geneva of John Calvin as "the most perfect school/

school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles" - a high opinion indeed and not one of sheer bias either. On the contrary such a statement displays an independent assessment of Calvinist thought on the part of Knox himself. He did not see Calvinist thought as something to be followed blindly or unwittingly but as a guideline to be followed with careful consideration. Knox did not stand alone of course, as Prof. Burleigh points out. He affirms "There were others, among them some of higher birth and greater learning ..." but Knox, the one who had first hand experience "in England and on the Continent, above all in the Geneva of John Calvin" emerged as the "undisputed leader of the movement for reform". "This" says Prof. Burleigh "is acknowledged in all contemporary documents, English and Scottish, friendly and hostile, and not only in his own account of events in which he was involved". (63)

With all this in mind, it seems not unreasonable that we should begin this thesis by examining Calvin's treatment of admission to the Ministry, together with the practice of other European Churches of the period. Having said this, however, we must remind ourselves of the warning given to us by Row that the Reformers "took not their pattern from any kirk in the wordly, no not from Geneva itself." (64)

The purpose of this chapter may be stated very simply. It is to examine the way in which the earliest documents of the Scottish Reformation period treat the subject of admitting men to the Ministry.

The Scots Confession of Faith, 1560.

The Scots Confession was produced within the very short period of 4 days but when officially adopted by the Three Estates of Parliament on 17th August 1560 it was hailed as "hailsome and sound doctrine, groundit upoun the infallable trewth of Godis Word" (1) For the most part, the Confession of Faith is orthodox. By this, I mean, it accords with the Catholic creeds. Nevertheless, following the Calvinist viewpoint that, in the worship of God, nothing is permissible which has not the express warrant of Scripture, the ceremonies of the Roman Church are dismissed. (2)

The belief is expressed that there are certain notes or characteristics by which the true Church can be discerned from the false. These notes are "neyther antiquitie, title usurped, lineall discente, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving ane errour " but "the trew preaching of the Word of God ... rycht administratioun of the sacramentis of Christ Jesus (and) Ecclesiasticall discipline uprychtlie ministred, as Godis Word prescribeth...." (3)

A little later on these virtues are described as "certane and infallible signes of the trew Kirk". (4) Nor is this simply an ideal which existed in the minds of the Reformers because it is also affirmed "sick Kirkis we, the Inhabitants of the Realme of Scotland, professouris of Christ Jesus, confesse to have in our cities, townis and places reformed". (5)

That the sacraments in fact be rightly ministered two things are deemed necessary. It is the first of these that interests us here viz. that they be ministered by lawful ministers "whome we affirme to be/

be onlie thei that ar appointed to the preaching of the Worde or into whose mouthis God has putt some sermoun of exhortatioun, thei being men lauchfullie choosin thairto by some Kirk..." (6)

We have noted elsewhere that in the Calvinist tradition, the office of the Ministry was held in very high esteem. Consequently there was a desire to distinguish "lauchfull ministeris" from the clergy of the old regime. These clergy were judged to be "no ministeris of Christ Jesus" (7) and so it befell the Reformers to give guidance as to the procedure to be followed in the appointing of "true ministers" and as to what exactly was meant by the term "lawful election".

It is clear that at the very beginning of the Reformed Church's life an AD HOC situation existed as far as Discipline was concerned. Thus at the service of thanksgiving for the triumph of the Reformation in 1560, instructions were given to "the Commissionaris of Bruchis, with sum of the Nobilitie and Barronis" to "place" ministers in charges (8). These were, for the most part, in and around Edinburgh but as one might expect there was a severe shortage of candidates. At the First General Assembly of the reformed Kirk of Scotland, held at Edinburgh on 20th December, 1560 there were but 42 commissioners present (9) not all of whom were "ministers" in the accepted sense, and David Calderwood sets down in his History the names of those present, "that the reader may perceave what raritie of pastors there was in the infancie of our Kirk" (10). Even in 1563 the problem of ministerial manpower had to be faced and in the June Assembly of that year it was "ordainit that Supplicatioune be made to the Queens MajeStie and Secreit counSill for unioun of Kirks, that wher two or thrie are within two or thrie myles distant, the Same to unite/

unite, and cause the inhabitants to report to one of the \$aids Kirks, to heir the word and receive the \$acraments; because the \$carceness of ministers permitts not every Kirk to have a \$everall minister..."

(11)

The reformers were apparently extremely careful in their use of contentious words like "clergy" which presumably carried overtones and of all things undesirable/of all that had gone before in terms of clerical ineptitude. (12) In fact I have been able to trace no usage of the word "clergy" during any of the first 7 years of the Reformed Church's life except when reference is made to those in Roman orders (13). On the contrary great emphasis is laid throughout on "the Ministrie" and even this is very often carefully defined as "the Ministrie of Word and Sacraments" (14). This Ministrie of Word and Sacraments is not open to everyone but only to such as have been "lawfully called" as the Scots Confession makes clear. (15) This emphasis on lawful calling is nowhere more clearly enunciated, than in a statement of the General Assembly of June/July, 1562. In dealing with the punishment of vices, that Assembly decreed that punishment should be exacted for "profanation of the samein (i.e. God's Word and Sacraments) by Sik as were not lawfullie callit to the ministratioun thereof"(16)

Clearly some people were in the habit of ministering God's Word and Sacraments without proper authorisation - otherwise the anxiety of the Assembly would not have been aroused. The question has been raised, were these people priests of the old regime or individuals claiming the right to be ministers in the widest possible sense of the word i.e. without necessarily being set apart by the Church?

The present writer feels that the question is of little import since, in the eyes of the Reformers, the ordination of the priests was of no significance (17). Whoever these people were, they were

were all alike in that they had not received a lawful calling - a Commissioning from the Reformed Church and that was the all important thing.

Who, then, were lawfully called or to put it another way, what exactly was understood by "Lawful Calling"? In dealing with such practical issues the infant Reformed Church was guided by The First Book of Discipline. The object of the Book is clearly stated in the Preface. It is for "commoun ordour and uniformitie to be observed in this Realme, concernyng Doctryne, administratioun of Sacramentis, Election of Ministers and Policye of the Kirk" (18). The Book divides into 9 Heads effectively (although in the Preface to Laing's edition of Knox's Works only 6 are mentioned.) We need not concern ourselves with all of these but only with those headings which have an immediate bearing upon our subject.

By the time the Book of Discipline was drawn up, the Protestant Faith was securely rooted in a number of places up and down the country (especially in the Burghs). In particular, towns such as St. Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Brechin, Montrose and Ayr (19) had already carried through the Reformation of the local church and had organised their ecclesiastical polity along the lines of the reformed towns and cities of the Continent. (20). It was apparently the case that in these reformed towns and cities of the Continent the local church, once established, provided for the needs of the younger congregations emerging around it and exercised spiritual oversight of them. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the Scottish Kirk followed a similar pattern of development; indeed it is not an assumption at all because we discover from the Book of Discipline itself that "the best reformed Kirk" in an area had certain obligations in terms of outreach to the surrounding districts - obligations involving the lawful election/

election of Ministers (21).

Enough, then, has been said of the Reformers PLANS for a "Lawful Ministry". Before we begin to look at how these plans were effected we note one enlightening comment by Prof. Cameron - "In the matter of the Ministry, the Reformation movement on the Continent had departed most radically from mediaeval doctrine and practice; it was therefore natural that considerable attention should be given to it in a work compiled for those who had no such first hand knowledge by some who had been actively engaged in the work of the Reformed Ministry." (22).

In the First Book of Discipline, 3 elements are held to compose "an Ordinarie Vocatioun" to the Ministry thereby making it "lawful". These elements are Electioun, Examinatioun and Admissioun. It is laid down that the matter of choosing a minister falls to the people of the local congregation (23). Should the local congregation fail to elect "the best reformed Kirk, to wit, the church of the Superintendent with his Counsall, may present unto thame a man quhom thai juge apt to feade the flock of Christ Jesus". (24) Either way the nominee must be examined "befoir men of soundest judgement." This examination is to take place in the town or city of the Superintendent; it consists of "interpreting some place of Scripture.... appointed be the ministerie" and of defending ones doctrinal position openly before the Ministers and elders of the Kirk. If they, i.e. the examining minsters and elders are satisfied, the nominee is then directed to preach several sermons, dealing with various points of theology, before the congregation seeking him as their Minister. If the candidate is of the congegation's own choosing no problem is anticipated in their acceptance of him as their Minister. If on the other hand he has been presented to the vacant Church by the Superintendent/

intendent and his Counsell and the congregation can find "nothing in his lyiff, doctryne, nor utterance" which is reprehensible, they must refrain from refusing him without good reason. The only acceptable ground for refusing to accept someone who has been proposed is if the congregation itself can present someone else "better or alsweill qualifeid to the examinatioun". Should such a situation arise the Book of Discipline lays it down that "the presentatioun of the Pepill, to quhom he suld be appointed pastour, must be preferred to the presentatioun of the Counsell or greater Kirk (sometimes called the hoile Kirk); unless the persone presented by the inferiour Kirk (i.e. the individual congregation) be juged unabill for the regiment by the lerned. For altogither this is to be avoided that any man be violentlie intrused or thrust in upoun any Congregatioun". (25)

The subject of who may NOT be admitted to the Ministry of the Kirk is next treated in the Book of Discipline. Essentially, the people who are not to be "promoted to the regiment of the Kirk, or yit receaved in Ecclesiasticall administratioun" are those "noted with publict infame, or (as) being unabill to edifie the Kirk by hailsome doctrine, or (as) being knawin of corrupt judgement" (26).

(Concerning the issue raised by McMillan - whether the procedure set out in the Book of Discipline applies to members of the clergy of the old order who have embraced the Reformed principles or to completely new candidates for the ministrie - it is significant that Vautrollier's edition and that of 1621 alter the phrase "yit receaved in Ecclesiasticall administratioun" to "yet retained in Ecclesiasticall administratioun." This change suggests that the clergy of the old regime who continued in the new were subjected to the same tests as completely new candidates (27).)

The Book of Discipline may have given some guidance as to who/

who were not be allowed into the Ministry but successive General Assemblies still had to wrestle with the problem. Thus the Assembly of December 1562, was forced to ordain in accordance with fourth head of the Book of Discipline "That inhibition Sal be made to all and Sundrie persons now Serving in the Miniſtrie, who hes entrit being Slanderous befor in doctrine, hes not Satisfied the Kirk: Secondlie, that hes not bein presented be the people or are pairt thereof, to the Superintendent, and he after examination and tryall, hes not appointed them to their charges; and this act to have strength as weill against them that are callit biſchops as uthers pretending to any miniſtrie within the Kirk" (28).

After the successful completion of the requirements for election and examination, the candidate was regarded as being ready to be admitted to the office of the Ministry of Word and Sacraments. The General Assembly of December, 1560 "appointit the electioun of the Minifter, Elders and deacons, to be in the publick Kirk, and the premonition to be made upon the Sunday preceeding the day of electioun" (29). Likewise, the Book of Discipline states that the admission of ministers should be "in opin audience" (30), that is, in the presence of the congregation to which the minister-elect is to be appointed. A special minister is to preach on the duty and office of the Ministry and both the minister and the people are to be reminded of their mutual responsibilities. The people are exhorted to reverence and honour their minister "obeying the commandments quhilk (he) pronounce(s) from Goddis mouth and buyk, evin as thai wald obey God himself; for quhosoevir heareth Christis Ministeris heareth him self, and quhosoevir rejecteth thame, (and) dispyseth thair Ministerie and exhortatioun, rejecteth and dispyseth Christ Jesus" (31) - a "high" view of the Ministry indeed! So much then for the Book of Discipline itself.

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Largely a theoretical commentary, the actual practice of the Reformed Church of Scotland was spelled out in a "Book of Common Order" based upon The Genevan Service Book of 1556 - "The Forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments etc. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva" - to give it its proper name. The "Forme of Prayers" was reprinted in Geneva in 1558 and 1561 and again in Edinburgh in 1562. Having been known to Knox and brought back to Scotland by him in 1559, it is almost certain that the Genevan Book was in use here before 1560 alongside the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552). In more than one place the Book of Discipline gives explicit instruction for the Order of the Church of Geneva to be followed (32) and while the Discipline itself never became law, the General Assembly of 1562 confirmed "That ane uniforme ordour Salbe takin or keipit in the administratioun of the Sacraments, and Solemnization of mariages and burialls of the dead, according to the Books of Geneva" (33)

In 1564 a further Act was passed ordaining "that everie Minifter, Exhorter and Reader, fall have one of the Psalme Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in Prayers, Marriage and ministration of the Sacraments." (34)

Thus the Genevan Service Book became the recognised "Book of Common Order" of the Scottish Church. Before this happened additions and alterations were made but Maxwell tells us (35) that these were slight and that this "Book of Common Order" or Psalm Book as it was often called (36) continued in use until superseded by the Westminster Directory of 1645.

Clearly "The Forme of Prayers" is an extremely important document in relation to our subject. The text of the section concerning us is conveniently included by W.D. Maxwell on pages 165-168 of his book "The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book" and

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I have included it as an Appendix to this thesis. (As Dr. Duncan Shaw has pointed out, however, (37) the title given to this section by Maxwell, viz. "The Election and Ordination of Ministers" is misleading since the word "ordination" nowhere appears in the Service Book.)

The procedure set out in the Form of Prayers may be summarised as follows:-

To begin with the congregation is convened by the ministers and elders and at this meeting a list of two or three candidates is drawn up. These are then examined by the ministers and elders due regard being taken of their gifts, learning and manner of life. Eventually a "sole nominee" is chosen and the name of the candidate is "signified unto the congregation". There then follows a period of time - at least eight days - during which the people are at liberty to make full enquiry into the life and character of the candidate so that they can satisfy themselves as to his fitness. This is a time during which the congregation is expected to fast and pray "that bothe their election may be agreeable to (God's) will, and also profitable to the church". (38) Should anything be alleged against the nominee and found proven, he is to be dismissed and another presented. If all is well, on the other hand, when the day of inauguration (39) arrives, one of the Ministers, at the forenoon service, again presents the nominee to the people and preaches on the office and duty of a Minister. In the afternoon, the officiating minister summons the people to the election and prays extemporaneously for God's guidance. The formal election then follows after which the presiding minister again offers prayer, this time of thanksgiving and requesting "suche thinges as shalbe necessarie" for the new minister's office.

The nominee is then appointed to the charge of that congregation and after the singing of a psalm, the people depart. (40)

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That this is the procedure carried out at an "Ordination" Service and not merely at one of inducting to a particular charge is made plain from the account we have of William Whittingham's "ordination" to the English Congregation in 1559 or thereabouts. (41) In "The Forme and Ordour of the Electioun of the Superintendents" which was to serve also in the Election of all other ministers (drawn up "at Edinburghe the 9th of Merche 1560 yeiris, Johne Knox being Minister"), we find the same formula being used. I have included "The Forme and Ordour of the Election of the Superintendents etc." as an Appendix to this thesis.

Prof. Burleigh has emphasised that the elaborate procedure of admission to the ministry drawn up in 1560 was unworkable in the Scotland of that time (42). nevertheless the aim of the Reformers was to produce in time a "lawful ministry" - something which, as we shall observe, even the most zealous adherents of the old faith were prepared to recognise as being necessary. (43) It is wrong to believe that the changes wrought by the Reformers were accepted overnight. The movement gained momentum very quickly but adherence to the time honoured faith continued, at least in some quarters, for some time. Thus the barons, for example, would not agree to the First Book of Discipline until Romanist and Reformer had thrashed out its content matter in a public debate. No such debate seems to have taken place but we can determine the way any discussion would have gone thanks to various writings which have come down to us - writings like those of Ninian Winget (44) who pressed John Knox with questions as to the lawfulness of his ministry, and of the "ordinations" he had carried through since he had "renounced and esteemed wicked" the ordination by which he was formerly called "Schir Iohne". (45)

Winget, described by J.K. Hewison as "an able polemical writer and apologist for the doctrines and institutions of the Romish Church" (46) wrote several articles or tractates to Knox. In one of these (47) he calls in question Knox's lawful vocation as a minister. The three pertinent points raised appear again in "The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions" addressed to "the Caluiniane Precheouris" - in effect, a rejoinder to "The Confessione of the faytht and doctrin beleued and professed by the Protestantes of the Realme of Scotland". (48)

In the Preface to the Buke of Four Scoir Questions Winget speaks of the "wickit apostasie he (Knox) and all utheris preistis, munkis and freris of his sect ar fallin in, in that thai renunce as renegatis thair preistheid gevin thame be the sacrament of ordour; and quhow thai still remane preistis be the samin sacrament (lat thame renunce it as thai pleis) ay quhil thai dee, albeit to thair mair seueir punisment aeternalie; except thai (quhilk the guidnes of God mot grant thame) in tyme repent thair fall." (49)

Winget goes on in his polemic to speak of Knox's "proud arrogance and damnabil sacrilege" and that of his associates. He accuses them of "vsurping the auctoritie of godly bischopes, and vtheris pastouris and preistis in the Kirk, aluterlie aganis all lauchful pover onyway gevin be man to ony ministerie that tha vse in the Kirk, except only be that titill quhilk tha esteme nochtis - that is, insafer as tha ar preistis." (50) It is Winget's conviction that sooner or later it will be plainly evident that "tha ar nocht send as trew prophetis be God" and in view of his "apostasie" Winget presents the Caluiniane Precheouris with three questions concerning Knox's/

Knox's "ordination".

These are

33. Gif Iohne Knox be (a) lauchful minister.
34. Gif Iohne Knox be nocht (a) lauchful bischope, quhow can
thai be lauchful ordinatit be him?
35. Quhy ar nocht the lordis and utheris, lauchful ministeris,
as Iohne Knox and his complices? (51)

In these questions Winget begins from the premise that God's Word and Sacraments must always be administered by lawfully called ministers. Men so called are of two sorts - those commissioned directly by God and those set apart by such as have authority in the Church to commission men to the ministry. Those who have been called directly by God can usually be distinguished on account of the signs and wonders they perform. If this is how Knox became a lawful Minister the question is asked - where is the evidence produced in such a one by the Holy Spirit's working through him? It is certainly not to be found, says Winget, in introducing ungodly sedition and discord among people.

If, on the other hand, Knox has been "callit be man", Winget calls for evidence that those who called him had "lauchfull pouer" so to do. Basically the argument here is that the Apostolic succession must be maintained and operative since it is in the command of Paul to Timothy and Titus "to ordour utheris" that there appears "the lauchful ordination of ministeris."

Since, it is implied, the Reformer has been ordained within the Succession derived from the Apostles through Timothy and Titus, he must justify his renunciation of this ordination (52)

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It is then argued that if Knox is not a lawfully ordained bishop - to say nothing of his being a lawfully ordained minister - anyone 'ordained' by him ought not to regard himself as being a lawful minister in the Kirk of God. (53)

The final question seeks clarification of the position of ordinary men. In seeking this clarification Winget implies that since Knox excludes "lordis and gentilmen" from the ranks of the ministry, he is still following the "clergy" line and that "ordination" must mean more than simply the election of the people. (54)

Knox referred to the points raised by these questions in various pulpit utterances and while intending to reply to them in the form of a tractate in such a way as to defend the 'validity' of Protestant 'ordination', he, unfortunately for us, never put his reply into writing. (55)

We do have one very brief reference to Knox's pulpit defence of his vocation. Nicol Burne, in his "Disputation concerning the controversit headdis of religion etc." printed at Paris in 1581 tells us that "being demandit of (him be) the reverend father Maister Niniane Vingzet ... of his autoritie, he (Knox) ansuerit that he was extraordinarilie callit evin as vas S. Johne the Baptist." Knox's opponents, however, chose to disbelieve this testimony and preferred the reply which they alleged Knox gave in private, viz. that he was called "be gunnes and pistolis." (56)

In the account of the disputation which Knox held with Quintin Kennedy at Maybole (printed at Edinburgh in 1563 under title of "The Ressoning,") Knox referred to the denial by Romanists of the vocation of ministers and to Winget's questions in these woras, "But, my Lorde, perchance requireth miracles to prove our laughfull vocation/

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vocation. For so doeth Winget, procuter of the Bapistes. To bothe I answer, that a truth by itself, without myracles, hath sufficient strength to prove the laughfull vocation of the teachers thereof: but miracles destitute of treuth have efficacie to deceave, but never to bring to God." (57)

As far as question 34 is concerned we learn from a marginal note to the text of the Second Tractate, that Knox denied having ordained any superintendents or ministers. (58) The Reformers answer to the other question was regarded by Winget as obscure and unintelligible. (59)

Being dissatisfied with mere pulpit utterances Winget tried to persuade the Reformer to answer him in writing and "blew the samyn trompet againe in the wrytingis, according to his preching on sindry dayis" (60)

The first of these letters was dated 3rd March 1561/2. In it Winget claimed to have been misrepresented by Knox himself and requested a plain answer upon the subject of vocation, while stating his own belief that God either gives testimony beforehand of His calling a man (as was the case with St. John the Baptist) or else proves a man's vocation by giving him power to work wonders (as with the Apostles and 72 disciples). As far as Winget was concerned neither of these "proofs" were to be seen in Knox's own vocation and so he called upon him to justify his persistent claim to having had a "lauchfull vocation". (61) Knox remained silent. A week later Winget again requested Knox to demonstrate his apostolical power rather than simply give an affirmation of being called after the manner of John the Baptist. It was in such a way that proof of Amos' /

48.

Amos' calling was given and failing a similar testimony from Knox, Winget suggested that the Reformer should admit to having no "lauchful vocatioun." (62) Again Knox gave no reply. In the third letter, Knox was charged to "mak demonstration to the people and vs of (his) lauchfull ministerie gevin be God immediatlie, as had the Apostolis; or be man in that cause haifand the power of God, as St. Paule ordinatit Timothie and Tite; or be baith, as the said St. Paule was first callit be God, and syne ordinatit be men." Alternatively, the reformer, was called upon to "desiste fra the vsurping of ane vther mannis office"; i.e. he was to refrain from exercising his ministerial office; This on account of the fact that the method of admission to such an office, viz. "the sacrament of ordination be auctoritie of preisthed", Knox had "esteme(d) as nochtis" because it had been given to him by "ane papiste hischope". (63) Winget argued that logically, Knox should also renounce his baptism since it too had been given by a papist priest. (64) This argument he sought to justify by referring to St. Augustine who wrote

"As ane man throw schisme and heresie amittis nocht the sacrament of baptim, siclyke, for the samyn faltis, he amittis nocht the sacrament to geve baptim, qulick is the sacrament of ordination, conferring the perpetuitie of the ane sacrament anis ressaunt with the vther." (65)

Logically one must recognise the validity of Roman ordination if one is to admit the validity of Roman baptism - this was Winget's argument but he was still unable to draw a written reply from the Reformer. Consequently he issued "The last Blast of the Trompet of Godis Worde aganis the vfurpit auctoritie of Iohne Knox/

Knox and his Caluiniane brether intrudit Precheouris" etc. (66)

The declared aim of this document was "to call abak the scolaris (of the Reformers) frome the plaig of Godis iustice". (67) In it, the author tried to snow "The Congregatioun of the Protestantis" that Divine punishment overtook those who unlawfully assumed priestly functions and to lay down the principles which ought to underlie the election and ordination of priests and bishops. Essentially these principles simply served to emphasise the necessity of Apostolic succession. It was suggested to the Protestants that they had "electit preistis and precheoures, and heipit vp masteris to (thaim) selfis, not descending of the tribe of Levi - that is, not succeeding to the Apostles and their successouris eiter the ordinance appoyntit be the Word of God." (68) Winget affirmed that in the history of the Church since N.I. times "na bischope, preist nor deacon, (had been) instituted and ordanit be the laic people in the haly catholike Kirk, bot be the Apostlis and thair successouris bishopis alanerlie - insamekle that the sewin diacones electit be the peple to be steuartis specialie to the pure in Godis Kirk, was presentit afore the Apostlis and tuke thair ordination and power of thaim." (69)

The Roman apologist appealed to the Protestants to have no part in a practice which, he felt, was so obviously contrary to the Word of God; he called upon them to show scriptural authority for the manner in which their ministers were called and he claimed that the Apostles never gave authority for any group of people "to constitute and ordinat bischope or vther minister" but that on the contrary expresse command was given "to the bishopis Timothe and Tite to vse that power euery ane off thaim seueralie." Winget was willing/

willing to admit that "the laie peple sumtyme electit sic personnes" and, following Cyprian, agreed that the people should have a part to play but he posed the question, "Quhair reid ze ever in the Apostolis dais amang sa mony thousande Christianis turnit to the faith, or zit sensyne, ony multitude of laie people allane to haue ordinatit ane bischope, preist, or diacone? " (70)

Finally, Winget apologised for the fact that in the past some of the clergy had proved themselves offensive. (71) Here he tried to seek common cause with the Protestants by suggesting that a remedy could only be found in the "reuelit wyl of God, in His Scripture sa expresse and sa largely set furth." (72)

From the correspondence of Ninian Winget, the Roman position is fairly clear but from his attack we can deduce several of the salient features characterising the Reformed position.

SUMMARY OF TWO POSITIONS

As far as the Roman Church was concerned, ordination to the priesthood was the only valid ordination.

The validity of Roman ordination the Reformers rejected. Having renounced his own ordination, Knox's vocation and that of others was held in question by Winget and his associates.

It was recognised that God might call a man directly. In such circumstances it was firmly believed that God would manifest his/

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his choice by giving the man, so called, power to perform miracles etc.

Knox claimed to have been called directly by God. The truth about his calling he claimed was self evident and required no miracles. What seems to have been in his mind was that the innermost call of God should be part of every man's call and no outward sign let alone an outward rite was necessary to validate such a calling.

The only alternative method of lawful calling recognised by the R.C. Church was that of men within the Apostolic Succession. Ordination was a sacrament at the hand of a bishop.

Knox, in fact, laid little if any emphasis upon the rite of ordination. We read that he "esteemed as nochtis" his own ordination because it was given by a Papiste bishop. For Knox this was no sacrament - having no sacramental effect - and therefore leaving him free to renounce it as he did.

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The effect of ordination could not be renounced even if it was verbally denied. It was only as ordained priests that the Reformers had any right in the Kirk.

Without this fact being recognised - even without having regard to the fact that they were not bishops within the succession - the Reformers had no right to ordain others.

From Winget's statement (that Knox ordained others;) albeit a statement which was denied by the Reformer himself - indeed from the whole point of the discussion we deduce that Knox saw no need for ordination to be within the Apostolic succession in order that it might be valid. As far as Knox was concerned, he, having abdicated his own place within the Succession, was still a lawful minister - "a true prophet of God" to use Winget's own words.

On two points only do the Reformer and his critic seem to have agreed. Firstly, that the ministry was not for all and sundry. Admission/

Admission to it had to be contained within the discipline of the Church. Secondly that the people should have a part in the election of a candidate for ordination but no part in the act itself.

Undoubtedly the questions raised by Knox were (and still are) awkward "unless", as Prof. Burleigh puts it, "it be assumed that in 1560 validity of orders was a minor issue in comparison with the urgent need for reform, which Winget acknowledged as heartily as did Knox." (73) Winget's viewpoint on what constitutes a lawful ministry may be termed "high" in the ecclesiastical sense but if the same term is applied to Knox's position it is because he acknowledges the initiative in calling a man into the ministry to be with God and the actual "ordination" to be no more than a human ceremony leaving no indelible effect on the person ordained.

The questions upon which a divergence of opinion occur centre around certain points each of which will crop up again in discussion later on in this thesis.

1. Is ordination a sacrament the effect of which is indelible?
2. What exactly is the Apostolic succession; wherein did the Reformers differ from the Papists and upon what ground?
3. Is the claim of Knox to be a "true prophet of God" valid in the light of Scriptural teaching on the ministry?

Meantime we proceed to having a look at the development in thought and practice which occurred in Scotland in the years following the Reformation.

For some time prior to 1560 "the Reformation was already well established in certain prominent city centres and had provided itself with a constitutional organisation in accordance with the pattern of cities such as Geneva, Bern and Lausanne" (1). Furthermore, the old ecclesiastical organisation of the country must have seemed to many to be ill-suited to the demands of the new faith. This was true for two reasons. Firstly, the dioceses were not of equal size and, in some instances, too large for effective oversight by one person. (2) Secondly, (and more particularly) the Episcopate, hitherto accepted, had shown itself to be largely defective. As Donaldson puts it "Inadequate supervision of clergy and churches had been one of the weaknesses of the late mediaeval system and if there was to be discipline among the clergy it was to be provided by an overhaul of the system of oversight of the parishes." (3)

If we look a little more closely at this second reason we discover that the Reformers had no use for the defective episcopate with which they were familiar. Bishops who lived in idle luxury or who passed their lives largely in the service of the government were referred to as "dum doggis" or "idill bellies" (4) - pseudo-bishops, falsely claiming to be pastors, but caring little for their sheep and the traditional duties of their office - preaching, visiting etc. In Scotland in the 1530's it was said that "it behoved a Bischope to be a preachear, or ellis he was but a dume dogg and fed not the flock, but fed (only) his awin bellye". (5) Again, in 1547, the Scottish Reformers were to be found debating the Article that "thare (are) no Bischopes except thei preach evin by thame selfis, without any substitut." (6) One Walter Milne, while on trial for his beliefs in 1558/

1558, could contrast idleness and pomp with the duties generally incumbent upon a bishop in these words: "They whom ye call Bysshops, do no Bysshops workes, nor vse the offices of bishops ...but lyue after their owne sensuall pleasure and take no care of the flocke nor yet regarde they the Word of God, but desire to be honored and called 'my Lordes'." (7)

The same sentiments were also being expressed in England at this time. Thus, Latimer could compare the duty of preaching and the love of idleness and pomp in the words "Sence lording and loytring have come up, preaching hath come down, contrary to the Apostells times. For they preached and lorded not and now they lorde and preache not." (8)

The contention was not simply that the wealth of the prelates, their neglect of spiritual functions and their pre-occupation with temporal affairs alone needed reform. The need was far deeper - "The test to determine whether a man was or was not a (real) bishop lay in his faith and his works. When such a test was applied it emerged that the existing bishops were false and not true bishops." When Friar Seton remarked that "within Scotland thair was no trew Bischoppe , yf that Bischoppes should be knawin by such notes and vertewis, as Sanct Paule requyres in Bischoppis," (9) he was expressing ideas which had been in the process of development ever since 1536, when Luther had published his work on true and false bishops. In 1560 such differentiation was no longer novel but to quote Donaldson again "fresh pungency and precision now emerged with Knox denying the old prelates the very NAME of bishops" (10).

This whole area of discussion has, of course, a significant bearing

bearing on any study of the ministry, not least with regard to "ordination". "In general, the Reformers did not accept a personal succession in the sense in which it is understood by Episcopalians and by many Presbyterians today" says Donaldson and he goes on "... so far from holding such a succession to be a mark of the church they (i.e. the Reformers) much more commonly repudiated it as an error" - an assertion he justifies by reference to various writings. (11)

Whether erroneous or not one thing is clear. The Reformers were unable to discern in the existing bishops the characteristics they looked for in an Apostolic ministry and so they could not regard them as instruments of an Apostolic succession. "To put it bluntly" says Donaldson (interpreting the Words of the Book of Discipline, "other ceremonie then the publict approbatioun of the peple, and declaratioun of the cheiff minister ... we can nott approve..." (12)) "they considered it to be demonstrable that the succession had failed." (13) Even the conservative Ninian Winzet, while strongly defending the necessity of Episcopal ordination, had to make the same admission when he spoke of the mediaeval church "putand in the place of godly ministeris and trew successouris of the apostolis, dum doggis." (14)

"The succession had failed" - that is what the Reformers sincerely believed and so we cannot accuse them of wilfully breaking it. For them, the only succession which was of importance was that of faith and good works - these were the marks of the true pastor and of the true bishop. Thus, in 1560, it could be said with certainty that "in all the rabill of the Clergye, thair (was) not ane lauchfull minister, gif Godis Word, the practise of the Apostillis, and thair awin ancient lawis, (should) judge of lauchfull electioun." (15)

Prof. Donaldson in stating that by 1560, the Episcopal Succession had failed goes on to explain the position as it was after the reformation by saying "Bishops who were enemies to reform and perhaps persecutors, were held to be disqualified from conferring authority on ministers of the Gospel and only if they were themselves ready to embrace true doctrine were ordinations by them admissable in the Reformed Church".(16) In other words, it was not their being in a personal succession that was the all important thing. What was of importance was their faith - it was a spiritual succession that counted.

"In any event" says Donaldson "no reformer would have allowed that bishops constituted an order superior to the presbyterate in the accepted sense" (17) and he provides evidence to suggest that this was the dominant view in England as well as in Scotland at the time.(18) As a result of this view being held the Preface to the Anglican Ordinal then in use left the door open for acceptance into the Church of England of men not in Episcopal orders, (a door closed by the 1662 revision); also, the relevant Article of the Thirty-Nine (No.XXIII) refers simply to choice by the men to whom the Church has committed the power of calling ministers. (19) That such men, lacking Episcopal orders, did in fact hold office in the Church of England is without a doubt and Donaldson refers, by way of an example, to "the oft quoted licence given by Arch-bishop Grindal to the Scot, John Morrison (which) described his ordination by the Synod of Lothian as being according to 'the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland.'"(20)

Prof. Donaldson acknowledges that "holding the views they did on succession and on the identity in order of bishop and priest, the/

the Reformers could not have maintained the necessity of Episcopal Ordination". This being so, and in view of the absence of Anglican insistence upon the necessity of an Episcopal system, Donaldson arrives at the conclusion that "the form of ecclesiastical polity in a Reformed Church might be dictated by circumstances." (21) In the English congregation at Frankfurt "no one seems to have contemplated Episcopal government and the term "bishop" was rejected because it was held to imply the oversight of a diocese." Donaldson even admits that the high "Anglican" party joined in the election of ministers, elders and deacons (22). He states also "the organisation of the more 'puritan' congregation at Geneva did not differ from that at Frankfurt and no contemporary thought it worthy of remark that Miles Coverdale, although he had been a bishop in England, became an elder at Geneva. Episcopal consecration was plainly not held to convey any inherent superiority." (23) Even when the English Church was oncemore established and under Episcopal government, "English churchmen did not brand as in-valid the system which had been in use at Frankfurt, Geneva and elsewhere." (24). We must note, however, the attitude of Archbishop Whitgift. He admitted that there was much to be said for the validity of the orders conferred upon William Whittingham at Geneva on the ground that "he, in time of persecution, was ordained Minister by those which had authority in the Church persecuted." This case Whitgift contrasted with that of Walter Travers who "in time of peace" (when he could have been ordained by an English bishop) "gaddeth into other countries in order to receive presbyterial ordination at Antwerp." (25) The contrast is unfortunate since it suggests that Presbyterian ordination is valid in some circumstances but all the time inferior/

inferior to Episcopal ordination. Having regard to the nature of ordination, the present writer feels this is absurd. To suggest that there was something inherently wrong with Travers' presbyterian ordination speaks of sheer prejudice. In any case, by admitting the validity of Whittingham's ordination, by taking the view that during Mary Tudor's reign the true Church of England consisted not of the legal establishment with its bishops, but of the congregations at home and abroad which had preserved the Reformed faith, Whitgift himself repudiated any succession from the prelates of that time.

Clearly the Scots were not alone in repudiating the prelacy of the unreformed church. Without discussing this aspect of things further it seems as though at this point in the argument, the case for Episcopal Church government has been demolished. Donaldson insists that this is not so and he uses what he calls the "widespread belief in the value of a 'godly' or reformed bishop" to account for the continuance in the Church of Scotland of the office of Superintendent. (26)

In citing "Documents of the Continental Reformation," Page 190, Prof. Donaldson tries to establish the functions of the 'godly' bishop so far as the German Reformers of C 1525 were concerned. Thus he narrates "Bishops shall remain : not anointing bishops nor ordaining bishops but such as preach and teach and expound the pure Word of God and preside over the church." (i.e. preaching and oversight are the functions of the 'godly' bishop). (27)

Donaldson also feels that a desire for the "godly bishop" is implicit in some of the criticisms of the unreformed Episcopate. Thus, /

Thus, he is of the opinion that when Knox observed that "a Bischope that receaves proffit, and feidis not the flock, even be his awin labouris, is boith a theif and a murderare," (28) the implication is that a bishop ought to feed the flock. (29) Few would deny that this is indeed desirable quite irrespective of what is understood by the word 'bishop'. This statement, however, only serves to prompt the question, What DID the Reformers understand by 'bishop'? and this is something we must look at later on. It is the view of the present writer that Knox and the other Scottish Reformers understood the term 'bishop' in a way radically different from that hitherto accepted by the Church. Consequently, the term 'Superintendent' is not simply an unemotive rendering of the Greek word *ἐπισκοπος* (although etymologically it may be just that) but represents a rather different office of expediency or practical value, standing over and against the ordinary pastoral office.

Donaldson's own definition of a 'godly' bishop or Superintendent states that he possesses "no sacramental superiority IN ORDER over ordinary ministers but (is) more efficient and more energetic than the prelates of the old regime." (30) In other words the office of Superintendent is a necessary one, not because it has any mystical value but because it has a certain practical value - "value" being the very word used by Donaldson himself in the quotation on page 60 of this thesis. (Incidentally, in asserting that the Superintendent possesses "no sacramental superiority in order" Prof. Donaldson seems to be admitting that the idea of parity among ministers existed in the minds of the Reformers from a very early date).

The Book of Discipline seeks justification for "the difference betwix preachearis" by referring to the desperate needs of the time./

time. (31) Thus, when criticism might have been expected from one such as Christopher Goodman, (who, while in England, had criticised Queen Elizabeth's action in "making lordly bishops before the realm be provided of necessary ministers" (32)) it was argued by the authors of the Discipline that "yf the Ministeris whome God hath endewed with His (singular) graces amangis us, should be appointed to severall and certane placis, thair to mak thair continuall residence, that then the greatest part of this Realme should be destitute of all doctrine; whiche should not onlie be occasioun of greate murmure, but also should be dangerus to the salvation of manye".(33) Put differently, the thought here expressed by the authors of the Book of Discipline is of the whole realm being provided with ministers through the appointment of Superintendents whose function would be to do just that. At first glance the Reformers and Christopher Goodman seem to hold viewpoints diametrically opposed but in fact this not so and the CHIEF CONCERN of both is to have ministers appointed to parishes. Only their method of doing this is different. Certainly it may be argued that the appointing of Superintendents in Scotland was akin to the appointing of "lordly bishops" in England but it was the appearance of this being in fact the case which gave rise to the possibility of criticism. With closer examination we realise that essentially the Scottish Reformers and Goodman were in agreement as to there being no absolute necessity (theological or otherwise) for bishops, however "godly". When Goodman alleged that bishops were unnecessary until the country was provided of ministers he was taking exception to what was clearly the prevailing opinion in England; when the Scottish Reformers pleaded it was " A THING MOST EXPEDIENT FOR THIS TYME, that frome the whole number of godlie and learned (men) ... be selected twelf or ten," (34) they were implicitly giving the lie to any suggestion/

suggestion of there being a desire among the Scots for the re-establishment of Episcopacy on a permanent basis.

The fact that the Reformers felt called to explain the office of Superintendent in the way they did suggests it was not their desire to perpetuate the Episcopal idea out of any Theological necessity. One thing is certain - if they had been of the opinion that a "difference betwix preachearis" could be justified from Scripture they would have made this their first claim; and should the Reformers total reliance upon Scripture for the precepts of the 'Discipline' be proposed as an explanation for their introduction of Superintendents, I would suggest that this would leave them with no need to seek justification for the office in the practical reasons advanced or on grounds of expediency. When one reads the sections of the 'Discipline' having to do with the Superintendents' office, one is left with the distinct impression that the necessity for the office was NOT found in the Word of God but in the very difficult circumstances of the time.

Prof. Donaldson thinks differently. He argues that "the Book of Discipline was much concerned to overcome scruples as to the expediency of Superintendents when ministers were few in number but to have questioned the expediency of the office when ministers were in adequate supply would have been contrary to almost all contemporary thought." (35) In other words, despite some doubt about having Superintendents during a time when ministers were scarce, the quasi-Episcopal office was, generally speaking, in keeping with the spirit of the times. This seems largely a matter of opinion.

It is, of course, a mistake to suggest that the government of the Church of Scotland was settled on a dogmatic basis or in accordance/

ance with a pre-conceived theory of the JUS DIVINUM of presbytery

~~(35)~~. Nevertheless, there is I believe, ample evidence to suggest the Reformers tended to favour a system of Church government which we might well describe as "conciliar." (36) The Superintendents almost always acted with their "Counsell" or upon the advice of "men of soundest judgement" (37). They were also subject to the discipline and correction of the Ministers and Elders within their own Province (38). If it is true that, for a time, the Superintendents were at the centre of the whole Church structure (39) it is because in and through them the Episcopal Function was continued. In terms of Order, however, Episcopacy had been discredited by the character of the prelates who represented it in Scotland "before and at the date of the Reformation..." (40) "The fidelity of the bishops to Rome had "destroyed their influence in Scotland, where popular sympathy and reverence had already been alienated by their worldly lives, their neglect of duty, etc." (41)

The conclusion reached by Prof. Story is interesting in that it corroborates the present writer's theory that the Reformers looked only to expediency in evolving the Superintendents' office. He writes:- "When... men began to reconstruct a somewhat shattered system, there was no effort made to adapt the old episcopate to reformed conditions. At the same time, the expediency of the episcopal function was too apparent to allow that function to be discarded. One of the first reconstructive acts of the Reformers was, therefore, to perpetuate it, through the appointment of those who were called "Superintendents" - a name exactly equivalent to that of bishop or overseer; and designating an official who, under reformed conditions, would/

would supply to the Church all that was best in the function of the Celtic abbat or the 'Catholic' bishop". (42)

Of course Ecclesiastical oversight was and always will be necessary. The Continental Reformers had expressed a desire for and a belief in some kind of Reformed "Episcopacy". (43) The necessity of such oversight being vested in one person was not Theological, however, and the Scottish Reformers simply acknowledged the practical value of the Superintendent's office when in the spring of 1561 they appointed five men to take charge of oversight. (44) How were Superintendents appointed?

In the very special circumstances of the Reformed Church's infancy the authors of the Book of Discipline felt that the Lords should have the responsibility of nominating persons "as may serve the... provincis." (45) Alternatively, they should commission "such men as in whome (they) suppose(d) the feir of God (to be) to do the same, (i.e. nominate candidates for Superintendentships) " (46) It was also felt expedient and necessary for "The gentilmen and burgesses of every diocese" to be consulted in the election of the Superintendent "alsweill to bring the Churche in sum practise of hir libertie, as to mak the pastor better favorit of the flocke whome thame selves have chosin" (47). Should it prove impossible to fill all the vacancies right away, it was suggested that the unfilled provinces should remain vacant until God provided better, more suitable men. (48)

This system of appointment was to be operative for the first three years. Thereafter, when a Superintendentship became vacant, the Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the chief town within the Province together with the civic authority - "the Magistrat and Counsall/

Counsaill" - were to nominate to the Superintendents of the adjoining provinces, the names of "two or thre of the most learned and most godlie Ministeris within the hole reaime, that frome amaugis thame, one, with publict consent (might) be electit and appointed to the office then vaiking." If a nomination was not forthcoming within twenty days, the Superintendents, Ministers and Elders of the adjacent provinces were to act in presenting candidates for examination.

At the same time it was still lawful "for all the churches of the Diocesye to nominat ... suche personis as thei' (should) think worthy (of) stand(ing) in (the) electioun." The names of such people had then to be "put in edict." (49)

When nominations had been submitted and edicts, calling for objections to be made within thirty days, had been served, it fell to "the hoill Ministeris of that Province, with thre or mo of the Superintendentis nixt adjacent ... (to) examyn not onlie the learning, but also the maneris, prudence and habilitie to governe the Church, of all those that (were) nominat (ed)." The one who was "fund most worthy" was then to be "burdened with the charge." (50)

As part of the process of examination, the candidates each had to preach in public and those who were entrusted with choosing the most suitable had "to voit according to conscience, and not efter affectioun." ~~(50)~~

Each Minister and Superintendent had the right to vote (i.e. "all those that (did) convene") but it was considered appropriate that the ministers should bring with them the votes of their members in order that the election could be "the more fre." ~~(50)~~ If anyone objected to anything concerning any of the candidates, the Superintendents and Ministers had to consider the objection and "ansueir accordinglie."

(51) "Other ceremonies than scharp examinatioun, approbatioun of the/

67.

the Ministeris and Superintendentis, with the public consent of the elderis and people, then present, we can not allow," stated the Book of Discipline. (52) The order of service for the admission (inauguration) of Superintendents was the same as that used in the admission of ministers and the Book of Discipline makes it quite clear that, apart from function, the Superintendents were to be regarded as being in no way different from other ministers. Thus we read "whatsoever cryme deserve correctioun or depositioun of any other minister, deserveth the samin in the Superintendent, without exceptioun of persoun." (53) "Yf the Superintendent be fund negligent in any of (the) cheaf pointis of his office, and especiallie yf he be noted negligent in preacheing of the word, and in visitatioun of his Churches; or yf he be convict of ony of those crymis, which in the commoun Ministeris ar dampned, he must be deposit, without respect of his persoun or office." (54) The duty of censuring and correcting the superintendent belonged to the Ministers and elders within his own "diocese" or province (55) - there being ten of these altogether in Scotland (56).

It may very well be admitted that the Book of Discipline on the whole describes a "somewhat indistinct" official. (57) Prof. Donaldson claims this may be due to the fact that the title and its meaning were already quite familiar. Thus he writes "not only had the term Superintendent appeared in Denmark and Germany but it was in some favour as an equivalent of "bishop" or of rural dean in England. Its significance lay in its freedom from the association which the term "bishop" had with the wealth, idleness and inefficiency of the prelates whom the reformers so vigorously condemned ... In short, the Superintendent was the "godly" or Reformed bishop whose/

whose characteristics had been described by so many Reformers and when the term was introduced into Scotland, it connected the entire current ideal of a reformed Episcopate efficient in preaching and visitation." (58)

The Reformers whole concern was "that Christ Jesus be universallie once preached throuhout this Realme; whiche (could) not suddanlie be unles ... men (should) be appointed and compelled faithfullie to travell in suche Provinces as to thame (should) be assignit. (59) It was to this end that Superintendents were appointed

Clearly these men were primarily the agents of the Church's mission to the unchurched. To suggest otherwise is I feel, to misrepresent their function (60) and their status (61) The Superintendent was "a minister on a large scale" to use Burleigh's expression - an ordinary minister but having special functions assigned to him (62) - resulting in his receiving an extra payment because of the travelling involved and the special responsibility that was his (63). If the words "... we have appointed ane largear stipend to these that shalbe Superintendentis then to the REST OF THE MINISTERIS" (64) are to mean anything at all - it is surely that these Superintendents were in all respects ministers among ministers, specialists in their own field but having no superiority. If they were holders of a superior office it would have been relatively simple to say they were paid more because their office was inherently superior to that of ordinary ministers.

The Book of Discipline explicitly states that these Superintendents "must not be suffered to leave as your idill Bischopis have done heirtfore; neather most thei remane whaire gladlie thei wald"/

wald" - at least "till thair Churches be planted and provided of Ministers, or at the leist of Reidaris." (65) A residence (in their chief town) of three or four months at most was all that was allowed to Superintendents before they had to set out on a visitation of their area in the course of which they were to preach and "examyn the life, diligence and behaviour of the Ministeris; as also the ordour of thaire Churches, (and) the maneris of the people." They had also to consider "how the poore (were) provided; how the youth (were) instructed (and) admonische whaire admonitioun (was) neid(ed); dresse suche thingis as by goode counsall thei (were) able to appease; and finalie, thei (were to) note suche crymes as (were) haynouse, that by the censure of the Church the same (could) be corrected." (66)

The Superintendent then, was an administrator an organiser a disciplinarian but above all he was a preacher. It was explicitly emphasised that the men who were appointed to this office had to be "preachearis thame selves" having to preach at least "thryise everie weake". (67)

Fundamentally, the position of the Superintendent within the Reformed Church was different from that occupied by the bishops of the old regime. Apart from anything else the popular method by which a Superintendent was appointed was at variance with the method used formerly in the creation of a bishop. It is also certain that the position of the Superintendent in the admitting of men to the ministry was different to that occupied by the prelatie bishops at ordination services.

Turning to this aspect of things, we discover that the Book of Discipline makes no specific reference to any particular responsibilities/

ibilities of the Superintendent in the examination and/or admission of ministers. Indeed, while there are references to "some especial minister" or to "the cheiff minister" (68), the term Superintendent is not used to describe him and responsibility is always said to lie with "the best reformed Kirk" or with "men of soundest judgement ... in some principall towne nyxt adjacent .." (69) It is significant that it was considered necessary to interpret these phrases for the reader by adding glosses. For example, the "best reformed Kirk" is explained as "the Church of the Superintendent with his Counsell" and when reference is made to "the best reformed Citie" the expression is explained as "the Citie of the Superintendent".

Prof. Cameron, building on the hypothesis that the "Discipline" as we know it is a revision of an earlier work, deduces from the above (and other) evidence that "at the stage when this head was compiled, no detailed thinking, or at least no detailed plans for the appointment of Superintendents and the allotting to them of dioceses, had been undertaken," and he goes on to suggest "it may even be doubted if the office as it later developed had as yet been clearly envisaged." (70)

Be this as it may, the present writer finds himself at odds with Prof. Donaldson when he suggests that from as early as 1561 "The Superintendent played THE LEADING PART in the examination and admission of ministers..." (71)

Personally, I can find the Superintendent playing no more than an advisory role in the sections of the Book of Discipline dealing with the lawful election of Ministers and admission to office.

As the Book of Discipline puts it "It apperteneth to the repill/

71.

Pepill, and to everie severall Congregatioun, to Elect thair Minister: And in caise that thai be fundin negligent thairin the space of fourty dayis, the best reformed Kirk, to wit, the church of the Superintendent with his Counsall, may present unto thame a man ..." Candidates are to appear before "men of soundest judgement" - not the Superintendent per se and even where "the citie of the Superintendent" is explicitly mentioned it is "in the scoillis, or failling thairof in open assemblie, and befoir the congregatioun (that) thai (the candidates) most geve declaratioun of thair giftis etc." (72)

When all this is ended, "the persone that is presented, or that offered himself to the administratioun of the Kirk, must be examined by the ministeris and elders of the Kirk, and that opinlie and befoir all that list to hear" (73)

(It seems to me that here we have what might be termed a 'court' in operation and in so far as this court is examining candidates for the ministry, the function of oversight would seem to be implicit).

The next step in "lawful election" is the candidates' preaching before the Congregation he is to serve. The people must decide whether or not they want him as their minister although "unreasonable refusal" is denied them. (74)

The requirements for election and examination completed, the candidate is ready to be admitted to the office of the Ministry of Word and Sacraments. The details we have examined on Pages 40-43 of this thesis. Here we need only remark on the part played by "some especiall Minister" or "cheiff Minister" - a term which Prof. Cameron/

Cameron at least, understands to mean simply the "presiding Minister," (75) and which had its origin in the practice of the Reformed Church before Superintendents were thought of.

If we accept Cameron's reasoning - as the present writer does - we must then assume that Prof. Donaldson, in stating that the Superintendent played 'THE LEADING PART' in the examining and admitting of ministers, bases his assertion on later ecclesiastical practice.

The present writer is prepared to recognise with the Kirk Session of St. Andrews that in the early days, without the care of Superintendents, Kirks could not be "suddenly erected" nor "retained in discipline and unity of doctrine." (76) This does not prove however that the early Reformers thought in terms of a JUS DIVINUM of Superintendents. It is slightly mischevious of Prof. Donaldson to assert that in the early 1560's Superintendents were understood to have Divine warrant, by quoting the comments of one who was himself a Superintendent - comments which were written, as we shall observe at a time when there was a very real desire for a return to some form of Episcopal Church Government. (77)

When Donaldson, in referring to the examination and admission of candidates states "It was here and not in any succession that the Superintendent or bishop was a necessary officer" (78) we may well ask ourselves, how intrinsically necessary was he? If the Reformers were right in denying any personal uniqueness or superiority to the Superintendent, then the necessity of his playing a part in the admission of ministers rests wholly upon the fact that his function was to carry out the practical administrative duties which go to form part of "Ordinary vocation". As we have observed (79)/

73.

(79) the Book of Discipline mentions "the best reformed Kirk" - defined as "the church of the Superintendent WITH HIS COUNSALL" - only when the congregation themselves fail to elect within forty days.

Examination of candidates is not the Superintendent's sole prerogative either and admission is dependent upon "the consent of the pepill ..." and the "approbation of the learned Ministeris (plural, although Donaldson, significantly, talks of the learned Minister - singular, (80))appointed for thair examinatioun".(81) Taken at its face value the Book of Discipline presents a picture wherein at the admission of ministers, the neighbouring ministers played a part, with one of them - the chief minister, perhaps the Superintendent, acting as spokesman in declaring the suitability of the candidate which alone was sufficient for the candidate to be admitted by prayer. (See Page 42) So much for the procedure of admitting ministers to office in the early years of the Reformation. Put in summary fashion it is as follows:-

The Reformers aimed at having "faithful Ministers, true lie and pure lie to minister Christ's Gospell and Sacraments to His people" throughout Scotland. It is the true preaching of the Word and the right administration of the Sacraments and discipline rightly ordered that characterise the true Church. The Reformers felt that the failure of the old church could be attributed to several weaknesses but especially to that of the clergy; this they sought to correct in their complete reappraisal of admitting people to the ministry. The term 'ordination' is never used by the Reformers (82) and the admission of ministers is a relatively simple ceremony following upon the election and examination of candidates. The people play the/
the/

the main part in electing their minister; examination is the prerogative of "men of soundest judgement" in a given area and involves the nominee preaching in public. The consent of the people and the approval of men already in the Ministry are necessary conditions of admission to a vacant charge. At the admission ceremony, the election is confirmed, a sermon is preached and both the candidate and the people are reminded of their mutual responsibilities by the presiding Minister. Prayer is offered and the nominee thereby appointed to the charge. (83)

In all this, the call of God to the candidate was presupposed and confirmed only in the election; no outward sign or rite could ever validate such a calling. Thus the laying on of hands was judged unnecessary and while Superintendents were appointed, there is no evidence to suggest that they were regarded as possessing some mystical quality which alone could validate a man's 'ordination'.

The Scottish Church was reformed from within. There was no violent rupture in the actual composition of the clerical body and of the six ministerial members of the First General Assembly, four were reformed priests. (84) A glance at Dr. Hew Scott's "Fasti" (85) provides evidence of how the old order simply changed, giving place to the new. To quote Prof. Story "Out of the Romanist emerged the Reformed ministry. As, 400 years before, the Celtic Church had been amalgamated with the Church of Rome, so now, though the passage was more rapid and stormy, the Romanist was in part absorbed into, in part superseded by, the Reformed." (86) It was to men who were already in the Church and who had embraced Reformed doctrine that "the national voice, speaking through the Parliament, intrusted the task of framing anew the constitution of the Church."

(87)

As a result of their efforts, the bishops and the sacerdotal conception of the Church were set aside. (88) The Reformers revived the conception of the Church as the Christian community in the completeness of its whole membership - a conception which I shall argue later on to be fully Apostolic. (89)

Under the Roman system, admission to ecclesiastical office had been at the pleasure of the bishops. "The old scrupulous preparation and conscientious training of the Celtic Church had been utterly relinquished; and ordination had been profaned and bartered, while the people's right to a voice in the appointment of their spiritual teachers and guides had been habitually flouted," is how Prof. Story sums up the position. (90) The term "ordination" requires a little watching, however. As Prof. Donaldson has it, "it represents a concept which was not in the minds of the Reformers."

(91) Even if in 1560 the majority of men who became ministers were already "in orders" - thereby providing a succession in themselves - and even if the imposition of hands was soon re-introduced (92), neither of these things mattered much to the authors of the First Book of Discipline. Thus Donaldson writes "There is no evidence of the existence in 1560 of a belief that a minister received his authorisation from either a bishop or a group of ministers through a process of succession and the laying on of hands was 'juged nott necessarie'" (93) "It is neathir the clipping of thair crownes, the crossing (or some editions, greasing) of thair fingaris, nor the blowing of the dum doggis, called the Bischopis, neathir yit the laying on of thair handis, that maketh thame trou Ministeris of Christ/

Christ Jesus". (94) The usual signs of orders being transmitted are repudiated in this statement.

"The whole emphasis, by contrast" says Donaldson "was on appointment to a ministerial charge. It is true ... that many of the men so appointed or (as we might say) inducted were already 'in orders' but the Book of Discipline gives no indication that it recognised any ordination, any state of being 'in orders', any clerical character, apart from the holding of a particular charge." (95)

"That Book is to be interpreted not in the light of either presbyterian or episcopalian practice or theory in this country today, but in the light of principles to which some Reformed Churches on the Continent still adhere.

"Apart from Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Reformed Church in Switzerland knows no sacraments and recognises no 'sacramentals' Indeed, exception is taken even to the ordination of ministers on the ground that a Reformed Church only knows an induction by the Church to a particular office but not an ordination PER SE." (96) If this in fact a true representation of the Reformers' position vis a vis Ordination, clearly some very important issues arise.

If the Reformers esteemed their own ordination "as nocht" and if the whole concept of ordination as we know it, did not enter their minds, there could be no question of re-ordination within the Reformed Church (even if this were possible without some continuity from the past). Nor is it enough to say that the words "esteemed as nocht" simply mean that the Reformers disregarded their priestly ordination but all the time believed that same ordination to be in some way efficacious. Such a suggestion can only be based upon the argument/

argument from silence. Moreover, it implies that the Reformers believed ordination to be absolutely necessary because of its inherent efficacy, and also indelible.

If the reformers deemed ordination to be absolutely necessary surely responsibility lay with them to ensure the continuance of the practice; their silence on the matter merely serves to support the suggestion that for them ordination meant no more than admission to a pastoral charge. Later on in this thesis we shall require to look at the validity of this teaching in the light of Apostolic practice.

Of course it may be argued that the Reformers did not re-ordain men to the Reformed ministry because most candidates were already "in orders". We have already discovered that being "in orders" meant little if anything to the Reformers but even if we admit it meant something to them, how valid is it to speak of a succession being maintained by ordained men who themselves repudiated their ordination? Does Ordination carry with it an indelible effect? - in this sense is it a sacramental? Clearly some people would want to say that one cannot repudiate the effect of one's ordination even if one repudiates the ceremony itself. Again this is something we must examine later on.

We have already stated that most candidates were already "in orders", but what of the others. (e.g. the two who attended the first General Assembly and who had not been priests beforehand)? Dr. Donaldson admits that, despite the approval given by the General Assembly of 1566 to the Second Helvetic Confession with its provision for IMPOSITIO MANUUM, the practice was still not universal in the 1590's (97). What is there to be said of men admitted to charges without/

78.

without the laying on of hands? - can they be regarded as being within the Apostolic Succession? Does the Reformers emphasis on faith and character as distinct from order, accord with New Testament precepts?

Finally, in transferring the acto of ordaining or admitting from the bishop to the "presbytery", it could be argued that the Scottish Church thereby seperated itself from the Church Catholic. Again this is something we shall require to look at in relation to the practice of the Apostles and we shall do just that towards the end of this thesis.

The years 1567-1625 brought many difficulties in Church affairs. Mary abdicated on 23rd July, 1567 and the Earl of Moray became Regent - an appointment which must have been to the satisfaction of the Reformers. He had been, for some time after 1559, a close friend of Knox and one of his first acts as Regent was, in a Parliament held in December, 1567, to re-enact the Acts of 1560 thereby removing all question of their legality. (1) The problem of Church polity remained, however, especially in relation to the greater benefices i.e. the abbacies and the bishoprics. In 1567 nearly all the abbacies were held by lay commendators and all but four of the bishoprics were held by prelates of the old Church. The Assembly of 5th March 1570-1 appointed "diligent examination to be made of the learning, qualities and good conversation of pastours, before their entrie and their admittance to bee by a publick and solemne forme of ordination." (2) It was in the same year, however, that there arose the question of appointment to ecclesiastical offices at other than parish level. The Regent Mar appointed John Douglas, provost of St. Mary's College and Rector of St. Andrews University, to the vacant See of St. Andrews. (3) This action of keeping the arch-episcopal benefice in being was motivated far more by political dogmatising than by religious necessity. In fact there was no religious necessity for the continuance of the office, the functions of the Archbishop having been taken over by the Superintendents of Fife, Lothian and Angus.

The situation created by the Regent in acting as he did might well have provoked discussion on the inherent differences between bishops and superintendents. This did not happen, however, and the issue which came up for discussion concerned the presentation of/
of/

of people to benefices - an issue dealt with at some length by the Laird of Dun in his reply to certain points raised by the Regent. Dun's letter of 10th November, 1571, is useful and helpful to our understanding of how attitudes were developing within the Church. (4)

Dun himself was, of course, Superintendent of Angus. As such he was anxious to emphasise that it was "by the Kirk (that) spiritual offices (should be) distributed and men admitted and received thereto," (5) - a timely reminder to one who had so recently usurped ecclesiastical authority in making an appointment to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. The letter affirms the conviction that the office held by those who preach the Evangel and administer the sacraments is a spiritual office belonging to the Kirk alone. (6) This power of the Kirk is, according to Dun, committed to bishops or superintendents. For him the two are identical (7) but their identity is much more a question of their fulfilling the same function than of the superintendents being members within the Prelatic Succession hitherto in existence. Apart from anything else that Succession could never be perpetuated in the popular mode of electing superintendents. Moreover, as the General Assembly was very soon to allow, the title of "bishop" - stripped of its prelatic overtones - could be applied to those who had been bishops in the old church and who now acted as superintendents in the new, under the authority of the Assembly itself. (8)

The principal change in procedure evidenced by Dun's writing is of the essential part in the admitting of men to office in the church now being carried out by the bishops or superintendents and no-one else. (9) This change may have occurred out of habit rather than/

than out of Theological reasoning. Nevertheless, Erskine of Dun could find justification for bishops or superintendents appointing to offices and benefices of spiritual cure, in a literal understanding of St. Paul's words to Timothy and Titus in 1 Timothy 5:22 and Titus 1:5 (10).

Doubtless many people would agree with Dun in feeling that here the Theological necessity for an Episcopal Ordering of things is admirably stated. It must be said, however, that the period with which we are dealing was characterised by a very real desire for a return to Episcopal Church Government for its own sake and that the Superintendent must simply have seemed to many to be the logical heir to the Episcopal office. (11)

That such a literal interpretation of Scripture always abounded and that such an atmosphere of thought existed in 1560 the present writer would deny. If the literal understanding of Paul's words suggested by Erskine had prevailed when the First Book of Discipline was compiled, the Episcopal order would have been maintained and Scriptural warrant given for it rather than practical advantages. (12)

What I am suggesting, therefore, is that while Dun - no doubt sincerely - accepted a literal understanding of Scripture, Knox and his colleagues, inspired by Calvin, interpreted Scripture much more critically, and understood the Divine warrant for oversight of the Church in a somewhat wider sense than of it being vested in a unique order. We shall return to this area of discussion later on.

(13) In the meantime it is sufficient to remind ourselves that Dun's sole purpose in referring to Scripture at this point in his letter was not to discuss the merits or demerits of Episcopacy but to/

to affirm the Church's right in admitting people to office within it; the letter was prompted by political manoeuvring (14) and the Laird of Dun was anxious to draw a clear distinction between the power given by God to His Kirk and that given by God to the civil authority. Thus he wrote "A greater offence or contempt of God and His Kirk can no prince dee, than to sett up by his authoritie men in spirituall offices, as to creat bishops and pastors of the Kirk...; for the Kirk can not be, without it have (its) owne proper jurisdiction and libertie, with the ministratioun of suche/as God hath appointed." (15)

The outcome of Dun's letter to the Regent was the calling of a Convention or extra-ordinary General Assembly to meet at Leith early in 1572. (16) "Among other things it appointed a strong commission, including the Superintendent of Angus, with full powers to confer with a committee of the Privy Council..." (17) The vexed question of the greater benefices was discussed and eventually there was produced a document entitled "The Articles and Formes of Letters, concerning provision of persons to Benefices, and Spiritual Promotions, agreed upon by the Commissioners of the king's Majestie and the Reformed Kirk of Scotland, in their conference holdin at Leith, in the moneth of Januar 1571 after the old accempt; but 1572 after the new," - a document better known as "The Concordat of Leith." (18)

The effect of the agreement reached by this Convention was the bringing about of certain changes in Scottish Church Government - changes bearing the character of Episcopacy. The appointment of titular bishops was agreed in the following terms:- "It is thought good,/"

good, in consideration of the present state, that the names and titles of archbishops and bishops are not to be altered or innovated, nor yitt the bounds of the dioceses confounded; but to stand and continue in time coming, as they did before the Reformation of Religioun; at the least, to the King's Majestie's majoritie, or consent of Parliament." (19) Several restrictions were imposed however and it was resolved that "All Bischoppis and Archbischoppis to be admittit heirefter, sall exerce na farther iurisdiction in Spirituall function nor the Superintendentis hes, and presently exerces, quhill the Same be agreit vpoun; and that all archebischoppis and bischoppis be Subject to the Kirk and Generall ASsembly thaireof IN SPIRITUALIBUS, as thay ar to the King IN TEMPORALIBUS; and haif the aduise of the best learnit of the Cheptoure to the nowmer of Six at the leist, in the admissioun of sic as sall haue Spirituall function in the kirk; as alsua that it be lauchfull to als meny vtheris of the cheptoure as plefis, to be present at the said admissioun, and to voit thairanent." (20)

Throughout the proceedings of the Leith Conventien, vested interests and traditional institutions were dealt with sympathetically but in declaring that all holders of ecclesiastical benefices should publicly assent to and subscribe the Articles of Religion set forth in the Confession of Faith, the Leith agreement marked the total accomplishment of the Reformers' ideal of ejecting from the benefices those who still remained loyal to the Romanist faith. An act of Parliament of 1573 confirmed this (21).

Perhaps it was for this reason that Knox gave his approval to the Concordat of Leith. (22) It is true that when the matter was/

was being discussed in the Assembly of August, 1572, there was some criticism of the revival of such titles as archbishop, dean and arch-deacon on the ground that they were unscriptural. (23) Those who criticised were re-assured of their intentions by those who had signed the Leith agreement on behalf of the Church and Knox himself sent a letter urging that "all bishoprics vacant be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereto ... according to the order taken at Leith." (24) It must be noted, however, that although Knox participated in the admission service of Douglas to St. Andrews, he did express certain misgivings about the Leith agreement. (25) No doubt the Reformer accepted that only by agreeing to the terms of the Concordat could adequate supervision of the Church be achieved on a permanent basis; before 1572 was out, however, and even as he was dying Knox expressed regret in realising that the appointing of new Reformed bishops could be subject to abuse. (26)

In connection with the subject matter of this thesis there is an interesting comment made by "a learned Episcopalian writer" when he says, "This period exhibited a very anomalous aspect; having, at one time, Bishops without consecration; Pastors who had never been ordained to any spiritual office; and the semblance of government by Presbyters without the formation of any Court in which their authority could be properly recognised." (27)

Anomalous aspects there may have been but by 1572 the Earl of Morton had become Regent and his policy in dealing with the Church was to achieve "Conformity with England".(28) His method of so doing was by enhancing royal authority over the Church. In 1567 the parochial benefices had fallen to the Reformers; in 1572 they had secured the succession to the greater benefices (or bishoprics) and as/

as we observed above an Act of Parliament of 1573 at last made it possible to deprive beneficed men who would not conform and appoint ministers in their places. These developments "offered the Reformed Church the prospect of inheriting the entire ecclesiastical structure." (29) In 1574, however, before the process could be completed, there arrived in Scotland from the Continent one, Andrew Melville. (30) The remaining period of Morton's Regency - he died in 1578 - proved to be a critical one in the history of the Scottish Reformed Church. In Melville, the opponents of the Earl found a leader, a leader who brought with him what Morton called his "conceits and oversea(s) dreams (in) imitation of Genevan discipline and laws". (31)

From 1575 onwards controversy raged over the lawfulness of Episcopacy and the parity of ministers.

In the General Assembly of August 1575, John Dury one of the ministers of Edinburgh asked if bishops as they at that time were in the Church of Scotland, had their function demonstrated by the Word of God and if the chapters appointed for creating them should be tolerated in a Reformed Kirk. (32) A committee was appointed to deal with the matters in question. Melville was one of its members and at a later session it was suggested to the Assembly that:- "the name of Bishop is common to all those that have a particular flock over which they have charge to preach the word, minister the sacraments and execute the ecclesiastical discipline with consent of the elders but of this number may be chosen some to have power to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds besides their own flocks, as the General Kirk shall appoint to appoint ministers with the consent of the Ministers of that province and the consent of the flock to whom they should/

should be appointed, to appoint Elders and Deacons where there are none, with the consent of the people, and to suspend ministers for reasonable causes." (33)

As Prof. Burleigh puts it, "A bishop is essentially the pastor of one congregation, and any supervision he may exercise beyond his own congregation is a duty entrusted to him by a Church authority in addition to his proper work. Morton's bishops were therefore called upon to regularise their position by taking upon them each a particular Kirk!" (34)

The report of the committee was discussed and approved by the Assembly of April 1576. Episcopacy, however nominal, was in the process of becoming quite repugnant to the minds of Scottish churchmen and of course the threat of "conformity with England" bringing back prelacy into the Church of Scotland still existed. Clearly a quarrel was brewing between the Regent and the Church. In 1577 the quarrel came to a head when the Regent questioned the right of the Kirk to interfere in the appointment of Patrick Adamson to the arch-bishopric of St. Andrews. (35)

One man, however, remained on good terms with both Morton and the Kirk. This was John, eighth Lord Glamis - a man much respected on account of his wise and moderate statesmanship. (36) In 1577 he was described by an English observer as "a good protestant, and a favourer of the King; holden very wise and discreet, wealthy but of no party or favour." (37) Glamis was Chancellor under Morton. He was also a member of two commissions on ecclesiastical polity which was held in March 1575 and October, 1576. He was, therefore, well acquainted with the Melvillian position but as a statesman he could also see the constitutional problems which would arise/

arise in both Church and State should the polity then existing in the Church be hurriedly overthrown. (38) In order to clarify the position with regard to Episcopacy in the midst of the growing crisis, Glamis decided to consult Theodore Beza, "the Swiss Theologian from whom Melville claimed to have derived his views and for whom, as Calvin's successor, Scottish protestants of all opinions had a high regard." (39) According to Glamis himself, the advice of Beza was sought because of "the credit and renown of (his) reputation for (the) scholarship ... abundantly attested by (his) works (and) published with godliness and learning to the utmost profit of the Church." (40)

The immediate cause of writing, however, was that adequate agreement had not been reached on matters of Church government and constitution. Glamis explained that "the form of government which for some time was practised ... (had been) overthrown along with the popish superstition, " but that, up until the moment of his writing, it had proved impossible to substitute "a convenient and fitting form of Church government." (41) At that very time they were still "striving to establish some ecclesiastical constitution." (42)

In this situation Beza was asked to clarify some important issues. The first, and for us, THE most important of these issues concerned the necessity of bishops in the church - placed there in order to summon the ministers to synods, to admit people to the ministry and to remove others from office for just reasons. The question of their necessity seemed pertinent to Glamis since there was a minister appointed in every congregation and since in the Church of Christ the power of all ministers seemed equal and identical. Clearly the feeling was widespread that "all ministers, enjoying equal/

equal power and not subject to the authority of any bishop as superior, ought, with the consent of the patron (having the right of presentation) and of the people themselves, to choose men suitable in religion, to discipline them and to remove them from office." (43)

Only two factors worthy of consideration as arguments in favour of retaining bishops could be suggested by Glamis. These were a) that bishops could restrain people by virtue of their authority and b) that the laws of the realm could only be established and the welfare of the realm only be maintained by the presence of bishops in parliament - these forming one of the three Estates.(44)

In his reply (commonly referred to as the treatise *DE TRIPLICI EPISCOPATU*) Beza distinguished three categories of bishops - of God, of man and of the devil.

Prof. Donaldson has summarised Beza's statement on Episcopacy in an article in the Miscellany of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. VIII. In his treatise, Beza apparently argued that "the bishop of God" is, in fact, every pastor or minister. Any pastor or minister who has been or is given power over his colleagues is really only "the bishop of man" - his "office" having been "brought in of man, by little and little a privy custom," i.e. without the warrant of Scripture. The third kind of bishop spoken of by Beza viz., "the bishop of the devil", " 'sprouted forth of the corruption of the bishop brought in by man,' arrogated to himself sole authority over the clergy, invaded temporal dominion and wasted the patrimony of the Church." This kind of bishop was regarded by Beza as bearing "the image of the beast" and the hierarchy of such "an anti-Christian primacy." (45)

By way of answering the specific questions sent to him by Glamis/

Glamis and basing his assertions on his understanding of the Apostolic Writings, Beza suggested that the Lord decided the controversial issue of superiority among His own disciples by "shutting it clean out." (46) The Apostolic writings present us with a picture of churches prospering "when all this authority of one man over the rest yet was not" and decay set in only when little by little, "the bishop ordained by man" came into the Church. His presence might have proved tolerable if adequate safeguards had existed to protect the majority of the people and resist tyranny; in the absence of such safeguards, however, the danger was constantly around of Satan using "the bishop of man" for greater things - greater evil things. This, implied Beza, is what happened when "the bishop of man" - now Satan's bishop, - became established in the Church. (47)

For this Swiss Theologian at least, the office of bishop, being anything other than that of pastor or minister of a congregation was the device of man and so to the first point raised by Glamis, he replied "Seeing where the remnants of this government by a few are not clean taken away the work of the Lord is openly hindered, our judgement is that after the chasing away of this device of man the churches shall be well provided for if they ... be repaired according to the writings of the Apostles." (48)

Beza then provided some guidance for the re-organisation of the Church along what we might call "Presbyterian" lines. He suggested that in "the assembly of the whole eldership", "there be chosen by common voices, one first in order - not superior in authority - who (should) be thought most fit, and that without making choice of any certain place, and but for a certain time." (49)

Thereafter/

Thereafter the theologian proceeded to answer Glamis' point about the presence of ecclesiastics in Parliament by denouncing the practice and suggested that "the frowardness of the people", might be kept down a great deal better by other means than "by the authority of a false named bishop." (50)

The points made by Beza were taken to heart by the Scottish Church Leaders. Already the appointment of every new bishop - made under the Leith formula - had been blatantly accompanied by agreements whereby part of the Episcopal revenues was diverted to secular purposes or secular pockets, while ordinary ministers continued to live as "poor amid the poor". (51) The outcome of events was the drawing up of a Second Book of Discipline. The text of this Book is to be found in Calderwood's "History" (52) and so I quote here only such passages as are relevant to our subject. (Page references are given in parenthesis)

The Book opens by making clear the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical government - the power of the sword and the power of the Keys. The whole "policie of the Kirk" ought always to be determined in obedience to the Word of God (P.530) and a call is made for, among other things, an end to be put to the practice of admitting men to Papisticall titles of benefices, "sic as serve not, nor have na function in the Reformit Kirk of Christ".(P.546) The order takin at Leith is condemned because "either that pretendit order is agains all gude ordor, or else it must be understood not of them that be qualifiet in worldly affaires, or to serve in court; bot of sic as are qualifiet to teich Godis Word, having their lawfull admission of the Kirk." (P.547)

As to bishops the Book is quite explicit: "If the name

Ἐπίσκοπος /

Ἐπισκοπος be properly taken, they are all one with the ministers as before was declared. For it is not a name of superiority and lordship, but of office and watching. Yet, because ... this name has been abused ... we cannot allow the fashion of their new chosen bishops "Few bishops should addict themselves to any particular flock, which many of them refuse; neither should they usurp lordship over their brethren and over the inheritance of Christ, as these men do." (PP.547-8) Oversight there must be and this is recognised but only those who have been "lawfully chosen be the presbytery" for the purpose of visitation should be free to move from parish to parish. (P.548) The idea of bishops being "pastors of pastors" - "pastors of many flocks" is repudiated as being not in agreement with the Word of God. Every bishop should have a "certain flock" assigned to him and be subject to the discipline of his brethren. (P.548)

All who bear office in the Kirk should be lawfully called. (P.533) Vocation to service in the Kirk is recognised as being of two sorts - extraordinary i.e. by God Himself directly as were the Apostles and Prophets; and ordinary i.e. bearing "the lawful approbation and outward judgement of men, according to God's Word, and (the) order established in His Kirk". (PP.533-4 Every person seeking to enter an ecclesiastical office should possess "the inward testimony of a good conscience" before God but he must also face the rigours of ordinary vocation. This consists of election and ordination. (P.534)

Election is defined as "the choosing out of a person or persons most able to the office that vaikes, by the judgement of the eldership and consent of the congregation to whom the person or persons/

persons (is or are to be) appointed." (P.534) The qualities sought are "soundness of religion" and "godlines of lyfe" as these are set forth in Scripture. The learning and ability of the candidate(s) are omitted by the Second Book of Discipline but, in common with the First Book, no one is to be "intrusit" against the will of the people. Only when an election has taken place and the candidate "weill tryit and fund qualifiet" is he to be ordained. (P.534)

"Ordinatione is the seperatione and sanctifying of the persone appointit of God and His Kirk The ceremonies of ordinatione are fasting, earnest prayer, and (the) imposition of (the) hands of the eldership." (P.534) (53)

All in all the office of the Ministry is an office of deep humility and those ordained thereto "sould tak these titils and names onlie ... quhilk the Scriptures gevis unto them, as these quhilks import labour, travell and wark; and ar names of offices and service, and not of idleness, dignitie, warldlie honour and preheminance, quhilk be Christ our Maister is expreslie reprovit and forbidden." (pp.534-5)

The Second Book of Discipline, like that of 1560, in speaking of the New Testament Ministry, mentions, as one would expect, "Apostles, prophetis, evangelistes, pastouris and doctoris" as ministering in the Word, with "the eldership" having charge of "gude order and (the) administratioun of discipline" and "the deaconschip" having "the cure of the ecclesiasticall gudis" (P.533). Not all of these offices have a place in the settled polity of the Kirk, however. The offices of Apostle, prophet and evangelist are said to have only an extraordinary and temporary function which is no longer needed. Four distinct offices remain in the Kirk, viz. that/

that of pastor, minister or bishop (54); that of doctor (or teacher); that of presbyter or elder and that of deacon. (P.533).

The "policie of the Kirk" itself is said to consist of three things - doctrine (including "the administratioun of (the) sacramentis"), discipline and distribution. (P.532) From this, there naturally emerges a three-fold division of ministers or preachers (together with teachers), elders or governors, and deacons or distributors. In the widest sense all are ministers of the Kirk for although Christ is "the onlie King, Hie Priest and Heid," He still uses the ministry of men "indewit with the giftis of His Spreit" for the government of His Kirk and its upbuilding. (P.532) In essence, the teaching of the Second Book of Discipline on how men should be admitted to the ministry is little changed from that set forth in the earlier documents of the immediate post-Reformation period. The main ingredients are still election, examination and "ordination" or the action we now refer to as ordination.

It is the considered opinion of the present writer that nowhere in any of the documents we have examined hitherto is there evidence of "ordination" being, of necessity, the prerogative of one man on account of his being in an Episcopal Succession. Ordination by Presbyters was regarded as being rightful long before Presbyteries as such, were established. This is the most salient feature that emerges from our study to date. As a consequence the emphasis which appears with Melville and his associates, of "ordination" being the responsibility of "the elderschip" (55) represents no dramatic change in teaching or practice but is simply a systematising of ideas first formulated in the early 1560's. The question of the validity of Presbyterian ordination does not begin with the introduction of Episcopacy/

Episcopacy into the Church of Scotland in 1572 or even with the Second Book of Discipline, but with the departure of the Scottish Church from the Episcopal system of the Roman Church away back in 1560. This whole question we shall deal with in a later chapter.

In the mean time, the meaning of the term "elderschip" must be considered. The question has been raised, Did the term "elderschip" refer to ministers and elders acting together as in the modern Kirk Session, Presbytery etc., or did it refer only to ministers when used in connection with the ordination of men to the Ministry? In the earliest days of the Reformed Church's life, clericalism was unthought of and I am persuaded that from the beginning, Christian people thought of themselves as acting together in calling a man into the Ministry, through their calling of him to be their minister. There was no part of the procedure which could be described as "lay" any more than another part might be described as "clerical" and "the elderscip" either at local or district level were simply those men to whom the good order of the church had been entrusted. Throughout the period we have been examining all office-bearers of the Kirk were regarded as exercising a Spiritual function. (56)

It is interesting to note that Beza in sketching his idea of what later became the Presbytery, talks of "the eldership" as being the "pastors of parishes, both of city and country, (together with) a sufficient number of men approved for their godliness and wisdom" (57) In the Second Book of Discipline, the term "elderschip" is used of different kinds of ecclesiastical assemblies (58) but in at least one instance the term is used synonymously with "presbytrie." (59) It is this "elderschip" which is said to have "the power of election of them who beir ecclesiasticall charges." It/

It must be "well erectit, and constitute(d) of many pastors and elders of sufficient abilitie" (60); nothing is said of the ministers alone having the power to ordain and when ordination is said to involve "fasting, earnest prayer, and imposition of (the) hands of (the) eldership" (61) it is fairly certain that, as in the English Church of around this same time, (62) the elders were thought of as participating. It seems as though the change which resulted in the ministers alone "laying on hands" in ordination took place some time after 1580 or 1581. Thus, Row tells us that "the Kirk ... about this time ... being well governed by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial and Generall Assemblies ... (come the) day whereon a minister was (to be) admitted, the whole number of the brethren of the Presbytery.... and the whole congregation giving their consent, all being present; ... after sermon, imposition of hands was made by all the ministers of the Presbytery there convened." (63)

This change of procedure clearly represents a change of attitude towards the meaning and significance of ordination. It implies a difference in status between ministers and elders. It may be that the Book of Discipline adumbrated this in speaking of POTESTAS ORDINIS AND POTESTAS IURISDICTIONIS (64) but, without explicit comment, need we assume that this distinction was made within the constituted framework of "the eldership" when they met to ordain someone to the Ministry? In any case a change soon came about and the implications of clericalising the ordination act we must examine later on.

One other pertinent point emerges from the Second Book of Discipline. In it the ceremony of ordination is no longer looked upon/

upon as a conferring of Apostolic privilege. On the contrary it is said to be "the separation and sanctifying" of an individual to the service of God and His Kirk. (65) Imposition of hands is certainly now expressly permitted but with the change in polity that has been proposed there is no longer any danger of the practice being superstitiously misunderstood as anything other than "a useful sign". As Dr. Ainslie points out, however, (66) the wording of the Second Book of Discipline does not indicate any enforcement of the practice and he goes on to tell us that it was not enforced in practice until the Assembly of 1597, under the influence of the King, made the rite of "imposition" obligatory. That such a resolution of the Assembly had to be passed at all, is evidence that up until that point uniformity of practice did not exist and that ordinations had taken place sometimes with and sometimes without "imposition of hands." David Calderwood was in no doubt as to why the Assembly acted as it did. Thus, he wrote "It is to be observed that this imposition of hands, wherabout all this business was made, was holdin for a ceremonie unnecessarie in our Kirk, whill that now, laying the foundatioun of episcopacie, it was urged as necessarie." (67) Certainly by 1597, the re-establishment of Episcopacy was very much a live issue again.

The Second Book of Discipline was effectively a demand for a reversal of the policy pursued by Morton post 1572. The thoughts expressed in the Discipline amount to the complete repudiation of Episcopacy, however nominal. As we observed earlier, however, the Regent favoured a policy aimed at bringing about "Conformity with England" and a quarrel was soon to develop between him and the Church. Against this background it was inconceivable that the Second/

Second Book of Discipline should ever receive the approval of the Regent and, in fact, the General Assembly, when adopting the Discipline, in April 1578, could only engross it in its records AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM. (68)

If, however, Episcopacy was repudiated in the Book of Discipline (and incidentally, the Assembly which approved it concluded "that no bifchops (should be) electit or made heirafter befor the nixt Generall Affemblie" - an act which the Assembly of June, 1578, extended "for all tymes to come", (69)) the changeover to a Presbyterian polity did not happen right away. Difficulties very soon appeared, due largely to the attitude of the King, James VI. He was not at all happy with developments within the Church and the key to his policy in the ensuing struggle with Melville and the Kirk is provided by the axiom, "no bishop, no King." (70)

As Prof. Dickinson has put it, "Taking his cue from England, James saw that in Episcopacy, with bishops chosen and appointed by the crown, lay his only hope of royal control over the Church So, in the contest between the Crown and the Kirk, James strove for the supremacy of the Crown, supported by an Episcopal Church; Melville strove for a church which contained no bishops, who might be tools of the King, and a church which, under its General Assembly, was independent and free from any control by the state." (71)

In May 1584 the "Black Acts" declared, among other things, the King to be head of both Church and State and laid down that the government of the Church was to be by bishops responsible to the King. (72) Conflict seemed inevitable. This was avoided, however, when the rival claims of Crown and Kirk were made the subject of a compromise/

promise in an agreement arrived at in February, 1586. As a result of this reconciliation, bishops were to be presented by the king to the General Assembly for election and admission; each bishop was to be appointed to a particular Kirk which he was to serve as minister and he was to be subject to a presbytery or "senate" chosen from the ministers within his bounds, through whose advice he would appoint to vacant parish churches. (73) This compromise was accepted by the next Assembly and a scheme of presbyteries drawn up but largely as a result of the Act of Annexation (1587) it proved ineffective. (74) Prof. Burleigh suggests that James was prompted to pass this Act appropriating the temporalities of bishoprics etc. to the Crown because he had reached the conclusion that his ambitions could not be fulfilled by bishops of the type spoken of by the Assembly when they rejected his nomination of Robert Pont to the vacant bishopric of Caithness. (75)

From the reply given by that Assembly, it is clear that Episcopacy, as hitherto practised, was unacceptable to those within the Church, however much they agreed to it on grounds of political expediency.

In practice, however, the Act of Annexation, did not accomplish the ends desired by the king. On the contrary there came about "a temporary eclipse of episcopacy" (76) and in 1592 there was passed the Act which has come to be known by later generations as the "Golden Act" or "Magna Carta of the Church of Scotland." (77) This Act, in theory and in practice, cancelled the effect of the Black Acts and placed the government of the Church firmly on a Presbyterian basis. Episcopal jurisdictions were abolished and presentations/

presentations to benefices were to be directed to presbyteries.(78)

The King still hated presbyterian Church government, however. To him, the parity of ministers was "the mother of confusion" and very soon "by a combination of astuteness, subtlety and plain common sense ... James was able gradually to graft an Episcopal form of government upon a Presbyterian Church." (79) The actual method employed by James in accomplishing his ideals does not concern us here. The General Assembly reacted cautiously to his proposals but he simply disregarded the safeguards laid down by the Kirk - safeguards aimed at preventing the re-establishment of Episcopal powers and functions. By 1600, four bishops of the King's own appointing were back in Parliament and Scotland once more had the beginnings of an Episcopal Church. (80) Three years later, James succeeded to the throne of England and found himself in a position to bestow upon his ancient kingdom the benefits of the English ecclesiastical system. This he attempted to do step by step. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was restored to the bishops and by June 1610 the Assembly had overthrown the old Forms of Presbyterian Discipline and Church Government. (81)

Thereafter, three of the Scottish bishops passed to London to receive consecration at Anglican hands. (82) In order to avoid the contentious issue of the Church of England appearing to have superiority over the Church of Scotland, James arranged that the consecration be carried through not by the Archbishops of Canterbury or York but by the Bishops of London, Ely and Bath. (83) It is worth noting that the Bishop of Ely felt that the Scots had received no valid ordination and suggested that before being consecrated they should first be ordained presbyters. (84) This, of course, was the old/

old argument concerning the absolute necessity of Episcopal ordination but the ruling of Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, provides us with^a valuable insight into the official contemporary Anglican attitude towards "non-Anglicans." He judged that it was unnecessary for the Scots to be ordained anew since such action would imply a doubt as to whether there was any lawful ordination in most of the Reformed Churches; such doubting was unjustified according to Bancroft. (85) He was not prepared to withhold recognition of another Christian Church and put paid to the question by stating that "where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful." (86)

According to Calderwood, "There was no mention made in the Assemblie of their Consecration, farre lesse anie warrant for them to take upon them(selves) the office of a Bishop, distinct from the office of a Presbyter. They did onlie tye ordination, jurisdiction, plantation to them, as conjunct necessarilie with the presbyteries, (I meane, to such as were styled Bishops, by reason of their benefices and titles thereto): But they tooke upon them(selves) consecration to anie office; and when they returned home they consecrated the rest of their fellowes. All of them deserted their flockes, and usurped thereafter jurisdiction over the ministers and people of their diocies, by virtue of their consecration to anie office, and not by anie delegate power from the Assemblie These thrie were the thrie that brake off first, and boldlie accepted this consecration, in the moneth of November, without warrant, yea, without the knowledge or consent of the Kirk of Scotland." (87)

Thus Prelacy re-entered the Church of Scotland.

Spottiswoode, Lamb and Hamilton consecrated the other bishops in Scotland according to the Anglican rite and soon a formulary was drawn up for use in all future ordinations of Ministers and consecrations of Bishops. Here we need simply state the main features of that formulary having to do with the ordination service which followed the trial of the candidate, a certificate of suitability having been directed to the Bishop and an Edict served.

The service of ordination contained a sermon in which the candidate was reminded of the duty and office of ministry; and the people were reminded of how they ought to esteem their minister. Thereafter the Arch-deacon presented the minister designate to the Bishop; assured him of the candidate's suitability and of public intimation having been made concerning the proposed admission. The Bishop then addressed the people and asked them to declare any fault which might disqualify the candidate. If there was no reply the Bishop then proceeded to address the candidate and administered the Oath of Supremacie i.e. the oath of allegiance to the King. The candidate was then reminded of the duties and responsibilities of the Holy Ministry and exhorted to seek continually the assistance and guidance of the Holy Spirit; to be diligent in the reading and learning of the Holy Scriptures etc. He was asked to consider his call and having stated he was sure of its validity he was then called upon to answer a series of other questions concerning such things as the Scriptures, Doctrine and Sacraments, Prayers, Self and Family adherence to Christian principles etc. Obedience to the Ordinarie was promised and a prayer offered by the Bishop - in which the whole congregation joined.

The prayer being ended the Bishop with the Ministers that were/

were present, proceeded to lay their hands upon the head of the one that was being admitted, who in the meantime was "kneeling humbly upon his knees ..." The actual admission formula was worded in the first person plural ... "Wee give unto thee power and authoritie to preach the Word of God, to minister his holie Sacraments, and exercise Discipline ..." . There followed the placing of a Bible in the hands of the ordinand with the injunction for him to study it continuously. Then the Bishop and all the ministers present took the ordinand by the hand. In this they were joined by Commissioners from the Church whereto the new minister had been admitted. A final exhortation was made and the service ended with the singing of the Twenty-third Psalm and a Benediction.

In addition to this public ceremony certain oaths were taken in private but, on the whole, the ordination itself was characterised by only a few changes in practice from the procedure established in the earlier days of the Reformed Church's life. Fasting is nowhere mentioned in this 17th Century document but earnest prayer and imposition of hands are central to the whole ceremony. We have already noted the fact that in the laying on of hands, all the ministers present shared. This is extremely similar to the Second Book of Discipline's statement about "the imposition of hands of the eldership." (88) Significantly, the hands of the Bishop were not regarded as alone being all-sufficient; this despite his being in the Anglican succession. Speaking generally, one gets the impression from "the Forme and Maner of ordaining ministers ..." of the Bishop exercising the same function as the "especial minister" spoken of elsewhere. (89) Episcopal ordination may have been the order of the day but one cannot help feel that "in this period, extending/

extending for the year 1610 to 1637, Episcopacy may be said to have existed more in name than reality, in Scotland." (90) The only real innovation was the Oath of Supremacie and this can be accounted for by political considerations. The essential nature of ordination seems to have remained unchanged and it may even be argued that the formulary we have been considering was little used, coming as late as it did; "Although printed by authority, it is singular that no notice of it should have been taken by any writer." (91) Its importance, quite clearly, was minimal.

In 1625 James VI and I was succeeded by his son Charles I. His ecclesiastical policy was aimed at strengthening Episcopacy in Scotland (1) and in 1636 there appeared a book entitled the "CANONS AND CONSTITUTIONS ECCLESIASTICAL, gathered and put in form for the Government of the Church of Scotland and ordained to be observed by the clergy and all others whom they concern." (2) In this work reference is made to two other books - the Book of Common Prayer (Laud's Liturgy) and the Book of Ordination.(3) This latter work would be extremely interesting with regard to the subject of this thesis but alas no copy seems to have survived. It is fairly certain, however, that by 1637 "the majority of ministers must have been ordained and admitted to their charges by bishops, and knew no other system." (4) This does not mean that non-conformists were nowhere to be found. There were plenty of young men around who were steeped in the Melvillian tradition, among them George Gillespie who was still a Probationer in 1637 when he wrote his "Dispute concerning the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland." (5) These men found a leader in one, Alexander Henderson. A scholar, Henderson was originally an ardent Episcopalian but by 1618 he had changed his mind and ere long was at the head of the Presbyterian movement; together with a young advocate, Archibald Johnston of Wariston, he was entrusted with drawing up a "band" which, when produced in 1638 under the heading "National Covenant," set forth the position of the signatories with regard to various issues affecting the Kirk and "the True Reformed Religion." (6)

Later on in the same year (1638) the General Assembly met at Glasgow. The bishops were charged with, among other things, having accepted and exercised an office which the Kirk had previously condemned and on 8th December, the Assembly voted that "all Episcopacy different/

different from that of a Pastor over a particular flock was abjured in this Kirk and to be removed out of it." (7)

Civil war seemed almost unavoidable. Very soon, however, attempts were being made to bring the Kingdom of Scotland and England together through the drawing up of a common Confession and a common form of worship and government for the two Churches. This, of course, had always been King Charles' objective. True, he wanted such unity to be on a High Anglican basis but there was just the possibility of him agreeing to a reformation of the Church of England along Presbyterian lines. (8) Certainly some months before the Solemn League and Covenant was finally sworn, the English Parliament had resolved that a reformation of the doctrine, worship and government of the Church of England was necessary in a manner "most agreeable to God's holy word and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad." (9)

With this end in mind Parliament nominated 121 ministers and 30 laymen to consult and advise; most of these men were Presbyterian in sympathy with a few Independents but very few, if any, real Anglicans. Parliament had the final word on all the decisions of the Westminster Assembly, which met for the first time on 1st July, 1643. (10) Soon thereafter an invitation to send representatives was directed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Those nominated by the General Assembly included Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie. The position of these men was technically ex-officio but in fact they played a major part in the debates at Westminster. (11)

In the end a number of documents were produced, the most important/

important being the Directory for Public Worship, (1644) the Form of Presbyterian Church Government (1645) and the Confession of Faith (1647).

Together these are the last documents we must examine with regard to the understanding of Ordination in the Church of Scotland during its formative years. Before we do this, however, we might profit from a look at "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland" attributed to Alexander Henderson as having been written in 1640 and "printed at Edinburgh by James Bryfon in Anno 1641." (12)

At the outset the author says he has found many of the godly much wearied of the Prelacy but "being unacquainted with the Government of the Reformed Churches they do not know what to choofe and fear they know not what". (13) Henderson admits that he himself had been carried away by those who suggested that the true government of the Church of Scotland was Episcopal and that "befide the order of Epifcopacy there was nothing in that Church, but diforder and confufion through the Parity of their minifters." (14)

Having examined the situation for himself, however, he tells us that "Epifcopacy was never the Face nor order of that Church. In the moft part of their Affemblies have they conflicted with it, and by the ftrength of God obtaining the victory both of old and much more of late, they may well number it among their fpoiles. The order of their minifters, each one ftanding in his own ftation, and none ufurping over another; and the Subordination of their four kinds of Affemblies, joyning the confent and obedience of the People, are the Face and ftrength of that Church." (15)

The author of "The Government and Order" tells us that his/

his admiration for the Scottish Kirk grew out of his reading the testimonies of men such as George Wisheart, Beza and even King James VI; by them he was prompted to examine more closely the constitution and order of the Church of Scotland.

In relation to our subject matter, Henderson gives an account of how the ministry developed and was regarded within the Church of Scotland. Thus he states that the ordinary and perpetual offices of the Church warranted by Christ and His Apostles (defined as extraordinary ministers to whom His Will was revealed) are Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons; and he goes on to assert that no other had ever been acknowledged by the Church of Scotland. These alone were regarded as sufficient for the fulfilment of the Church's role in the world viz. exhortation, teaching, administration of the sacraments, government and distribution. (16)

The only succession which derives from the extraordinary ministry of the Apostles etc. is in respect of their "Doctrine, holiness of life and substance of ministry." This is SUCCESSION IN CAPUT (17) and "all faithful Pastors, lawfully called to their Functions, are their Successors." (18)

Henderson proceeds to state that the office of a Bishop consisting in Power or Priority over a Pastor, had been traditionally regarded as having no warrant in Scripture. (19) Visitors, Superintendents and Commissioners were accepted in the infancy of the Reformed Church but it is suggested by Henderson that here no precedent was set; we must distinguish between the Church in her INFANCY and in her RIPER AGE - "Between her desires, designs and endeavours; and her attainments proceedings and performances." (20) Going along with this argument the use of Superintendents was a temporary/

temporary expedient - it always having been the intention of the Reformers to supersede Superintendents by Presbyteries and Assemblies. That some men, by ambition and by the working of the civil authority and corrupt Assemblies did become bishops and were even consecrated is not disputed but it was clearly Henderson's belief that these developments were not in keeping with the will of the Church at large. (21) He obviously considered that the Church of Scotland, despite sometimes having been given an Episcopal character, was Presbyterian in nature, from an early date. This being the case Ordination was one function which had to be understood from the point of view of ecclesiastical authority being properly vested in Church courts. (22)

The following details are provided by Henderson as to the contemporary practice in admitting men to the ministry:-

In the first place, no one was regarded as being eligible for office in the Church unless and until he had received an Inward Calling from God. The approval of men was also necessary, however, and this was given or withheld according to the rules set forth in the Word of God." and the received Order of the Church." This outward calling of the Church was regarded as involving Election and Ordination but only after due trial and examination had been made of the candidates' "foundnefs in Religion and Godlinefs of Life." (23)

A pastor to serve in any vacant charge was, first of all, chosen by the (local) eldership from amongst those who were eligible to receive a Call - Expectants as they were called. The name of the person so chosen was indicated to "the greater Presbytery" provided this action had "the confent and good liking of/

111.

of the people." (24)

The Presbytery was charged with examining the learning and the ability of the nominee presented to them - his knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Ecclesiastical History; his ability to deal with "the Controversies of Religion"; his interpreting of Scripture; his gift of Exhortation and his life and manner of conversation (25) (See Appendix)

If he was found suitably qualified the candidate then preached before the people that they might be given "the greater assurance of his Gifts for Edification." (26)

Thereafter one of the ministers of the Presbytery was appointed to preach to the congregation on various points having to do with the necessity of the ministry, the qualities of a (good) minister etc. and the obedience they as a congregation ought to give to the Gospel. The congregation were cited to attend the Presbytery - there to give their approval to the candidate; alternatively to object to his "Literature, Doctrine or Life" and to substantiate their objection. (27) A further opportunity of objecting was given at the start of the meeting of Presbytery convened for the admission service itself. (28)

The day appointed "for the accomplishing of the election and for the ordination of the pastor" was kept as a day of fasting - a day when supplication could be made for the blessing of God. (29)

The proceedings began with a minister appointed by the Presbytery preaching on the mutual duties of Pastor and people. (30)

Thereafter, the candidate was asked, among other things, of his willingness and desire to serve the Lord Jesus, for the good of that/

that people. The people in turn were asked of their readiness to receive him as their Minister. (31) When both Minister and people had declared their mutual consent, the (presiding) Minister came down from the pulpit "and with fo many of the minifters prefent, as (could) conveniently come near, (laid) their hands upon his head, and in the name of Jesus ... appoint(ed) him to be Pafitor of that People, praying that from Jesus Christ, who (being) at the right hand of the Father ... giveth gifts unto men, he (might) find the De-monftration of the Spirit and the Power and Bleffing of God in his Miniftry, to the comfort of that People." (32)

Thereafter "the whole elderfhip" gave the newly appointed minister the right hand of fellowship; the officiating minister returned to the pulpit and concluded the service "with pertinent thanksgiving and prayers"; a Psalm was sung and "the Affembly diffolved with the Bleffing." (33)

Henderson draws particular attention to the fact that Pastors or Presbyters were not admitted "at large" i.e. Admission to the Ministry was always linked with election to a particular charge or congregation. Thus he writes, "They conceive it to be as prepofterous for Ordination to go before the Election of Minifters in the Church, as it is firft to Crown a King or Inftall a Magiftrate and thereafter to choofe him." (34) Really what this means is that Ordination is not valid as a rite in itself but only as part of a process which culminates in this rite. In other words "Lawful election" is part of Ordination and cannot be separated from it. If this is so Ordination is the way by which one is admitted to an Office much more than to an Order. Be this as it may, (and we shall discuss this aspect of Ordination later on) Henderson sums up/

up the practice of the Church of Scotland in regard to Ordination with these words" ... in the Ordination of their ministers they use none of the ridiculous toys and apish conceits of Popery; but according to the Simplicity of the Apostolicall and ancient Church, content themselves with Fasting, Prayer and (the) Imposition of hands; Prayer to bring down a blessing upon the person on whose head the hands are laid, and fasting, to make the Prayer to ascend the more fervently." (35)

"The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland" sets out to represent the established practice of the Kirk. (36) Speaking generally, it is a good account but from the point of view of the critic there are difficulties caused by the lack of reference to Source material. The problem is not insuperable, however. Much of the Church's "tradition", having to do with the appointing of ministers, was simply carried over and stated anew by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The specific teaching contained in the Westminster Documents is always supported by reference to the Scriptures and it is in this that their real value to the critic of this early period is to be found. Also, since the Westminster formularies became the authoritative standards of the Church of Scotland they simply cannot be overlooked in any study of the Ministry and of Ordination in particular.

In the Westminster Confession of Faith we read "The visible Church, which is also catholick or universal under the Gospel consists of all these throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."(37) The New Testament also speaks of individual churches and this is also recognised by the/

the Westminster Confession (Chap. XXV, 4) This aspect of things is much more clearly dealt with in the "Form of Presbyterial Church Government," however. Here it is stated that "Particular churches in the primitive times were made up of visible saints, viz. of such as, being of age, professed faith in Christ, and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Christ and his Apostles; and of their children." (38) Such particular churches being part of a wider whole, "are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the Gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and publick worship performed more or less purely in them." (39) In order that these things can be done "Christ hath given the Ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints in this life, to the end of the world; and doth by His own presence and Spirit, according to His promise, make them effectual thereunto." (40)

In the "Form of Church Government," "the officers of the Church" - "the officers which Christ hath appointed for the edification of His Church, and the perfecting of the saints," are said to include those extraordinary officers spoken of elsewhere in this Thesis - Apostles, evangelists and prophets - all of which are now ceased - and Pastors, teachers, other Church-governors, and deacons. (41)

The one officer who concerns us in this study is, of course, the Pastor, whose task it is "to prophecy of the time of the Gospel." (42) There ought to be in every congregation at least one who labours in the Word and doctrine. (43) It is also part of this man's function to share in the ruling of the Church with those others appointed for that purpose. (44) Church-government was instituted by/

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by Christ - "to that purpose, the Apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jesus" - and He has "continually furnished some in His Church with gifts of government, and with Commission to execute the same, when called thereunto." (45) To such officers "the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" have been committed. (46)

From all this we can say with assurance that, together with the oracles and ordinances of God, the Ministry of men is Christ's gift to His Church; it cannot be isolated from the Word and Sacraments that are ministered. This being so, the Ministry is essential to the very being of the Church since it has its origin in Christ and by Him has been entrusted with the Gospel of the forgiveness of sins, the preaching of which opens the Kingdom of Heaven to the penitent and closes it to the impenitent. (47) The Keys of the Kingdom have come down from Christ through the Apostles and faithful preachers of the Gospel and it is the duty of every minister to use them in the Ministry of Reconciliation spoken of by St. Paul in 11 Corinthians 5 18-19.

The preaching of the Gospel, with authority, "belongeth to none, but to such only as God doth call to His Ministry, and sendeth out with commission for this work." (48) This is the Pastoral Ministry - part of a wider whole, but having prophecying of the time of the Gospel as its specific purpose.

As the "Form of Presbyterial Church Government" puts it "No man ought to take upon him(self) the office of a Minister of the Gospel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto." (49) In this same document Ordination is defined as "the Solemn setting apart of a person to some publick church office," (50) but Ordination itself/

itself is not understood as standing outside the concept of "lawful calling." This latter expression had, of course, its origin with Calvin (51) and has been used throughout the whole period of our study with reference to the whole act through which a man is constitutionally commissioned to the ministry.

As we observed elsewhere, (52) Ordination for ordination's sake is nowhere hinted at in the Westminster Documents. True, it is "always to be continued in the Church" but we also read, "it is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge." (53) On the other hand, "no man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can show just cause of exception against him." (54)

Thus, Ordination is dependent upon the election of the people. In this it is a sign or seal of God's call but nowhere is there the suggestion of ordination carrying with it a special spiritual value; it is a setting apart to public office in the church and thereby it is something very much grounded in earthly necessity.

In conclusion, two points must be observed.

(1) It is quite clear from the Westminster Documents that while the whole Presbytery was responsible for ordering Ordination, (55) the laying on of hands was regarded as the prerogative only of the preaching presbyters. Thus we read "Every minister of the Word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong." (56) Those who participate in the laying on of hands, however, must be "orderly associated" (57) and this seems to emphasise the collective nature of/

of Ordination.

(2) The Westminster "Form of Presbyterial Church Government" was not completely without charity in its understanding of Ordination. While presenting Presbyterian Ordination as normative and Biblically justifiable, provision was made for any minister "who (had) been formerly ordained presbyter according to the form of Ordination which (had) been in the Church of England." Such Ordination was held to be valid in substance and not to be disclaimed by any who had received it. (58)

S E C T I O N T W O

The Reformers and the Bible.

In the early days of the Scottish Reformation people felt the need of having faithful ministers "truelie and purelie to minister Christ's Gospell and Sacraments." (1) In attempting to arrive at their desired ideal, the Reformers looked to the practice of the Apostles. The Bible was their source-book in determining what had been the example of "the first planters of Christianity." Thus we read that "laying God's word before them, (they) made Reformation according thereunto ... in doctrine first and then in discipline." (2) Reliance upon Scripture is noticeable in the Preface to the Scots Confession of Faith (3) and in the Westminster Documents almost every statement is rooted in a Biblical warrant. The First Book of Discipline sets out to frame an ecclesiastical polity that admits nothing "quhilk Goddis plane word sall not approve," (4) and the Second Book of Discipline, containing the programme of Andrew Melville declares that the polity of the kirk "sould leane upon the Word immediatlie, as the onlie ground thereof, and sould be tane from the pure fountaines of the Scriptures, the Kirk hearing the voyce of Christ and being rewrit be His lawes." (5) Details given in the Book of Common Order are also strongly Biblical, pre-Reformation practices being retained or abrogated according to that test and, by way of an example we have already noted (6) how in 1575 there was discussion as to whether or not bishops could be justified by the Word of God.

In the early days of the Reformed Scottish Church, the version of the Bible most commonly used was, of course, the "Genevan" or "Breeches" Bible. This appeared in 1560 and has been described as being "unmistakably evangelical, sublimely pedestrian, conspicuously/

conspicuously anti-papal and slyly democratic." (7) Superseded in 1611 by the Authorised Version, the Bible dominated every sphere of life during the period of our study. As Prof. G.D. Henderson puts it, "The Bible may be said to have been ... the supreme constitutional document in Scottish history and experience."

(8) The Bible was the test for everything as Henderson so ably demonstrates. (9) "Laye the booke of God before your eyes;" says Knox (10) and in another place he states "I never labourit to perswade any man in matteris of religioun ... except by the verie simplicitie and playne infallible trewth of Godis Word." (11)

Two things emerge from this last statement. The Reformers sincerely believed in the plainness and perspicuity of Scripture. The most casual reader of Knox must be struck by the number of times he testifies to this quality of Scripture. "Goddis plane Word"; "the plain Scripture convicteth you"; such phrases occur constantly; and in addressing Queen Mary on a famous occasion, he put the matter forcibly: "The Word of God is plane in the self; and yf thair appear any obscuritie in one place, the Holy Ghost, whiche is never contrariouse to Himself, explanes the same more clearlie in other places: so that thair can remane no doubt, but unto suche as obstinatlie remane ignorant." (12) The second point which emerges has to do with the infallibility of Scripture. Calvin in his Institutes declared "The full authority which the Scriptures ought to possess with the faithful is not recognised unless they are believed to have come from heaven as directly as if God had been heard giving utterance to them." (13) Knox in his works, constantly uses phrases like "the infallibill Word of God," (14) "these are not the wordes of of mortal man but of the eternall God/

God"; (15) "Godis Word hath supreme autoritie" (16) etc. Here, verbal inspiration is the theoretical assumption - an assumption which is made even more clear by some of the Westminster Divines. Thus according to Prof. Henderson (17), Rutherford could assert: "In writing every jot, tittle, or word of Scripture, they (i.e. the writers) were immediately inspired, as touching the matter, words, phrases, expression, order, method, majesty, style and all: so I think they were but organs, the mouth, pen and amanuenses, God, as it were, immediately diting, and leading their hand at the pen." Henderson himself is of the opinion that, as with Erasmus, they believed the Scriptures to have come "out of the secret closet of the mind of God." (18)

Having said all this however, the present writer feels it is only fair to point out that the Reformers as much as anyone else were well aware of the dangers and of the difficulties encountered by attempting to build a doctrine upon a literal understanding of any single Scriptural text. Thus Knox could say "We stick none otherwise to the literall sense of these former wordes of the Apostle, then the rest of Scriptures permitt and do teach us." (19)

"It was realised by all the Reformers that the Scriptures needed to be interpreted," says Henderson and he goes on, "This explains the interest in education both clerical and popular, an interest particularly strong among Calvinists, and in none more strong than in Knox." (20) Knox displays a certain freedom of judgment when in mentioning certain Biblical statements such as "God did it in His anger" or "God streichit out his hand," he proceeds to state "na sic thing can be in the Godheid." (21)

While believing the Scriptures to have been inspired by God,/

God, it is quite clear that the Reformers realised that the language used by the Biblical writers was "the language of our infirmity" and that the mind of God must be discerned from the Scriptures AS A WHOLE. Thus, we find ourselves in total agreement with Dr. Ainslie when he states that it was "From the New Testament and the Scriptures as a whole (that there) came the chief formative guidance in the work of instituting the Reformed ministry"

(22) Knox for one, was prepared to approach Scripture intelligently and with a certain critical faculty; and while he would allow nothing in the Church which could not be justified from Scripture, he was prepared to acknowledge the early Church Fathers, for instance, as contributors of valuable insights into the meaning of the texts. Thus he could write "With Augustine, I consent that whatever the Doctors propone and plainly confirme the same by the evident testimonie of the Scriptures, I am hartlie content to receive ..." (23)

It is interesting that Calvin on one occasion stated that "Our conviction of THE TRUTH OF SCRIPTURE must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, judgments or reasons, namely the secret testimony of the Spirit." (24) The actual words of Scripture are not all important - there is always a deeper, inner significance. The words are but the vehicle of the truth. This truth must be interpreted. In the words of the Scots Confession of Faith such interpreting "apperteaneth to the Spreit of God, be the whiche also the Scripture was written." (25)

Dr Ainslie tells us that the Reformers formulated their doctrines concerning the ministry and tried to draw up their regulations for it from the Scriptures. (26) In this note we have sought/

sought to establish the Reformers' attitude towards the Scriptures and how they understood and used the Scriptures. It is manifestly wrong to suggest that they were naive in believing they could find in the New Testament directions with regard to Church polity and the office of the Ministry. The Reformers were not naive and we still adhere to their teaching. What we must do is to examine that teaching in the light of Modern Biblical Research; judge for ourselves how near or how far the Reformers' approach to formulating a Biblical understanding of the Ministry and admission thereto, has been vindicated by modern scholarship; and try to clarify some of the concepts surrounding our Doctrine of Ordination.

To this end we proceed to an examination of the Ministry of the Apostolic Age.

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C H A P T E R VI

THE EXTRA-ORDINARY MINISTRY OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

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The Apostles, Prophets and Teachers of the New Testament Church were not the servants of any one congregation. They were not official leaders (ἡγουμενοι) of the communities in which they were to be found (1) and while all three had the gift of speaking the Word of God, we must identify the distinguishing characteristics of each. Within the New Testament (and in Christian usage generally) ἀποστολος has two distinctive connotations. Firstly, "it is limited to certain men of the first generation of the Church's history"; and secondly, "it marks the bearer of the title, among other qualifications, as a missionary of the Gospel." (2)

The Twelve.

The term "Apostle" was applied by Jesus to the Twelve disciples whom He attached to Himself, to aid Him in His Ministry, and to be trained by the discipline of His example and precept for the carrying on of that Ministry after His departure. (3) This continuing Ministry of Jesus must always be governed by the example He laid down. It is important to remember, therefore, that "The Apostles (were) pre-eminently the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word from the beginning (St. Luke 1:2)" (4) and that all Ministry, to be valid, must be built upon the foundation laid by them. (5) As we shall discover shortly (6) there can be no succession - no transmission of powers - from the Apostles. Apostleship is a function of the Church and the Apostolate - the Ministry - is the organ through which that function is exercised. If this premise is true, then Apostolicity depends not so much upon the Church tracing the pedigree of its Ministry back to the original Apostles; much more does it depend upon the Church as the Body of Christ/

Christ and the Ministry as part of that Body, continuing to do the work of the Apostles - doing it after their "spirit and example". "The Church (and her Ministry) is Apostolic because she is called by Christ and empowered and instructed by Christ to go and make disciples of the nations, " to quote Prof. Manson.

(7)

The preparation received by The (Twelve) Apostles was "their intimate personal companionship with their Lord and their apprentice work under His eyes. Their call was the living voice of the Master while He was with them in the flesh." (8) This close relationship with Jesus on the part of the Disciples was, of course, their own unique experience. It was an experience which was incommunicable. (9) Certain experiences The Twelve shared with others; for example, the privilege of witnessing the Resurrection (10) but the singular pre-eminence of The Twelve is due entirely to their standing in a special relationship with Jesus. They were chosen by Him, appointed (not in any formal sense) to be His companions and occasionally sent out as His representatives. It is clear from St. Paul's letters that The Twelve were called Apostles in the earliest days of the Palestinian Church. This means that the Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents of ²ἀποστολος are important in determining the meaning and significance of the term. (11)

The Hebrew term is SHALIACH, a derivative of the verb SHALACH, meaning "to send". In the Septuagint this verb is regularly rendered by ²ἀποστελλειν - the verb corresponding to ²ἀποστολος. K.H. Rengstorf gives a good account of the way in which the term SHALIACH was used in Rabbinic Judaism in Kittel's "Theological/

"Theological Dictionary of the New Testament" (12). Concerning the use of the verb SHALACH in the Old Testament, Rengstorf says the emphasis is always on the sender rather than on the person sent. Prof. A.R. Johnson has noted that in Rabbinic thinking, any member of a man's household acting as his agent or messenger became, so to speak, an extension of the man's personality; through the agency of the messenger, the master was regarded as being present in person. (13) Since the term Apostle provides the New Testament parallel to the SHALIACH, it is clear that when Christ sent out The Twelve, He intended them to be His representatives and this remains a function of all who are called to serve as Ministers of Christ. Prof. Manson draws our attention to one point which is of special interest to us in the context of this Thesis and the whole question of Apostolic Succession: The SHALIACH could not transmit his commission to another person.(14) No ministry is valid simply because a commission has been transmitted through someone; a ministry is valid only when the person exercising it has received a commission from God in Christ.

The Apostles PAR EXCELLENCE (and this includes Matthias who also had enjoyed the personal companionship of Jesus) were the men who, at the outset, were entrusted with the message and mission of the Church (15). As eyewitnesses, the Twelve were primarily the guarantors of the Resurrection (16). By virtue of their special calling, the Apostles laid the foundation stone of the Church's preaching and they were its first leaders. (17) "The Church stands on their testimony, which is regarded as real testimony, as the rehearsal in the power of the Spirit of that which they had themselves experienced. Every development of spiritual life is conditioned by their testimony/

testimony. In virtue of this they are called the pillars of the Church" (18). Schweizer, however, points out that, in both Mark and Matthew, "the word (Apostle) still clearly denotes function" (19). Be this as it may, Schweizer also suggests that "the New Testament is unanimous that the Apostle(s) (meaning, of course, The Twelve) acquire(d) a unique position because of (their) meeting with the risen - or exalted - Lord, and because of the charge given to (them). To them there (was) entrusted the fundamental preaching by which the later preaching (was and) is to be measured." (20) "We can speak of the Apostles' pupils but not of their successors in office" (21) says Schweizer. The Apostles, then, were functionaries but when their Master had gone they found themselves with a status all of their own.

"All the Apostles."

In the post-Resurrection period, The Twelve were confronted with a missionary situation. They had received a new commission the starting point for the study of which is given by St. Paul in I Corinthians 15. Here Paul places his own Apostleship on a par with The Twelve by setting his own Damascus Road experience alongside their experiences of the Risen Christ. True, he had received his call in a manner different from the others but despite never having seen Jesus in the flesh, he was quite sure that he had been called "to be an Apostle" (22). Paul's preparation was different from that of "The Eleven" plus Matthias, but he was absolutely certain that although he had not "been with Jesus", he had seen Him after His glorification - he had witnessed the Resurrection and was thereby fitted for Apostleship. (23)

Although/

Although he had not been one of the original disciples, Paul's Apostleship still had the Lord's own sanction (24) and for him there was nothing illogical about this since the Christian message had to be taken "to all nations".

Moreover, as Prof. J.Y. Campbell (25) has pointed out the use of the expression, "to the Twelve ... and then to all the Apostles" in I Cor. 15:5 and 7, appears as part of the tradition Paul had "received" (v 3). This being so, one must deduce that this wider application of the title did not originate with Paul but was already current in the Church at that time. Thus, despite the fact that in 24 of the 26 occurrences of the expression in Acts, the term ἀποστολοι refers to either "The Eleven" or "The Twelve," it is clear that they were not the only Apostles. The title was also given to Barnabas (Acts 14:4; I Cor. 9:5,6) and apparently even to Andronicus and Junias (Rom.16:7). As Lightfoot has suggested, had the number of the Apostles been definitely fixed, difficulty would have arisen in explaining the rise of the false apostles mentioned in II Cor. 11:13 and Rev. 2:2. To quote Prof. Manson on the subject, he suggests that "it seems clear that we have to reckon with a stricter and a looser use of the term both in the New Testament and in the early Christian Literature". (26) We note also the view expressed in Kittel's "Theological Dictionary of the New Testament". Here it is stated that the Apostles were "the first Christian missionaries or their most prominent representatives including some who did not belong even to the wider group of disciples." (27)

That the two uses of the word continued beyond the Apostolic/

toloc age itself is also quite certain. Thus, the Didache, while carrying a reference to the narrower circle in its title (Διδάχῃ τῶν ὀδεκα Ἀποστόλων), paints a description of the wandering "Apostles" as itinerant missionaries to whom the title belonged in its widest sense. (28)

If, then, we accept that "Apostleship" has both a narrower specialised meaning (in referring to those who had a post-Resurrection meeting with Jesus (29)) and a wider meaning (in referring to others who were "separated unto the Gospel of God" (30) and who devoted themselves, in obedience to the "call" that came to them, to lives of active missionary endeavour) we come a little closer to understanding what is meant by a Church and Ministry of our own day being Apostolic.

The words of Prof. Lindsay are useful and relevant to our understanding of Apostolicity. "The unique position occupied by 'The Eleven' and by St. Paul was personal to themselves; it was based on a unique and immediate experience; NO SUCCESSION COULD COME FROM IT, but Apostles, in the wider sense of the term, have always existed in the Church and are with us still"(31) "It was the apostolate in its widest extent that was a part of the 'prophetic ministry' of the primitive Church. When we think of Apostles as part of the triad of 'Apostles, Prophets and Teachers' we must have in mind, not twelve or thirteen, but large numbers who were missionaries in the Church, and took first rank in the 'prophetic ministry' because their duty was to extend the boundaries of the Church of Christ The spiritual 'gift' which they possessed was a personal and not an official thing They were THE PIONEERS of primitive Christianity/

Christianity." (32)

(For our particular purpose it is well for us to recall at this point, the definition of the Apostolic Ministry as given by Prof. Story viz. "A Ministry exercised in the spirit and after the example of the first planters of Christianity and transmitted from them to us in an orderly and recognisable succession." (33))

The Prophets.

The prophet found his work within the Christian community up until about the end of the second century (34). Prof. Lindsay is of the opinion that "Prophecy was the universal and inseparable accompaniment of primitive Christianity and one of its most distinctive features. Wherever the Spirit of Jesus had laid hold on men, and believers were gathered into societies, there appeared among them some who believed themselves to be specially filled with the Spirit of the Master, and able to speak His Word as He wished it to be spoken. When such a one addressed them, his fellow Christians seemed to hear the Lord Himself speaking: 'for', they said, 'where that which pertaineth to the Lord is spoken, there the Lord is.' " (35)

Prophecy, of course, had its home in Palestine; the ancient prophets with the "Word of Jehovah" on their lips were the spiritual guides in the Israel of old. In the Old Testament the noun "prophet" appears over 300 times. The original root meaning is difficult to determine but three periods in the history and development of prophecy are discernible:-

- (1) Sporadic manifestations before the time of Samuel.
- (2) The rise and growth of prophecy from Samuel to Amos.
- (3) The period marked by the canonical prophetic writings.

A long period of silence followed but the re-appearance of prophecy was expected and longed for by pious Israelites as a sign of the nearness of the Messianic time. (36)

Jesus Himself provided the link between the prophecy of the Old and that of the New eras. He Himself, as had been promised was a prophet (Deut. 18:15 and 18 cf. Acts 3:22, 7:37) and had been looked for by many (St. John 6:14). He used the title "prophet" of Himself (St. Math. 13:57; St. Luke 13:33) and other people used it of Him. (St. Math. 21:11; St. Luke 7:16 ; 24:19).

"According to the teaching of the New Testament, the exalted Christ still continues to exercise His prophetic function (by) guiding His disciples into all the truth by the Spirit whom He sends (St. John 16:7 and 13) and 'building up the body' by bestowing upon it Apostles, Prophets and Teachers (Eph.4:8ff)."

(37) This being so it is clearly important that we should have a look at some of the characteristics of the prophets of the Apostolic age; only by so doing shall we gain an overall picture of the things which the Ministry of the Apostolic period possessed and found useful.

We have no evidence from Apostolic or sub-Apostolic times which would suggest that the prophets held any office or that they were the recognised heads of local Churches. Office-bearers could be prophets but the point we must remember is that office itself neither brought the "gift" nor excluded it. The person endowed with the ability to prophecy was "a gift of God to the whole Church" and no community could make exclusive claim to such a person. (38)

The Didache makes it quite plain that around the end of the first/

first century and the beginning of the second, the prophet was held in high esteem. (39) This may have been due to the fact that he dealt with such matters as discipline and absolution or reprobation to membership after gross cases of sin. (40) In any case, the prophet's influence was such that, wherever he went, he took precedence over the local ministry of bishops and deacons. (41). In this connection, however, we must note that because the prophet was thought of as being inspired to speak the Word of God in a very special sort of way - thought of as being vested with a sacred authority - the danger was always around of his becoming completely autocratic. In order to meet the danger the early Church devised a system of control. This involved the prophet having to receive the permission or authorisation of a congregation before exercising his "gift" in their midst. (42)

If we accept that the prophet's own ministry was part of the wider Apostolic Ministry, then it is quite clear that one essential feature of Apostolic Ministry was and is that, before being allowed to speak the Word of God, the Minister should first of all be tested and authorised by the congregation he is to serve.

In the case of the prophets, "Authorisation followed the testing or the recognition whether the supposed prophet had or had not the true spirit of Jesus. The power of testing lay in the witness of the Spirit, which was living in every Christian and in every Christian Community The prophetic ministry rested on a double 'gift' or $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$; one, the 'gift' of speaking the Word, in the prophet, and the other, in the members of the Christian Community, the 'gift' of discernment. The possession and use of this 'gift' of testing preserved the freedom and autonomy/

onomy of the local Christian Churches in (the) presence of men who were persuaded that they spoke in the name of God. Every prophet had to submit to be tested before he was received as one worthy to exhort the brotherhood; and his decisions or admonitions on points of discipline had to be approved by the congregation ere they were enforced." (43)

This whole business of testing those who claimed to have a prophetic message on their lips was urged repeatedly by St. Paul. He even urged it with regard to himself (e.g. see I Cor. 10:15; 11:13). For Paul, the power to discriminate between true and false spiritual "gifts" was (and is) itself a "gift" or *Χαρισμα*, which ought always to be used in the Church (I Cor. 12:10 cf VI, 4). Christ Himself warned His followers against false prophets. He predicted that they would bring evil upon His Church (Mt. 7:15 ; 24:11). So it was that St. Paul, after telling the Thessalonians to cherish prophesyings, insisted that they should still use their power of discrimination. (I Thess. 5:20 - 21) The same instruction appears in I John 4:1 - 3 and in the Book of the Revelation, the Church of Ephesus is praised for trying and rejecting men who called themselves apostles and were nothing of the kind. (Rev. 2:2)

In connection with the testing of prophets one final point must be made. It "had little or nothing to do with the external appearance of the prophet or with the kind of utterance he selected to convey his message. The question was: Were the contents of the prophetic message such as would come from the spirit of Jesus? Had it the self-evidencing ring about it? Had it the true ethical meaning which must be in a message from the/
the/

the Master? - something which distinguished it from everything heathenish or Jewish, something which showed that the prophet had drunk deeply at the well of Christ." (44) Put very simply it was the prophet's spiritual qualification that was sought.

The Teachers.

The third group of people belonging to the extraordinary ministry of the Early Church were the teachers. St. Paul places these people third in the order of importance he gives in I Cor. 12:28 (*et passim*). Nevertheless the teachers were honoured in the infant Christian communities; Unlike the prophets, they found a contemporary model in the Jewish Synagogue arrangements and this they carried over into the primitive Christian Church. It should be noted, however, that the teachers were not office-bearers (even although they could be chosen as such (45)). For our present purpose it is sufficient simply to state that that which made them teachers was neither selection by their brethren nor any ceremony of setting apart to perform work which the Church required to be done. They were teachers because they had, in some sort of personal way, received from the Spirit, the "gift" of knowledge, which fitted them to instruct their fellow-believers. Having said all this, however, it is clear from the Didache (46) that the teacher had to submit to the same tests as the prophet, and that only when he had been "accepted" by his hearers was he honoured as one who legitimately spoke the Word of God.

The teacher's task was to edify the people (47). In the midst of the change which took place in the nature of the Ministry during the second century, the task of teaching became the/

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the responsibility of the local ministry although it is clear from Eusebius' History of the Church VII, 24 that teachers, as a separate group, continued within the Church for some centuries.

(48)

Here then we find another aspect of the Apostolic Ministry. In any church which claims to be following in the footsteps of the Apostles it would seem necessary that the "gift" of knowledge - the ability to instruct people in the faith - should be a characteristic of its ministry.

The Extra-ordinary or prophetic ministry summed up.

The Ministry exercised by the Apostles, prophets and teachers of the early Church has been called extra-ordinary. No better reason can be given for this designation than that given by Calvin (49). It was extraordinary in the sense that God raised up this three-fold Ministry to meet the very special circumstances of the Early Church's time. It was prophetic in the sense that all three classes were "gifted" to speak God's Word. St. Paul himself was called a prophet long after he had begun his Apostolic mission (Acts 13:1 & cf II Cor. 12:1-5) and the teachers were often closely identified with the prophets (for example, in the Didache).

It was the "prophetic ministry" of Apostles, prophets and teachers which characterised the formative period of the Church's life. The Apostles, prophets and teachers did not represent three orders of ministry, however. In I Cor.12:28 and parallels such as Rom. 12:5-8 and Eph.4:7-12, Paul lists the variety of functions - the diversity of "gifts" - and kinds of service

(διδασκαλία)/

(διδκοβια) to be found in the one body of the Church. (50)

The people who exercised these functions were not office-bearers. They were not elected and despite what will be said shortly about Paul and Barnabas, they were not set apart by any ecclesiastical action or ceremony. Their vocation was immediate and personal. They could be tested and their ministry could be accepted or rejected, but there the power of the Church with regard to them and to their ministry came to an end. If we can speak of a Church "organisation" dating from the Apostolic period it must be in terms of the things which characterised this "prophetic Ministry." Undoubtedly some of these have abiding value for the Church.

Perhaps the most pertinent feature which emerges from our study of the prophetic ministry of the Apostolic period is that the initiative in calling someone into this ministry always lay with God. We need not conclude from Paul's insistence on having received his call not from man but "through a revelation of Jesus Christ," (Gal. 1:12) that other men received their call only from the Church. Matthias was not called and appointed in any kind of ecclesiastical sense. In fact, the account of his appointment as given in Acts 1:23 ff would suggest that the brethren did no more than recognise God's choice of Matthias to be an Apostle in the place of Judas. It is certainly true to say that in Acts 13:2 f we read of Paul and Barnabas being separated for the work they were to do furth of Antioch. Fasting, prayer and imposition of hands may seem to us to be an ordination ceremony but this reading of our own ideas of ordination into the passage merely begs the question, What is the significance of the ceremony of appointment outlined in Acts/

Acts 13:3. Paul would never have admitted that it was this action which somehow or other validated his Apostleship. For him the only thing that mattered was that God had called him. The action spoken of in Acts 13:2 f was simply a way of designating him to a particular area of service and that for an indeterminate time (cf Acts 14:26).

If this argument is accepted we may then agree with Calvin (51) that while Paul had been selected "by special privilege" God still acted through men in having him subjected to an ecclesiastical call - in having him separated to a particular sphere of employment. If anything, this is what ordination is all about. God calls a man into the Ministry and no human ceremony can interfere with that. From the outset the man so called is a minister of God. In recognising this as a possibility, the Church is charged with demonstrating to the world that God has so acted with that particular person. The Church herself, however, must be sure of her action. Consequently, the business of testing and discerning on the part of ordinary human mortals, takes on real significance. It is the Spirit of discernment which is the Church's guide to the making of a right decision; only in this way can the Church be sure of God's call to the person. (52) Once satisfied, the Church proceeds to the ceremony of ordaining the person to the Holy Ministry. This is the Church's method of telling the world that God has called the person to His service; it is also the Church's own opportunity of approaching God in prayer, imploring the blessing of the Holy Spirit upon the ministry beginning at that time. Since to the outside world all this may appear very abstract, the business of illustrating the practical/

ical side of ministerial appointment is very often made easier by accompanying the ordination of a minister with the designating of him to a particular sphere of employment. This is what the Church at Antioch did. (53) This too is how, traditionally, the Scottish Church has acted but ordination need not necessarily be accompanied by induction to a charge. Ordination is important in itself, important not because some indelible effect is transmitted by the ceremony in an EX OPERE OPERATO sort of way but because it emerges directly out of the action of God in calling the person concerned into the Ministry.

C H A P T E R VII

THE SETTLED NATURE OF THE CHURCH'S MINISTRY TOWARDS
THE END OF THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

The Successors of the Apostles, prophets and teachers - who are they?

In the early Church two types of ministry were present - the ministry of preaching and/or teaching the Word of God and the ministry of administration. I Cor. 12:28 brings this out clearly. Those of the prophetic ministry did not concern themselves with the business side of the Church's life. This fell to those who possessed the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ of administration. The Authorised Version of the Bible describes such people by the word "governments" while The Revised Standard Version calls them "administrators". (1) The Greek term, $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\nu}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, actually refers to the business of steering a ship and it is from this that we get the idea of guiding the Church in its business affairs. Naturally, the Charismatic nature of this ministry was less clear than that which was concerned with preaching the Word, but organising and executive ability was recognised by the early Church as being every bit as much a "gift" as the power of prophesying. In fact, by the early 2nd Century, the prophetic ministry was nearing the point of falling into disrepute. False prophets were on the increase (2) and the serious offences that these people committed indicate how very easy it was for the prophetic or Charismatic ministry to become an instrument of strange teaching. Against this background the structure of the ministry simply had to undergo certain changes.

The Charismatic ministry stressed by Paul displays little if any formal organisation. (3) In the later New Testament writings, however, we are presented with a Church organisation which is beginning to crystallise. When we come to the Didache/

Didache we can see the "official" ministry beginning to claim the functions previously accorded the prophetic ministry. (4) On the whole, the prophetic ministry is still held in high esteem but the fact that in the Didache specific tests are set forth suggests that the prophetic ministry was being abused and that restraints were deemed necessary. The ministry of office was taking the place of the ministry of inspiration. This did not happen overnight, however. It is wrong to think of the Charismatic ministry simply disappearing and being replaced by an "official" type of ministry - something inferior and based upon human ingenuity. The change that occurred was not as radical as all that and the question as to who were the successors of the Apostles probably never arose; After all, presbyters did not suddenly appear on the scene. When the book of Acts was written, the office of presbyter was an established office in the Church.

We must not imagine that when Luke, in speaking of the important council held at Jerusalem, tells us that the Apostles and elders were gathered together (Acts 15:6) he was guilty of reading back into history certain conditions which had only recently come into being. In fact, the office of presbyter in the Christian community had its antecedent in the organisation of the Jewish synagogues, where a body of elders - older, respected members of the community - were responsible for the business affairs of the community and the exercise of discipline in matters regarding the Law.

In the Christian community, the presbyters represented the local churches in negotiations with governmental authorities and were appointed to office by the laying on of hands. (5) It is/

is to these leaders of the local churches that the Book of Acts makes reference and that not simply with regard to their presence in the Jerusalem Church but with regard to their presence in the Pauline Churches as well. (6) As I have said already formal Church organisation is nowhere explicitly mentioned in the writings of Paul. Nevertheless, the words written in I Thess. 5:12 - where the writer calls upon his readers "to respect those who labour among (them) and are over (them) in the Lord" - imply the presence of certain people within the Church who were involved not simply in the general administration of Church affairs, but in the work of preaching, teaching and officiating in the worship of the Church. These people, be they presbyters or whatever, were the successors of the Apostles, prophets and teachers of the earlier period. We must be careful how we understand this succession, however. Treating the subject in a general way we may agree that "In the Apostles as forming the foundation of the Church all ministry was contained, and from them only, existing ministry (was and) is derived as a ministry dependent on the Apostles and ordered by them." (7) The role of the Apostles was special in the whole divine action of the world's redemption "and their office as eye-witnesses of Christ's redeeming acts and (as) the master-builders of His Church shared the uniqueness and once - for - allness of that redemption itself." (8) It follows from this that there were "no actual successors of the Apostles in terms of their office or status, but rather a ministry of the Church following the pattern and example of their ministry and as a matter of the Church's obedience continuing the Apostolic practice of commissioning/

ioning by the Apostolic rite of 'ordination' by prayer with the laying on of hands. " (9)

True Apostolic Succession must be looked for in the on-going life of the visible and historic Church. The claim of Apostolic Succession can be made and substantiated only when the Church is faithful to the Apostolic doctrine embodied in the Holy Scriptures and as long as the Church remains the community of those baptised according to Christ's ordinance, who hear His Word and receive the Bread and Wine of His broken Body and shed Blood. A necessary part of the on-going life of this fellowship - not standing apart from it but functioning within it - is the Holy Ministry, ordained "to a stewardship in the oracles and mysteries of God and a pastoral rule in the Church, with authority to ordain others in this continuing ministry dependent upon the Apostles."

(10) The Apostles "ordained" others not as they themselves were ordained (if we can apply this technical term to their unique appointment) and therefore not as successors in their place, but, by the laying on of hands with prayers as a subordinate and dependent ministry. Those so ordained exercised their ministry not with the judicial and oracular authority of the Apostles but only in subordination and obedience to the Apostolic Ministry and in conformity with the Apostolic teaching and ordinances. This is the ministry which has continued throughout the Church until now and this alone may rightly be called Apostolic. (11) It must be affirmed, however, that in all ages the ministry is derived directly from the Ascended Lord who continues to send down gifts for the ministry of His Church. When a man receives a call to the Holy Ministry it comes from God in Christ. The Holy Ministry/

stry is a Divine ordinance, not an ecclesiastical expedient and the only sound Biblical warrant for ecclesiastical ordering of the ministry is that no man should take honour to himself. This is what lies behind the Reformed teaching regarding the Call of God to a man being confirmed by an ecclesiastical Call. (12)

The "Settled" Ministry.

Of this local and practical ministry the "Seven of Jerusalem" furnish the earliest examples. Their special duties when first we meet them in Acts 6, are restricted to the care of the poor and, in particular, to the charge of the daily "ministration." As the local Churches grew in size, however, and as Church life became more and more complex, other needs arose. There was the need of government and discipline, of pastoral counsel and comfort and of stated instruction by regular teachers over and above that provided by the wandering prophets and teachers on their occasional visits. The "helps" and "governments" of I Cor. 12:28 obviously allude to some of the needs that had arisen within the Church.

In order to meet the necessities of the developing situation the local ministry blossomed out into two distinctive forms. First of all there was the Presbyter or elder (sometimes also referred to as the bishop). His duties involved feeding the flock and helping the weak (Acts 20:17, 28, 35; I Pet. 5:2), visiting and praying for the sick (James 5:14) ruling and teaching (I Tim. 3:2, 5). Secondly, there were the Deacons and Deaconesses (Phil. 1:1; I Tim. 3:8-13). Their duties are nowhere clearly defined but the description given of the qualifications required of them would suggest that their work lay largely in visiting/

visiting from house to house and in ministering to the poor.

(I Tim. 5: 8-11).

From the evidence already cited it seems fairly certain that the local ministry came to discharge some of the functions which originally belonged to the general ministry of the Apostles, prophets and teachers. True, the earlier ministry was a "διδασκαλία of the Word" while that of the Seven is described as a "διδασκαλία of tables" (Acts 6:2,4) - a distinction which constantly appears in the New Testament (e.g. Rom. 12:6-8; I Cor. 1:17. 9:14; 12:28) - but it is very evident that this latter διδασκαλία included more than simply care of the poor. It is all too easy to understand the expression "διδασκαλία of tables" as meaning something akin to the function exercised by the later, more developed, office of "Deacon". In Acts 6 however, no office is named. Luke simply describes the ordination of new ministers. The people picked seven men and presented them to the Apostles who "ordained" them to the task of ministering or serving - with prayer and the laying on of hands. The need of serving tables may have been the original reason for their appointment but that their "ordination" was to something much more, is clear from the subsequent activities of Stephen and Philip. (Acts 6-8)

The Presbyter or Elder.

The term "Elder" seems to have originated in primitive times. Numerous verses of Scripture reveal the position of the elder within the earliest Jewish communities (e.g. Exod.3:16; 17:5 f; Numbers 11:16; Deut. 5:23; 31:28 etc.) and the term was used by other Semitic races.

The "Elders of Israel" were men of position and influence within/

within the community in both religious and civil affairs but it is clear from the prophecy of Ezekiel that the elder was always a grown up man. (13) (The idea of age is really the key to the meaning of the word "elder" in Greek as well). The elder was a constant figure in Israel's life. The "Elders of the City" were the governing body of the town (I Sam. 11:13; I Kings 21:8,11; II Kings 10:1, 5) and Succoth boasted of having no less than seventy-seven (Judges 8:14). The "Elders of the City" also had a part to play in the organisation of the synagogue. By New Testament times each Jewish Community had its "Counsel of Elders" or its "Presbytery" (14) and part, at least, of their responsibility was to ensure that the Law was observed. The "Elders of the Synagogue" regulated the services and although they enjoyed a position of interpreting the Law (15) their function was juridical and administrative. They did not act as pastors of the people nor did they conduct the worship of the community assembled in the Synagogue.

The use of the term "Elder" within the Christian Church is most likely to have arisen out of this Jewish background. Christian elders were local leaders. They made their first clear appearance at Jerusalem when, around 44 A.D. they received the offerings brought by Barnabas and Saul (Acts 11:30); in Acts 15:6 we read of the elders participating in the Conference held in the year 50 A.D. and according to Acts 21:18 the elders joined in welcoming St. Paul to the Holy City, circa 58 A.D. It is quite clear from Acts 15 that the elders acted along with the Apostles; together they made up the governing body of the Jerusalem Church but the presence of an Apostle was not always practicable. In these/

these circumstances it is not surprising to find Paul and Barnabas appointing elders in every city while on their first missionary journey. (16) Moreover, with the appearance of elders in Ephesus as early as A.D.58 it is not unreasonable to assume that the Churches generally were run by elders even although they appear mainly in the later writings of the New Testament. (17)

It is in the later New Testament writings that we see the role of the presbyter most clearly defined. The author of II and III John, for example, specifically refers to himself as a presbyter. (II Jn. 1 and III Jn. 1) In each of these letters (and indeed in I John) the (unknown) author assumes authority to warn and admonish his readers and the author of I Peter writes as one presbyter to other presbyters urging them "to tend the flock of God not by constraint but willingly, not for shameful gain but eagerly, not as domineering over those in (their) charge but (by) being examples to the flock" (I.Pet. 5:2-3).

Traditionally the Johannine Epistles have been connected with the Churches of Asia Minor and the author of I Peter addresses his writing to this same area (I Pet. 1:1). From this evidence it is fair to say that by about the year 95 A.D., presbyters had taken on an important role in Asia Minor and their importance in many of the visions of the Revelation seems to confirm their position of prominence (of Rev. 4:4, 10; 5:5,6,8,11,14, etc.)

Of around the same time, the First Epistle of Clement sheds valuable light on the office of presbyter. Clement has, traditionally, been regarded as one of the early leaders of the Church/

Church at Rome. In his letter he reproaches the Church at Corinth since "on account of one or two persons, the steadfast and ancient church (was) being disloyal to the presbyters" (I Clem. 47:6). Apparently the Corinthian Church, at the instigation of a few members, had ousted certain presbyters from their office. Clement was anxious that those who were responsible should "submit to the presbyters and receive the correction of repentance" (I Clem. 57:1). The argument used by Clement is very illuminating:-

"The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus the Christ was sent from God. The Christ therefore is from God and the Apostles from the Christ. In both ways then they were in accordance with the appointed order of God's will. Having therefore received their commands and being fully assured by the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with faith confirmed by the Word of God, they went forth in the assurance of the Holy Spirit preaching the Good News that the Kingdom of God is coming. They preached from district to district and from city to city and they appointed their first converts, testing them by the Spirit, to be bishops (18) and deacons of future believers." (I Clem. 42:1-4). Thus the appointment of presbyter-bishops was understood by Clement as having been Divinely inspired. This being so the Corinthians had no right to interfere with any of the presbyters (unless, of course, they had some very good reason):-

"Our Apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife for the title of Bishop. For this cause, therefore, since they had received perfect foreknowledge, they/

they appointed those who have been already mentioned and afterwards added the codicil that if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their Ministry. We consider therefore, that it is not just to remove from their ministry those who were appointed by them, or later on by other eminent men with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered to the flock of Christ without blame, humbly, peaceably and disinterestedly and for many years have received a universally favourable testimony. For our sin is not small, if we eject from the episcopate those who have blamelessly and holily offered its sacrifices. Blessed are those presbyters who finished their course before now and have obtained a fruitful and perfect release in the ripeness of completed work, for they have now no fear that any shall move them from the place appointed to them. For we see that in spite of their good service you have removed some from the ministry which they fulfilled blamelessly." (I Clem. 44:1-6).

With these words Clement moves his argument forward another step. It was because the Apostles had foreseen conflict that they appointed the first presbyters. These men in turn appointed other presbyters to succeed them - this having been the intention of the Apostles - and any Church which fails to respect the presbyters as the rightful successors of the Apostles, is according to Clement, guilty of a gross sin. It may be that by the time Clement wrote (A.D.95), presbyters were already regarded as the successors of the Apostles - at least in the Church at Rome. The same could not, however, have been true of the Corinthian Church; otherwise Clement would have had no cause to write in/

in the way he did. His letter is useful to us in making clear the fact that while "testing by the Spirit" and the Church's consent were still the pre-requisites of appointment to ministerial functioning, the business of men being appointed by presbyters who had themselves been appointed by the Apostles, had increased in importance. In other words, the end of the first century A.D. saw a growth in the idea of a Succession doctrine; the idea of a Charismatic ministry diminished and the presbyters began to assume a position of authority and influence far in excess of anything exercised by the older ministries. They were the Ministers who officiated at the rites of worship (I Clem. 40:1-5) but only those who had been DULY APPOINTED (and this represents the main change in the polity of the infant Church) had the right to do so. Clerical elitism was on the way. This change in fashion did not please everyone, however. Not everyone was happy to see the Charismatic ministry disappear; this we can deduce from one instruction given in the Didache:-

"Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men and not lovers of money, and truthful and approved, for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore do not despise them, for they are your honourable men together with the prophets and teachers." (Didache 15:1-2). By virtue of its apologetic tone, this passage reflects the respect which some Christians at least, still had for the Charismatic ministry.

With the passage of time, however, the presbyters became accepted throughout the whole Church not only as the rightful/

rightful heirs of the Apostles but also as the guardians of the Christian teaching and tradition of which the Apostles had been the first custodians. In the Epistle of James - the Epistle of practice (19) - we find a reference to the elders exercising the pastoral function of visiting and praying for and anointing the sick. (James 5:14-15). In Romans 11:8 and I Thess. 5:12-13, the same Greek word lies behind "he that ruleth" and "them that are over you in the Lord." In the second passage, these persons "admonish" i.e. they teach and exhort and it is natural to identify them with the elders of Acts. The same Greek word for "to rule" is used explicitly of the elders in I Tim. 5:17 where some are said "to labour in the Word and in teaching". In Hebrews 13:7,17 and 24 where another Greek word is used for those who "rule" or "guide", the Author of the Epistle alludes to the fact that these rulers "speak the Word of God" to his readers and "watch in behalf of their souls". Thus the New Testament combines "ruling" with preaching, teaching and pastoral responsibility. These are all the duties and the responsibilities of the presbyters but now we must turn to an examination of the office of ^{επισκοπος} within the early Christian community. As we have already observed the word was sometimes used interchangeably with "Elder" or "presbyter" and the ground for this synonymity we must also try to discover.

The Bishop (^{επισκοπος}).

It is generally accepted that the term ^{επισκοπος} was not created by Christianity. It may have originated amongst the pagan confraternities but whatever its origin it is best rendered "overseer", "superintendent" or "watch." Some scholars believe that/

that the designation $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ did not define any particular office but referred simply to the function of overseeing within a particular group of people.

In the New Testament $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is used no more than five times. In four passages the word is used with reference to men (Phil.1:1; Acts 20:28; I Tim.3:2 and Titus 1:7) while in the fifth (I Pet. 2:25) it is Christ who is called $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The question we have to answer concerns how the $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\iota$ were related to the $\pi\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ in the early days of the Church's life.

We have already touched upon Paul's mention of "governments" - the reference being to those who handled the administrative details and served as leaders within the community. Only in his letter to the Philippians (Phil. 1:1) does Paul give a title for these people; he calls them "bishops and deacons". These two words refer specifically to functions rather than to offices - the function of overseeing and that of serving. Both were "ministerial" functions, however, with the deacons assisting the bishops in their work. "Had there been an intermediate class of elders, it could not well have been omitted". (20) The implication of this statement is, of course, that bishops and elders are identical in the New Testament. In support of this position it has been pointed out that bishops and elders are terms which are never linked - like bishops and deacons - so as to suggest distinct classes of officials. I Tim. 3 ignores the elders (although there had been elders at Ephesus for some time (of Acts 20:17)) and consistently refers to bishops. This would imply the complete identification of bishops and elders; such identification is supported by Titus 1: 5-7 where the command to appoint elders is followed immediately by a list of the qualifications/

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cations needed for the office of Ἐπίσκοπος . The bishop described to Timothy, the Elders of Acts 20, those of I Tim. 5:17, those described to Titus and those of I Peter 5:2 all seem to hold a subordinate position - to possess pastoral duties rather than the kind we would normally refer to as Episcopal. One of the main proofs for the identity of the Presbyter or Elder and the Bishop or Overseer is to be found in Acts 20. Here the elders of V 17 are explicitly referred to as Ἐπίσκοποι in V 28. It should also be noted that the words are synonymous in the writings of Clement; by implication, in the Teachings of the Twelve Apostles and in Polycarp. (21)

The Didache shows clearly that the local churches were ruled by bishops and deacons. They were elected officials and their primary function had to do with public worship, although not originally with speaking the Word. This however, was soon to pass into their hands also on account of the lack of prophets and teachers. The fact that in the Didache, presbyters are not mentioned indicates that either they did not exist or else, they were identical with some other functionary. From all that we know of the eldership the former suggestion is quite unacceptable and so we conclude that "the general equivalence of the two offices (presbyter and bishop) in the Apostolic age seems undeniable; and if there were minor differences between them, none have been clearly traced." (22)

Suppose we look a little more closely at Titus 1:5-7. Here we read ".... appoint elders for the bishop (overseer) must be blameless". The argument is that the elder must be so and so, because the bishop must be so and so. This is vain repetition if the bishop is only the elder under another name and bad logic if he/

he is ruler over the elders. It becomes clear, however, if the bishop is not a defined official but simply one who oversees. In these circumstances with the elder being regarded as a particular type of overseer, the argument makes sense as applying a general rule to a particular case. Titus 1:5-7 may then be understood as an injunction to appoint elders or bishops (overseers) of a certain type and calibre.

It is just possible that in each Church one or more presbyters had certain specified duties assigned to him, it may be that such a one was given the title ³ἐπίσκοπος while remaining, in the widest possible sense a presbyter. This may even represent a further development in the post-Apostolic period but the distinction - if any is justified - is not one of office necessarily; much more has it to do with function. Certainly, such a development would explain the emergence soon after 100 A.D. of one ³ἐπίσκοπος in each local church as chief minister to whom the πρεσβυτεροι or elders ranked second. This apparently was the position in Antioch and in some of the Churches of Asia Minor by 110 A.D. and it agrees with the position indicated in the Pastoral Epistles which themselves are generally accepted as having arisen there. I Timothy, for example, deals with the duties and qualifications for the offices of bishop, presbyter and deacon (I Tim. 3:1-13; 5:17-22) and the author clearly aimed at "setting up" Timothy and Titus as "types" of the perfect Church leader. Timothy's duties are outlined in detail; Church order as such is nowhere mentioned but in II Tim. 2:2 we find him being told "to entrust to faithful men" that which he had heard from the Apostle. Since in the author's mind Paul/

Paul stood out as the representative of the Apostles, this was clearly a plea to Timothy to ensure the safeguarding of the Apostolic tradition.

The Pastorals, therefore, mark the first stage in the development of Monarchical Episcopacy - that system of organisation wherein one man serves as head of the Church in a given area. This system was further developed under Ignatius but all that we can say with certainty regarding the situation as it was at the close of the Apostolic age is that in each congregation one of the presbyters was regarded as "president" or representative of his colleagues - this person being distinguished from the rest by virtue of his having the title "bishop". (23) At the close of the Apostolic age there were still only two offices in the Church - the office of presbyter and that of deacon. Later on, as Monarchical Episcopacy developed - the two became three with bishops, presbyters and deacons forming a hierarchy. The bishop was the head of the Christian Church in a city, town or village, a plurality of Churches in a single locality being unheard of and Diocesan Episcopacy entirely unknown. This, however, was a post-Apostolic development and one of which there is simply no hint in the New Testament. As a result, this development does not concern us here.

Appointment to office or "Ordination".

The commissioning of the first Apostles was, as we have said already, unique, coming as it did, directly from Jesus Himself. Likewise, in the case of Matthias the brethren simply recognised God's choice and he was numbered with the Apostles.

(24) In Acts 13:2 f we read of something which seems like ordination/

ination but as I have said already (25) Paul would never have agreed that what happened at Antioch was anything other than a designating of him to a particular sphere of service.

The word "ordination" in the way in which we use it does not occur in the New Testament (26). The word rendered "ordained" in the Authorised Version of Acts 14:23 should, in fact, be given as "appointed" or "elected" (27). Herein lies an important clue as to how the Apostles and the Early Church generally, selected office-bearers. The popular vote has always played a significant part in the Church's method of selecting people to be its office-bearers. It is clear, however, that even if "ordination" is nowhere spoken of in the New Testament, the Early Church soon adopted a ceremony of appointment. Thus, as we have seen, Paul and Barnabas received a formal recognition, if nothing else, when the prophets and teachers separated them for their missionary task and gave them their blessing with fasting and prayer symbolised by the laying on of hands. (Acts 13:3). Beforehand, "the Seven", after being chosen by the multitude were appointed to office by the Apostles with prayer and the laying on of hands. (Acts 6:6). Later on the practice is again referred to in relation to Timothy's appointment (I Tim. 4:14 and II Tim. 1:6).

It is true to say that no information is explicitly given by the New Testament on the subject of how deacons and elders or bishops were set apart to office. The injunction "Lay hands suddenly on no man" (I.Tim. 5:22) has often been taken as referring to the act of "ordaining" but the fact that this whole passage deals with offenders points rather more to the practice of imposing hands/

hands in the restoration of penitents. (cf II. Cor. 2:6 f; Gal. 6:1). Nevertheless, it must be stated that since the Jewish Rabbis employed the laying on of hands when a disciple was authorised to teach, there is every likelihood of the practice being continued in the Apostolic Church; moreover, it was almost universally employed in the post- Apostolic Church at the appointing of people to Ministerial office.

The (relative) silence of the New Testament on the subject of appointment to office in the Church must not be allowed to distract our attention from what the laying on of hands signified. The ceremony occurs frequently in the Old Testament and in the New in various connections. According to Dr. Lambert it is "a piece of natural symbolism" with the central idea of the person performing the action identifying himself with the other in the presence of God. (28) In the New Testament the general idea is that of blessing; as, for example when Jesus layed His hands upon the children in Math. 19:13 ff and parallels. Clearly this was the custom of the times since the mothers actually desired Jesus to do it. The narrative in Matthew shows further that as used by Jesus, laying on of hands in blessing carried with it no magical form but was a symbolic expression of what was essentially an act of prayer. This is important and seems to be the significant feature of the act wherever and whenever it appears (e.g. in Jesus' deeds of healing - Mk. 6:5; 8:23. Lk. 4:40 Mt. 9:18 etc. and at Baptisms in the Early Church - Acts 9:17 f; 19:5 f).

With regard to the SIGNIFICANCE of the laying on of hands in ordination, Lambert has this to say:- "The silence of the New Testament is against the supposition that the rite was regarded as an essential channel of ministerial grace, or anything more than the/

the outward and appropriate symbol of an act of intercessory prayer" (29) and he concludes by referring sympathetically to Augustine's rhetorical question "What else is the laying on of hands than a prayer over one?" (30).

Having said all this we must now ask, who had the right to lay on hands? Again the evidence is scanty. In Acts 6, the Apostles and in Acts 13 the prophets and teachers are said to have performed the action. This leaves only the appointment of Timothy to act as a guide to us in trying to answer the question posed. The two passages in question, I Tim. 4:14 and II Tim. 1:6, present us with a problem, however. The former speaks of the laying on of the hands of the $\pi\pi\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon$ while the latter suggests that Paul was personally responsible for Timothy's "ordination". The word $\pi\pi\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon$ is certainly collective and is found in the Greek text of Luke 22:66 (translated in the R.S.V. as "Assembly of the elders") and in Acts 22:5 (where R.S.V. translates "Council of elders") as an expression for the whole body of Jewish elders who, together with the chief priests and scribes, composed the Sanhedrin. By way of reconciling the two passages which refer to Timothy's "ordination" various suggestions have been made. For example, it has been suggested that Paul's position at the "ordination" was supreme and the elders played only a secondary role in assisting. As an alternative solution to the problem, the idea has been put forward that I Tim. 4:14 reflects a primitive corporate form of ordination while II Tim. 1:6 reflects the later influence of monarchical episcopacy. Finally, some have thought that the personal nature of II Timothy could explain the absence of any reference to the elders.

Whichever/

Whichever of these suggestions comes nearest the truth, it is not our present purpose to discuss and one could question whether it will ever be possible to give a conclusive answer to the problem. If the laying on of hands in I Tim. 4:14 and in II Tim. 1:6 refers to an "ordination" at all perhaps we need say no more than that this was one instance where Paul simply associated himself with the local presbyters (just as today a visiting minister or one particularly close to the person being ordained can associate himself with the Presbytery involved in the action). It is extremely unlikely that the idea of one man having the sole right to ordain existed in a Church where all presbyters were regarded as being of equal status. The question of one man ordaining in his own right was a much later development. (31)

Sub-Apostolic developments.

In the immediate post New Testament era the basic pattern of Church government, as we have discerned (32) involved councils of Presbyters (and perhaps Deacons) presided over by a Presbyter - Bishop. The change in the ecclesiastical structure which took place and to which reference has already been made (33), may have been caused by the need to have one person conduct public worship and administer the Eucharist. "What happened while a college of 'Presbyter - Bishops' was at the head of a congregation we do not know; but it is manifest that there could not be a collegiate superintendence of the Lord's Supper. Did the 'Presbyter - Bishops' take it in turn to officiate or was one of their number appointed to undertake this service usually? We do not know, but it did become the duty of one man to superintend the administration of the Eucharist; we see this in Justin Martyr; and/

and the man whom Justin calls the $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\omicron\tau\omega\varsigma$ (34) is plainly the forerunner of the single $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ". (35)

The business of giving one person a definite and permanent precedence, with oversight of both ministry and flock, is most likely to have been the cause of the term 'Bishop' becoming limited to men such as Ignatius - the congregational Bishop of the Church at Antioch (C. A.D.107). In the West, however, Presbyteral Colleges continued to exercise the full oversight and to discharge the entire office of the Ministry. "It is not too much to say that in the sub-Apostolic age we can prove the NON-EXISTENCE of the Monarchical Episcopate in the great Apostolic Churches of Corinth and Rome, and in the equally great and famous Church of Alexandria, and in the Apostolic though less famous Church of Philippi " (36). "At Rome, for example, there is apparently no Bishop (in the Ignatian sense) known to Clement (A.D. 96); or to Ignatius (C. A.D.107), or to the author of the Shepherd of Hermas (C. A.D.140)" (37) "Moniscopacy in Rome has its earliest clear account in The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus" (C. A.D.217) and it was only by the middle of the third century that a Monarchical Episcopate had become general in both East and West. In the West, however, (and in parts of the East e.g. Egypt and Armenia) "a constant tradition continued, and has never been lost, that Presbyter and Bishop are degrees of one and the same order, and that the distinction between the two offices is of ecclesiastical creation, being a matter of regulation and not of Divine ordinance." (38)

If the Apostolicity and sufficiency of the Churches at Rome, Alexandria, Corinth and Philippi is unquestioned, "it follows that government and ministry such as these Churches had, is Apostolic/

Apostolic, valid, lawful and sufficient. It seems to follow, also, that there exist only two orders of Ministry - those namely of Presbyter or Bishop and Elder or Deacon, and that the Episcopate, as distinguished from the Presbyterate, is not a Divine Ordinance or order, but is an office - almost certainly sanctioned by St. John, probably approved by him, for its purpose in those localities for which he may have been more directly responsible. The office therefore possesses a very high prescription and commendation; yet possesses no such prescription as to demand its adoption (as Apostolically imposed) by the Church generally, either in St. John's own day or later; since such capital Churches as those of Rome and Alexandria continued to be without it - a thing impossible in the case of a Divine or Apostolic Ordinance."

(39)

Episcopate in the Ignatian or Monarchical sense is an institution. It is a development within the Presbyterate and from the Presbyterate. It "arose" - there was a time when it was not. "As an order the Presbyterate seem to be the highest 'ordinary' or perpetual ministry" (40) The process of the development of the Episcopate appears to have been one of delegation - or perhaps restriction - to a single Presbyter, representing the general body of the Presbyterate, of the exercise of functions which had resided in Presbyterial councils. "The ministry acted through him - he acted in the name of the ministry. He thus became the recognised PERSONA of the local Church and its clergy. In his presence eventually no other Presbyter exercised office, unless as his assistant or substitute. He offered the gifts: he celebrated the Eucharist: he blessed: he preached: he/

he baptised: he confirmed: he took the leading part in ordination; only by his commission would another Presbyter do any of these things. With his commission another Presbyter might do and did them all: any Presbyter was, in right of order, as competent as the Bishop for each of these acts - although for regularity, 'by custom' and by consent, without his authority a Presbyter might not perform them. In process of time commission to confirm or ordain became rarer and ultimately ceased to be given; commission to preach, baptise, celebrate etc. on the other hand continued and extended; with the extension of Christianity and ultimately with the development of the parochial system, it came to be customarily granted with any pastoral charge, but the Bishop's commission, whether in the form of licence or induction, remains under the Episcopal system as necessary as ever it was." (41)

The Episcopal office is formed not so much "by elevation out of the presbyterate" but by the restricting of other Presbyters. Under the monarchical system the "Bishop" is a Presbyter who continues to exercise the full function of his order; the "Presbyter" is a Presbyter who, in the interests of order and of Episcopal government, is canonically and customarily restrained from exercising his (ministerial) function(s) except when and in so far as the Bishop requires his assistance (42). This is a far cry from the Apostolic simplicity manifested in the Scriptures of the New Testament and to which the Reformers sought a return when they set about formulating regulations for the Ministry and the admission of men thereto.

S E C T I O N T H R E E

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C H A P T E R VIII

**Factors concerning the Apostolic Church relevant to
our examination of Scottish attitudes
towards Ministerial admission.**

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From the foregoing excursus on the Ministry of the Church in New Testament times we must now glean what is relevant to our discussion of how close the Reformed Church of Scotland came to having "a Ministry exercised in the spirit and after the example of the first planters of Christianity." (1)

The Relevant factors concerning the Apostolic Church.

About what Ecclesiastics today would commonly call "Church Orders" the Apostolic Church knew little. In the infancy of the Church, the all important things were special gifts - special endowments of the Spirit conspicuous and effective in such things as speaking the Word of God, teaching etc.(2) With the passage of time, however, these gifts had to be understood as being expressed in different ways. So long as the Apostles were alive, planting Christianity wherever they went and organising their converts into local churches, the position resembled that of a mission field in modern times. (3) To quote Prof. James Moffatt "As we put aside the branches and look down into the pool of the primitive Church we see the Apostles divinely commissioned for the Church at large, doing the work of evangelists - founding Churches by the authority of the Lord." (4)

The Apostles were not appointed to office in the formal sense of that expression. (5) Their commissioning came from Jesus in whose company they had been prepared for the work they were to do. (6) Their experience was unique and so there could be no REAL Succession from the Apostles in the sense of their commissioning marking the beginning of a formal process for all who followed them. As explained in another part of this thesis however, there is a sense in which all who carry on the Ministry instituted by The Apostles and first planters of Christianity are in Succession to them/

them. This ministry has been defined as the Ministry of Speaking the Word. Since this is a living thing, while we cannot speak of the Prophets and the Teachers succeeding to the place of the Apostles, we can speak of them succeeding in the place of the Apostles. (7)

From our study of the Prophets in the early Church we glean a useful snippet of information. As with the Apostles, the Prophets were not office-bearers (8) - not appointed or "ordained" men but they were highly esteemed men and took the lead in Church affairs wherever they went. (9) Before exercising his gift in any place, however, a prophet required the permission or authorisation of the congregation. (10) This permission was given or withheld according to whether the Spirit of discernment in the believing congregation recognised or failed to recognise the Spirit of Jesus in the man. (11)

From the beginning of the Church's life then, we can say that the people of God, the λαός, played an important role in selecting those who should speak the Word of God to them. By the early 2nd Century, however, the prophetic ministry had reached the point of falling into disrepute. (12) The need was for an "official" ministry to be established. This did not happen overnight, however. The transition was a gradual one (13) with authority and leadership in the Church passing only slowly into the hands of presbyters - local officials in charge of the Church's affairs. (14) These were men who were appointed by prayer and the laying on of hands (15) - an action which had been practiced in and taken over from Judaism. Gradually the presbyters assumed responsibility for preaching, teaching and officiating in the worship of the Church./

Church. In a very real sense these men were the successors of the Apostles, exercising the ministerial function of service and leadership in the Ministry of Word and Sacraments. They possessed all that was transmissible or permanently needful for the Church in the Apostolic office. True, the primitive Apostolic "office" had elements which were special to itself - no one could succeed to the privilege of having seen the Lord for instance - but all that was transmissible in the ministry of the Apostles passed to those who were called to serve in their Churches and part of their ministerial function was to pass it on duly i.e. in a regular and responsible way, commissioning others "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ". (Ephesians 4:12). (16)

The earliest piece of Church History giving evidence of anything akin to Church order is, of course, the Book of Acts. Here we find that when the Church of Antioch subscribed to the fund for the relief of their starving fellow-Christians in Judaea, they sent their contribution to the presbyters of the Church at Jerusalem. (17) These possibly were the seven (so called deacons) appointed at Jerusalem to superintend the funds and food of the local community. (18) At any rate, they shared with the Apostles in the authority of the Church; thus we read that it was "the Apostles and the presbyters as fellow Christians" (19) who issued the authoritative decree of the first Council of Jerusalem.

Presbyters were not confined to Jerusalem, however. They were to be found in other places as well, as we observed on

Page 143 of this thesis. The warnings addressed to them and the specific duties expected of them "imply that the term 'presbyter' denote(d) a class of responsible church officials" says Moffatt and he continues, "the term 'bishop' denote(d), as the Greek (ἐπίσκοπος, overseer, president) implies, THE CHARACTER of (the presbyters') office which was to supervise the community; theirs was a cure of souls, a pastoral ministry. The presbyter might be termed in the primitive days, either 'bishop' or 'ruler' or 'shepherd' for none of these terms marked a separate and special office but merely functions of the presbyteral ministry. When the term 'overseer' or 'bishop' was used (or the verb allied to that noun), it referred invariably to the oversight of God's people by presbyters, not to any oversight exercised over presbyters themselves." (20)

When we turn to the Pastoral Epistles, two distinct offices within the total ministry of the Church are discernible viz. that of presbyter (or bishop) and that of deacon. (21) Of these the deacons do not teach but ability to do just that - to impart Christian truth - is of primary importance for the presbyter. (22) Little else is said of the presbyter's function but good moral character and the ability to teach are the all-important qualifications for admission to this office. Thus we read "Let the elders who rule well be considered worthy of double honour especially those who labour in preaching and teaching". (I Tim. 5:17) Here there is not distinguished two classes of presbyters - rulers and teachers; but there is recognition of the fact that not every presbyter is blessed with the gift of popular instruction and that such instruction must always be placed in the hands of/

of those presbyters to whom the "gift" of preaching the Word of God has been given.

As we have observed by referring to Clement (23) it was generally accepted by about the end of the 1st century A.D. that presbyters were in direct succession from Christ and the Apostles. They had to be duly appointed, however, and so we proceed to ask, How was this done?

To suggest that in the New Testament - even in the later writings of the New Testament - some kind of Episcopal ordering of things is shown forth, is quite false. The pre-Ignatian writings all suggest a complete identification of Bishop and Presbyter - the term bishop merely designating a particular function of presbyter (24). Those who would refer to Timothy and Titus as being in possession of special powers which placed them UNIQUELY in the Apostolic Succession - being in possession of powers to which presbyters owed their position but to which they themselves could not and cannot attain - misjudge the situation. What we see of Titus is of him being commissioned for a time to appoint presbyters in Crete (25).

Timothy was warned "to lay hands suddenly on no man" (26) but as we have observed (27) this may not even refer to what we would call "ordination". Even if we admit that Timothy and Titus DID select, ordain and superintend local presbyters we must acknowledge the emergency nature of their work. They were not bishops. Timothy himself had been "ordained" by a "presbytery" with the laying on of hands (28) - a service at which Paul had been present, his presence there enabling him quite legitimately to speak of the Divine gift Timothy received when HIS hands were laid/

laid upon him. (29) It is this gift - of promise and of grace - Timothy is to pass on; (30) it is this gift which qualifies for a consecrated ministry - not anything inherent in the commission given to Timothy himself to lay on hands - even if this should refer to ordination. To quote Prof. Moffatt, "He and Titus are to do for these districts (Ephesus and Crete) what Paul had done elsewhere. The work thus assigned to them was a temporary duty; the former was to rejoin St. Paul, and the latter was not permanently resident in Crete. Their quasi-Apostolic responsibilities at Ephesus and in Crete were an emergency measure which invested them with special powers, for the time being, such as a rapidly developing mission may require in certain fields" (31).

Concerning the whole question of Apostolic authority being vested in bishops with the attendant problem of Succession, we agree with what Dr. Moffatt has written: "No satisfactory evidence is forthcoming for the hypothesis that as the Apostolate expired its general functions were transmitted to a body corresponding to the later episcopate. Neither the Pastoral Epistles nor the Epistle of Clement yield any decisive evidence that the Apostles transmitted to bishops through any group of 'Apostolic men' a special endowment of ordination for presbyters and other Church officers in general. As the Apostles fade from the scene, the presbyters remain and continue"

(32)

The Ministry of the Early Church might clearly be termed "presbyterian". To interpret it thus, says Moffatt, "is not a mere reading back of modern preconceptions into ancient documents." (33)

Jerome, /

Jerome, writing as an exegete of the New Testament, had this to say, "It is most manifestly proved that bishop and presbyter are the same." (34) By the 4th century custom had assigned some special prerogatives to the bishop but clearly Jerome knew that this had not always been the case; and so Prof. Moffatt concludes "In the Apostolic Church presbyters were bishops, the only bishops known to the Church at large." (35)

"In the New Testament" says Dr. Hort "we find nothing that points to an institution or system" higher than that of the presbyters, "nothing like the Episcopal system of later times." (36)

"In the language of the New Testament" says Bishop Lightfoot commenting on Philipians 1:1 "the same officer in the Church is called indifferently, 'bishop' and 'elder' or 'presbyter'." (37)

As one Bishop of Gloucester expresses it, "the particular point to emphasise is that the original and official name was 'presbyter', and that other titles, such as 'episcopos' and 'pastor', were used as descriptive designations." (38)

One significant factor emerges from the writing of Clement (42:1-4). In it we find that before appointing bishops and deacons, the practice of "testing by the Spirit" was always observed. Clearly this was felt to be of importance along with the need of presbyters to be duly appointed by prayer and the imposition of hands. (39) The practice of laying on hands was and is Apostolic but much more than marking an official appointment it was among other things the common and familiar sign of blessing from Old Testament times onwards and in the usage of Jesus/

Jesus Himself. (40) Those who, in the early Church, were appointed to office seem always to have been selected by popular vote and commended to God in an atmosphere of prayer symbolised by the imposition of the hands of those already in the office.

(41)

In the Apostolic Church the appointment of ministers always follows the same pattern: Popular election (something which became normative after the Prophetic age had passed although even during it people had a choice in the matter of who should speak the Word of God to them); formal testing and approval, and institution by prayer with its symbolic accompaniments of imposition of hands and (sometimes) fasting.

For reasons that do not concern us directly, the Church of the Second century began to develop Monarchical or Diocesan episcopacy or Moniscopacy as it is sometimes called - that system of government wherein a single bishop rules the Church with a college or presbytery of presbyters under him. It is sometimes disputed whether the bishop was one of the presbyters raised to the rank of perpetual president (42) or descended from the Apostles through a succession of Apostolic commissioners (43). Either way the Apostolic function of presbyters was restricted by the devolution of certain rights and duties upon the bishop - e.g. the right to ordain - restrictions which involved serious consequences for the nature of the ministry in later centuries. With the passage of time, the concept of the Church was threatened by clerical dominance and by the Middle Ages "the Church" effectively meant "the hierarchy".(44) The idea of the primitive and real Church being made up of all the followers of Christ, propounded by Marsilius of Padua, startled the/

the ecclesiastics of the 14th century. (45)

The early right of Church members to express their consent and concurrence, if not to exercise their choice in the appointment of ministers, shrank into a mere form. Thus it has been said that "to the canonists, the appointment of a Christian minister was really a matter for the Christian people and that it was to their minds a grave abuse that this appointment should be vested in any single person." (46) Nevertheless, the abuse prevailed. Ordinary people lost their personal share in electing their ministers and gradually the Church moved nearer tyranny.

The Reformed Churchmen of the 16th century sought to restore the Church to its Apostolic simplicity. Monarchical Episcopacy was only an expedient and one which hindered the free expression of ordinary Christian folk. Thus the Reformers on the Continent of Europe and in Scotland developed a system of administration wherein, following the pattern of the primitive Church, presbyters acted together in governing the Church and admitting men to the Ministry. "Conciliar government, such as the Presbyterian polity evolved, enabled the Church as a whole to form and express its mind on any subject, under the guidance of its Lord, so that the life and practice of the Church was regulated from within, not from without" (47)

The Church at the time of the Reformation had to be re-discovered as "the community of all the faithful" and the right of Church members being free to choose their own minister had to be restored.

To/

To sum up, "the hierarchical system which had been constructed out of the Episcopate was now regarded as invalid; the Church as represented by the Reformers, considered the latter to be an innovation and an excrescence ...

"In reconstructing the Church (and its Ministry) according to the Word of God, the Reformers were not unmindful of the fact that traces of the original constitution had survived. (48) Thus between 1384 and 1387 (one) John de Fordun compiled a history of the Scots - SCOTICHRONICON - and in this treatise (iii 8) he reproduced the mediaeval view that presbyters were the original order of ministers in the Christian Church." (49)

When the Reformers worked out their Church polity their dominant standard was the Word of God. (50) Historical precedent was of much less importance. Nevertheless they were not conscious of inventing something new; much more were the Reformers conscious of restoring the original constitution of the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. (51)

Clearly this meant, among other things, establishing what was involved in talk of the Church and its Ministry being descended from the Apostles and what exactly was involved in the setting apart of people to the ministry. These questions are still important - perhaps more important now than ever before. In this final section therefore we must examine some of the main topics around which controversy tends to develop; try to understand the answers given by the Reformers in facing the same problems and judge their validity in the light of the New Testament insights we possess.

Theories of Apostolic Succession examined.

1. The "Series" Theory of Apostolic Succession.

This theory depends upon the tracing back of an unbroken series of occupants of the same official ministerial position in the Church, usually in the same place, to an Apostle who first occupied the position and so was first in the series. (1)

Of this kind of succession Dr. Ainslie has this to say:-
 "In the main particular of it ... (it) might pass from being a mere theory to authenticated history. If there is any case where there is an authentic and complete record of a series, without any gaps, of ministerial holders of the same office in the same place, at the beginning of which series there was an Apostle, that would be a historic fact and not a theory. But even this would be turned into a mere theory if it was held that because an Apostle was first in the series, each individual in it consequently received apostolic authority and an apostolic quality. It might indeed descend lower than having attached to it a mere theory. It might come to be used more or less superstitiously." (2)

2. The "Transmission" Theory of Apostolic Succession.

This involves the transmission of office from consecrator to consecrated, beginning with consecrations to the Ministry by the Apostles in consequence of which there is conveyed down through the line of consecrations a mysterious apostolic quality. This theory is found in two forms:-

- i) Most commonly is the form according to which only some in the Ministry, viz., those who are in the Episcopal office, the bishops, are actually in the line/

2. The "Transmission" Theory of Apostolic Succession. (Contd)

i) (Contd)

line of conveyance and transmission. They alone have the power to transmit their office with all its powers to others, so making such others bishops. It is they alone also who have the power to convey to others a more limited Ministry - that of priest and/or deacon. (3)

"According to this theory," says Ainslie "only a comparatively small part of the Ministerial Order is in the full succession, and can carry on that succession, while the other much larger part can only share in what the 'succession' of its superiors can do for it in conveying to it a certain apostolic quality."

(4)

Over the centuries the Ministry of the Roman Church has depended upon a combination of the "Series" theory of Succession AND the "Transmission" theory as above outlined. Thus great stress has been laid upon the necessity of the Ministry being connected with the See of Rome (which alone is said to have had its origin with one of the Apostles); the bishops who have the power of "transmission" must be in obedience to that See, otherwise they are schismatical and heretical - cut off from any true and lawful succession. (5)

Turning to the Anglican Church, in building upon the "Transmission" Theory, she has always assumed a lot. Thus, Bishop Gore has this to say:- "Underlying ... the office of the Apostles to bear an original witness to Christ (there) was another - a pastorate of souls, a stewardship of divine mysteries. This office, instituted in their persons, was intended to become perpetual and that by being transmitted from its first depositories. It was thus intended that there should be in each/

each generation an authoritative stewardship of the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, and a recognised power to transmit it, derived from above by Apostolic descent. The men who from time to time were to hold the various offices involved in the Ministry would receive their authority to minister in whatever capacity, their qualifying consecration from above, in such sense that every ministerial act would be performed under the shelter of a commission, received by the transmission of the original pastoral authority, which had been delegated by Christ to His Apostles." (6)

The essence of Anglican teaching on the "Transmission" Theory is contained in the last few words of the above quotation. A little later on in the book from which the quotation is taken, Gore tells us, "There belongs to the Order of Bishops, and to them alone, the power to perpetuate the ministry in its several grades, by the transmission of the authority received from the Apostles, its original depositories." (7)

To quote Dr. Ainslie in this regard, he says "Here Gore, in speaking of 'the Order of Bishops', appears to have left out of account the probable fact that originally all the ministerial officials of the Church were 'episkopoi' or bishops, so that if there was any such operation as 'transmission' from the Apostles it would work with all. He would not agree with the conclusion accepted by so many scholars (and explained earlier in this thesis (8)) that 'episkopos' and 'presbuteros' were different designations of the same office in the Apostolic Age." (9)

When the linear and even the tactual succession of bishops is said to be of the ESSE of the Church and when out-ward/

ward attachment to a "Golden Chain" of bishops, binding the Church to the Apostles is alone said to authenticate the ministerial acts performed within the Church, several questions arise . Does such a "Succession" Theory provide the highest and best conception of an economy for the Church? Is not the conception of a "Golden Chain" too definite, too formal and mechanical that it leaves little to the working of the Spirit? As Dr. Ainslie puts it, "This Theory is so set forth that one comes to think that spiritual forces and workings are hardly necessary for the continuance of the Ministry, or at any rate, that the maintenance of this formal and conventional process is ~~not~~ the most important matter." (10)

Dr. R. Stuart Loudon seems to arrive at the point when he writes "That such Episcopal Succession, symbolically interpreted, might be a useful SIGN of the Church's continuity and of succession in duly authorised ministry, is a very different thing from making Episcopal Succession the SINE QUA NON of the true Church's existence and continuance in history. The Episcopal sign of continuity, taken as a sign, and a sign distinct from the thing signified, which necessarily lies within the realm of the sovereign grace of Jesus Christ, cannot be of the ESSE of the Church " (11)

- ii) The other form of the "Transmission" Theory suggests that the transmission is through the whole body of the Ministry which has the power of ordaining. Those who adhere to this understanding believe that by the whole ministry sharing in ordination, a succession is continued at least as effectively as in the other form of this theory where the prelate is the agent of ordination (Supra).

The advocates of this particular form of the "Transmission" Theory usually allow that in the actual history of the Church the transmission has been effected through prelates during certain long periods. They would claim however that in the earlier stages of the Church's life, this was not so and that in later times it has not always been so. As a consequence, they would say, there is no special value in the transmission being through prelates. "This variant of the 'Transmission' Theory" says Ainslie, "is made to find its strongest support in the state of the Ministry in the Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic times." (12)

Before examining whether or not this was how the Reformed Churchmen in Scotland thought of Apostolic Succession we must examine some of the weaknesses in both forms of the "Transmission" Theory as set forth above. Both forms are dependent upon a formal process having its origin with the Apostles and continuing literally without a break down through the centuries. Such a beginning from the Apostles must be assured in order that this or any such theory should be 100% valid. Even the slightest break in continuity renders the theory a mistake and the Apostolic Succession it supposes becomes non-existent. What can be said by way of historical support for this theory?

It may be doubted whether the Apostles ever initiated a formal process. It pre-supposes the Apostles forming a Collegium "to take charge of the Church, and specially to appoint all the additional Church ministerial officials needed, and to see that all future ministers would either, during their own lifetime, be appointed by themselves, or by those whom they had/

had already themselves appointed and ordained, with the due ceremonial and accompanying right formulae." (13) The "Transmission" Theory stands or falls on whether or not the Apostles set up some kind of machinery designed to produce the right kind of ministry. Evidence for such a formal beginning is difficult to establish and in this connection the words of Dr. Streeter are worthy of our consideration. He says:- "To understand the history of early Christianity we must begin by eliminating from our minds the traditional picture of the Twelve Apostles sitting at Jerusalem like a College of Cardinals, systematising the doctrine, and superintending the organisation of the Primitive Church. They had a more urgent work to do" (14)

Even if we do allow a formal beginning with the Apostles to the "Transmission" Theory of Apostolic Succession, its value for us depends upon the formal process having been correctly carried out without a break down through the centuries. Again; for this, there is no historical evidence. Thus the present writer is in agreement with P. Carnegie Simpson who wrote these words:-

"For a man to stake the validity of his ministry on this succession, whether episcopal or presbyteral, is simply to give it into the region of the historically insecure. No human being can guarantee that the chain has been kept intact all through the centuries, and the possible errors and deceptions are incalculable ... I should be sorry indeed to base the validity of my commission as a minister of Christ's Word and Sacrament(s) on any such historical hazard. I base it on what it certain - on, first, the vocation of Christ Himself, and on, secondly/

secondly, the authorisation of the living Church, the existence of which is indisputable, and moreover, the continuity of which from the Apostolic days is beyond any historical cavil." (15)

Finally, if the "Transmission" Theory implies the passing on of some peculiar and mysterious Apostolic quality in the course of the formal process, history does not seem to bear this out either. In real practical terms (as distinct from theory) many people allegedly within the Succession with all its attendant qualities have been far removed from Apostolical living and conduct. The converse also seems true and as Ainslie puts it in summing up discussion on this matter, "The truly Apostolic men of the Christian Church have lived apparently quite irrespective of what is claimed in this theory, and have been found either inside or outside such theoretical formal 'successions'." (16)

By way of concluding this discussion on the merits and demerits of the "Series" and "Transmission" Theories of Apostolic Succession, I feel I must agree with the words used by Dr. Loudon to describe the Roman position. All such theories are "historically inconclusive, exegetically difficult to maintain, and also spiritually unsound in suggesting that grace is a substance to be channelled along a particular formal and linear succession rather than being God Himself operating in the realm of persons." (17) Turning now to the attitude of the Reformed Churchmen of 16th century Scotland and Europe, to the question of Apostolic Succession we find that they totally rejected the theories which existed at that time. For one thing, they were connected with the Papal "Series" and, much more fundamentally, they were dependent upon prelaties in the Ministry which/

which the Reformers considered contrary to the teaching of Scripture. This they considered to give grounds for Ministerial parity.

Other reasons could be and sometimes were advanced for the rejection of the Succession as emphasised by the Roman Church. For instance, the lives of the clergy and their departure from Apostolic faith and doctrine provided the Reformers with cogent arguments as to the failure of the Succession in safeguarding the Church. (18) Even English Churchmen of the Elizabethan period laid little if any emphasis on Apostolic Succession. (19)

In observing the Scottish Church scene we note one very early testimony against the theory of Succession as claimed for the Papal "Series". It occurs in the Treatise of Balnaves on Justification by Faith (1543) which was edited by Knox. "My hartes! Yee which have entered in the Church of Christ by the Bishoppe of Romes law and authoritie, with his faire bulles, your shaven crownes, smearing you with oyle or chreame, and cloathing you with all ceremonies commanded in your law. If yee thinke you there through the successours of the Apostles and fathers of the Church, ye are greatly deceived, for that is but a politike succession or ceremonial." (20)

Elsewhere, (21) we noted how the 1560 Confession of Faith repudiated "Succession" by stating that the notes of the True Kirk are "neyther antiquitie, title usurped, lineall discente etc." With these words all "Succession" theories were rejected and the Kirk in Scotland acted in accordance with that principle.

About/

About 1556, John Knox was degraded from the priesthood by the Papal authorities. That troubled him little. Ninian Winzet, as we observed, (22) called upon Knox to justify his continuing to function as a minister, he having "renounced and esteemed wicked" his ordination to the priesthood - the ordination "be the whilk sumtyme he wes callit 'Schir Johne'." (23)

In his polemic, Winzet brings into sharp focus Knox's attitude to the priesthood; he had lost faith in it and the doctrines which surrounded it including that of a mechanical "Succession" from the Apostles.

The Scottish Reformed Church, in considering candidates for the Ministry, attached no value to any supposed Apostolic quality which might be said to be present in a person on account of his having previously been ordained "within the Succession"; the only "Succession" that mattered to Reformed Churchmen was that of faith and good works. (24) The General Assembly of 1562 "ordeaned according to the fourth head of the Booke of Discipline, that all persons serving in the ministrie, who had not entered into their charges, according to the order appointed in the said Booke, be inhibited ... and that this act have strenth, als weill against those who are called Bishops as others ..." (25) So much for their being within a "Succession." "All, whether bishops or priests had to be 'tried', 'examined', and 'admitted' to the ministry the same as any others." (26)

At the Assembly held in August, 1572, it was stated that most of the canons, monks and friars had become Protestants. They were not, however, accepted for the regular ministry, as their old ordination might have given them reason to expect. In fact they/

they were accepted into the Reformed Church as readers but prohibited from preaching or administering the Sacraments. (27) Further, with regard to the bishops of the Papal Church who had become Protestants, the Assembly refused to allow them becoming Superintendents except by appointment in the way prescribed by the Book of Discipline which was, of course, the same for all ministers. (28)

When there took place the installation of the "Tulchan" bishops, "there was utter disregard of any 'succession'. All the supposed important elements and principles of the 'Apostolic Succession' theories were either neglected or violated. This plainly shows that neither civil rulers nor churchmen at that time, were concerned about these things." (29)

It has been suggested by certain Anglican writers that the Reformed Churches of the Continent (and perhaps that of Scotland) should be excused for having "imperfect ordinations" on account of the fact that they could find no bishops to ordain. (30) Dr. Ainslie, however, ably demonstrates the falsity of this position - "In these Churches" he says, "a succession from Papal bishops could have been arranged, (there being at least some Roman bishops who had joined the Reformed cause). But for these Reformed Churches to have used their sometime Papal bishops to produce a theoretical 'Apostolic Succession', or even to think of them as more suitable agents of ordination than others, would have been contrary to their beliefs and doctrines concerning the ministry." (31) The Reformers totally rejected the theories of "ordination" and "succession" held by the Roman Church/

Church and this view continued throughout most of the period of our study.

We noted earlier (32) that King James had bishops consecrated for Scotland by English bishops but ere long these prelates were put out of office by the General Assembly of 1638 and the following one of 1639.(33) Even the Westminster Divines, many of whom had been ordained by bishops, avoided the idea of a "succession" which could have been made to depend upon their Episcopal ordination and on one occasion they actually censured a candidate for the ministry for having gone to one of the deposed bishops for ordination. (34)

Turning our attention to the Westminster documents themselves, we read in "The Form of Presbyterial Church Government", "Every minister of the Word is to be ordained ... by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong." (35) The main question facing us arises from the last few words of this quotation and has to do with the right or power of non-preaching presbyters to ordain (or rather, not to ordain.) The principle inherent in the above quotation is the one, "non det qui non habet."

Throughout this discussion I have sought to affirm the suggestion that in Scotland at least effective ordination never passed from presbyters into the hands of a prelatie party (even although this often seems to have happened). The suggestion however, that ordination to the ministry belongs to preaching presbyters solely, gives expression to a distinctive "succession" doctrine. This doctrine is plainly set forth in the writing *JUS DIVINUM MINISTERII EVANGELICI* which, while published in 1654 must be considered relevant to our discussion. The writers of this/

this document were, at the time of its compilation, in disagreement with the Independents who considered that all Church power was vested in the whole body of the Church as distinct from office-bearers. (36) The Reformed Ministers, Episcopally ordained, faced with this argument were forced into defending their ministerial status against those who said they were not lawful ministers at all. (37) The dispute serves to demonstrate the problem facing the Westminster Divines just a little earlier on and the only way by which it could be resolved was by maintaining a succession doctrine. Thus we read "Church power is first seated in Christ the Head, and from Him committed to the Apostles, and from them to Church-Officers. And they alone who have received it from the Apostles can derive and transmit it to other ministers." (38) Again "We say that Ordination of Ministers by ministers is no Romish institution, but instituted by the Lord Jesus Christ long before Antichrist was. That our Ministry is descended to us from Christ THROUGH the Apostate Church of Rome, but not FROM the Apostate Church of Rome." (39)

In following this reasoning and in suggesting that ministers are to be ordained by "those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong", the Westminster Divines fall into the category of those who accept that Theory of Apostolic Succession which affirms a "transmission" from the Apostles down through the main body of the Ministry with or without the agency of prelates.

This was not a lineal succession however (which, as explained on pages 180-182 of this thesis, could never be proved and is thereby rendered useless). Much more, the Westminster Divines in common with Knox and the earlier Reformers, stood by a Doctrinal/

Doctrinal Succession and in this we see the original emphasis on the Ministry as being a Ministry of the Word re-asserting itself. "This Doctrinal Succession ... was not a handing on in a formal line, from predecessor to successor of doctrine originally derived from the Apostles," says Ainslie. "It was rather a succession of the 'Series' type and yet not of a series of men in the same office and place. It was a series of all those in the official ministry of the Church who, from the earliest times to the latest, had held forth the same Word of God, deriving it, not necessarily each from his predecessor or immediate predecessors, till the Apostles were reached, but rather from Christ and the Apostles, from the most authentic sources available to them at any time and, of course, from the Scriptures in so far as they might be known. Every true minister of the Word would be found in this 'Series' stretching down as a long line from Christ and the Apostles to the latest preachers of the Christian Gospel."

(40) What are we to say to all this?

The Second Helvetic Confession (41) suggests that just as there was a succession of teachers under the Old Dispensation so starting from Christ, with the Apostles and with their successors, the preaching and teaching pastors, there has been in the Church a succession of preachers and teachers of the Gospel. This succession is not a formal one like that which is conceived of as starting from the Apostles with a passing on of their doctrine from predecessor to successor down through the centuries during which time there is every certainty of the doctrine being changed and corrupted. On the contrary, it is a succession produced by a series of men in the ministry down through the/

the ages who have known in some measure the Christian Gospel and proclaimed it; they are in the succession simply by reason of their being preachers and teachers of the Word. Such a Succession can never be broken by historical incident or unsure "transmission." (42) "From the very nature of it" says Ainslie "men of evil life or heretics never really get into this Series: and if any of those once in it shall ever fall away into heresy or apostasy, or evil life, they will, so to speak, automatically fall out of the Series or Succession without impairing it." (43) Such a "Succession" is based upon faith and sound doctrine. An orderly and recognisable Ministry within this "Succession" is exercised in the spirit and after the example of the first planters of Christianity i.e. following the definition given on Page 1 of this thesis, it is Apostolic.

"The Succession which binds the life of the Church age after age into one unbroken unity is not that of the members of an ecclesiastical order but of those who, in virtue of their spiritual one-ness with the Father, have been (and are) in their day and generation the 'friends of God.' " "... to their Ministry no ordination can admit from it no excommunication can debar." (44)

The continuity of the Church - against which the gates of Hell shall never prevail - is not brought about by any personal "Series" nor by any Theory of "Transmission" or "Conveyance" of the Ministry. The continuity of the Church is totally dependent upon the continued presence of Christ's Spirit within it. It is "the Community of those holding the Doctrine and obeying/

obeying the commands of Christ in observing His Sacraments ... and of having an organisation or polity consistent with the Word and the Mission of Christ in the world." (45)

The Reformers consistently affirmed that they were creating no new Church. Thus, in the Scots Confession we read "As we believe in one God, Father, Sone and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly beleave that from the begyning thair hes been, now is, and to the end of the world shal be, a Churche ..." (46) The Westminster Confession of Faith implicitly holds forth the same position in Ch. XXV: 2-5. The Reformers sought to purify the Church and so they believed in a Succession of the true visible Church from Christ and the Apostles. Inasmuch as the ordained ministry was part of the wider ministry of the whole Church, the only Succession which mattered for those who were called to this office was the same as for every other member of the Church, a Succession of Doctrine - a succession from the teaching and practice of Christ. (47)

In this humble position the ministry was not conceived as "lording over the Church" (48) but much more as being in submission to the will of Christ as exercised through His whole Church. To this end the Reformers believed (and we still believe) that ministers should be commissioned by the true Church. All the arrangements for admission to the ministry, including the ceremony of Ordination itself were aimed at making sure the Church was acting in accordance with the will of Christ. In ordaining a man to the ministry, the Church was not thought of as pleasing itself but much more was she thought of as pleasing Her Master in granting due authorisation to the ordinand.

Summary/

Summary in vindication of the Church of Scotland understanding
of Succession.

The Reformed Church of Scotland has always emphasised the ONE essential ministry of Word and Sacraments, the ministry which truly reflects that found in the New Testament Church and referred to under the varying terms of minister, presbyter, bishop or pastor. "The important concern in GENUINE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION is to ensure that the Church intends to continue the Apostolic practice and to ensure TO THE CHURCH a duly authorised ministry which fulfils the function exercised in the Apostolic pattern of ministry." (49)

As Dr. Loudon puts it: "A faithful ministry of the Word, doctrinally sound and regularly ordained, helps to exhibit the true face of the Kirk. With a deep sense of its Catholic vocation the Church of Scotland continues the essential ministry of Word and Sacrament within the Church where Jesus Christ is sole King and Head and wherein the minister carries Christ's own commission given to him through the Church at his ordination." (50)

C H A P T E R X

ORDINATION AND THE LAYING ON OF HANDS

AN ADMISSION CEREMONY - NO MORE?

At the end of the preceding chapter we quoted Dr. Loudon in saying "A faithful ministry of the Word, doctrinally sound and regularly ordained, helps to exhibit the true face of the Kirk ... " (1) What exactly is regular ordination?

The New Testament itself never uses the word "Ordination" but our examination of what happened in the appointment of individuals to office in the primitive Church makes it clear that people did not become ministers of their own volition. There was a definite procedure to be followed - a code of practice involving selection and testing of candidates together with a ceremony of admission involving prayer (with fasting) and the laying on of hands. (2)

The writers of the Second Helvetic Confession (and those of the Reformed Confessions generally (3)) clearly believed in the continuing necessity of a Ministry for the Church. Thus we read, "God has always used ministers for the gathering or establishing of a Church for Himself, and for the governing and preservation of the same; and He still does, and always will, use them so long as the Church remains on earth. Therefore the first beginning, institution and office of ministers is a most ancient arrangement of God Himself and not a new one of men." (4) In other words, "The origin of the Ministry is not to be sought in some sociological necessity of the Church its origin is Messianic rather than ecclesiastic." (5)

In seeking a return to pure Apostolic simplicity the Reformers realised that they had to rid the Church of certain ideas wrongfully conceived; for example, the idea that by laying/

ing hands on someone, that person automatically became a true Minister of God. (6) "Ordination" or appointment to office in the Church is not a mechanical process. On the contrary it is a Spiritual action - the Ministry being placed within the context of God's sovereign will and grace. (7) Only He can truly call someone into the Ministry.

Of course it may be replied that the documents of the Reformation period that we have been studying, in emphasizing election, examination etc. themselves suggest a mechanical process. Such criticism, however, must be seen against the Reformers' understanding of "lawful calling". Consistently this aspect of things was emphasised not least by the Westminster Divines - "No man ought to take upon himself the office of a Minister of the Word, without a lawful calling." (8) This conception of "lawful calling" excludes any idea of the Ministry being "from beneath." (9) As Dr. Loudon puts it, "The Minister is Christ's minister within Christ's Church, inwardly called to this service by Him, and authorised to act within the Church which itself exists only under Christ's Kingship and Headship. Through ordination by the Presbytery, acting for and within the whole Church, a man is not 'made' a minister in any formal or linear sense; rather, a man is authorised to function as a minister, because God has already called him to this service. Both by lawful calling and by Presbyterianial ordination, a man's ministry is 'from above' and is, indeed, regarded as the direct action of Jesus Christ Himself in both these aspects." (10) Thus "lawful calling" involves an awareness on the part of the individual, of his vocation to be a minister/

minister of God; he comes forward to ordination as he is humbly conscious of an inward call from the Lord.

The Church's role in this connection is to test the candidate's ability - to examine his ability to teach and preach the Word of God and to recognise in the call of a congregation, the Will of God. This latter aspect of things is, according to Moffatt "a valuable testimony," (11) corroborating the inward call whilst not being of the essence of ordination. (12) Even if the First Book of Discipline gives the impression of people simply being admitted to the Ministry in a mechanical sort of way, the truth undoubtedly is that the compilers of that book thought of all ministry having its origin with God (13). The present writer firmly believes that throughout the period of our study, the Church of Scotland consistently regarded the Ministry as Christ's ministry; called to His service and authorised to act within the Church only under His Lordship.

Ordination, whether carried through by a Bishop, a Superintendent or a Presbytery, is the action of Christ through His whole Church (14). In other words, its not a denominational or local rite but something in which the whole Church participates. This, the Scottish Divines have always recognised in formulating their various Ordination formulae (15). Ordination is the Church's way of confirming the action of God - not in the sense of completing that action - it is complete already - but in the sense of acknowledging the ordinand as having been chosen by God to humble obedience and service in the proclamation of His Word and in the administering of the Sacraments.

Of course it is also true to say that the Scottish Divines/

Divines of the 16th and 17th centuries recognised the possibility of exceptional cases arising in the matter of the Ministry. It is always within the providence of God to raise up an extraordinary ministry i.e. a ministry having no formal "ordination" as for instance in a community where there are none to ordain.

(16) "There may be" says George Gillespie, "an extra-ordinary calling from God where religion is not yet planted, nor Churches yet constituted ... " (17). Perhaps this is how the earliest Reformers (having repudiated their previous ordination and believing the Roman Church to be no true Church) would have vindicated their own position as ministers. (18)

Nevertheless, the need and duty of "ordaining" people to the Holy Ministry was treated seriously by the Reformers. All the documents we have examined hold, at least implicitly, to the position stated most clearly by the Westminster Divines, "No man can take unto himself the Holy Ministry and, therefore 'Ordination is always to be continued in the Church' ". (19)

A man's ministry is exercised within the community of faith - it is a service or $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$. The minister is not someone who stands "in order" over and against other people who render service. Ministry belongs to the whole life of the Body of Christ. The terms "clergy" and "laity" are as foreign to Scottish usage as they are to the New Testament itself. As we observed elsewhere (20) the term "clergy" was never used by the Reformers of themselves but only with reference to those who in the Old Church system claimed to stand apart from, over and against, the $\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ or people of God. This illustrates how the Reformers thought of the Ministry as a function and not as a status/

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status within the community of faith. Such thought is entirely in keeping with New Testament teaching and is vindicated by modern New Testament scholarship. (21) "Ministers of the Word and Sacraments are members of the Church, fellow-workers with other Church members who are gifted and called in other ways. Within the life of the Body of Christ, ministers exercise their particular function on behalf of the Head for edification of their fellow-members, without being a caste apart." (22)

This is most significant in relation to the Reformed understanding of Ordination which has been defined as "the solemn setting apart of a person to some public Church Office." (23) The above statement by Loudon if valid (and the present writer feels it is valid) means that the term "Minister of Word and Sacraments" is but a distinguishing title applied to certain people within the Church. If Ordination is the setting apart to some public Church office, it follows that it ought to be given to ALL who minister publicly in the Church. In other words, Ordination by itself does not elevate the Minister of Word and Sacraments into a sacerdotal position. (24) It is not something that mechanically effects a result. "The effect of the act depends upon the appointed end which is indicated by the nature of the office in question as well as by the words which accompany the action, whether in the form of a prayer or of a declaration. " (25)

The Ministry of Word and Sacraments is, of course, unique. It is the essential ministry which Christ instituted and which the Church ought to receive and transmit as a gift of grace/

grace. Without it, the point of all other serving would be obscured. "This is the Ministry which, succeeding that of the Apostles, gathers the Church by the preaching of the Gospel, nourishes her with the bread of life and preserves her as the light of the world and the salt of the earth." (26)

Clearly Ordination to the Ministry of Word and Sacraments is an extremely important thing. Thus it is declared, "It is manifest by the Word of God that no man ought to take upon him (self) the office of a minister of the Gospel until he is lawfully called and ordained thereunto." (27) The paragraph in The Form of Presbyterial Church Government "Concerning the doctrinal part of Ordination of ministers" tells us how this is to be done:- "Every Minister of the Word is to be ordained by the imposition of hands and prayer with fasting." (28) Imposition of hands we shall return to shortly. In the meantime we must examine the significance of prayer and fasting.

Throughout the period of our study, this aspect of preparation on the part of a congregation before making an election, was found. (29) Prof. J.J. Von Allmen explains this in the following terms:- It is "because the Ministry is a gift of grace (that) the Church should welcome it as God's response to her prayer." (30)

Thus, having regard to the seriousness of electing a minister, the task must be approached reverently and in a sincere spirit of obedience to God. As noted above (31) the Minister is not created by the Church; rather he is received by the Church as coming into her midst by the will of God mediated through His people. To this end prayer is essential.

Why/

Why then need the Church concern itself with ordination? If a man's call has its origin with God is not this sufficient? Here we touch the very heart of the problem. The earliest Reformers apparently felt that all that was required of them was to recognise God's call to a man and admit him to the ministry with prayer. (32) Essentially, THIS TEACHING CHANGED LITTLE DURING THE PERIOD OF OUR STUDY AND IS STILL VALID TODAY. To recognise God's call, however, implies an examination of the person. If the Ministry of God is entrusted to the Church clearly the Church must satisfy itself as to the call genuinely having its origin with God. It is for this reason that the authors of the Second Helvetic Confession could say " ... we condemn all those who go off of their own accord, being neither chosen, sent nor ordained." (33) This means that the approval of the Church is necessary for the exercise of the Ministry. This the Church gives in ordaining to the ministry. Ordination is a seal of approval given by the Church to a candidate for the ministry - given in an atmosphere of prayer to God.

In keeping with Apostolic practice, the prayer of ordination was, throughout almost the whole of our period, accompanied by the laying on of hands. (34) It is true the early Reformers felt this to be unnecessary. (35) This they did because they were anxious to avoid superstitious ideas being attached to Ministerial authorisation. Calvin, however, was quite clear in recognising that the laying on of hands was but a symbol and a useful one at that. (36) It symbolises the prayerful commissioning of one to the Ministry by others who have themselves been commissioned. As the Bishop of Gloucester puts it "We ordain with the laying on of hands; and we mean by that, not only/

only that we give a solemn commission, but that we all unite in prayer to God. The ordination with laying on of hands is but a symbolic prayer. The essence of the ordination lies in the prayer." (37) One further quotation will serve to demonstrate accurately the attitude of the Reformers to this rite: "There is no abstract necessity for ordination to take place through tactual laying on of hands at all. Laying on of hands must be regarded simply as the means used by the Church to show that she is making the appointment and bestowing the authority: some such 'outward and visible sign' to mediate the commission is doubtless required, but not necessarily this particular sign." (38)

The question regarding the imposition of hands is of importance only because so much has, over the years, been made of the rite being omitted from the formula given in the First Book of Discipline. Rawlinson's position, quoted above, is substantially that of Calvin (39) and of George Gillespie. (40) The present writer is firmly of the opinion that the authors of the First Book of Discipline would have had no objection to the imposition of hands provided they could have been sure of the action being properly understood i.e. being understood as a symbol and not as some kind of miraculous action which, if ever it existed, ceased with the Apostles. (41)

What then are we to understand as being symbolised in the laying on of hands at Ordination?

In the Manual of Church Doctrine (42) we read "the laying on of hands is a general symbol of BENEDICTION, of CONSECRATION, of the TRANSMISSION OF OFFICE or of the BESTOWAL OF AUTHORITY." In Ordination to the Ministry, something of all four/

four symbolisms may be involved. Thus we agree with Prof. Moffatt in saying, "The laying on of hands is ... evidence of an APPOINTMENT MADE and a COMMISSION TRANSMITTED, the solemn external expression of a Spiritual action on the part of the ordaining presbyters. The essential element is not, of course, contact, but the PRAYER and the BLESSING thereby symbolised."(43)

Prof. J.J. Von Allmen in his book "Le Saint, Ministère selon la conviction et la volonté des Réformés du XVI e siècle," (Neuchâtel, 1968) provides four complimentary answers to what is signified by Ordination.

- 1) Ordination involves the presentation of a man to the Spirit that he might be filled with the various $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ which will be needed for the exercise of his ministry. Thus Ordination constitutes an $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ = a prayer.
- 2) Under the influence of Calvin particularly, Ordination may be described as the presentation of a man to God as a dedicated offering. Thus Ordination involves consecration.
- 3) Ordination is the authorisation or public mission bestowed upon a man in order that he might exercise ministerial functions. "By virtue of his Ordination the faithful may be assured that he is no usurper when he professes to act in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit In return the Minister himself may find joy and strength in his Ordination, knowing that in administering the mysteries of God he is not a usurper, but is rather a man upon whom grace has been bestowed a $\kappa\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. Ordination is thus a legitimation (or authorisation)."
- 4) "Ordination involves the ingrafting of a man into the/

- 4) the line of his predecessors in the Apostolic Ministry which was instituted by Christ and which is therefore one of the constitutive elements of the Church's permanent character. This aspect of things we have examined in Chapter IX, SUPRA. When the Succession from the Apostles is understood as a Spiritual Succession, Ordination may be said to involve a Spiritual engenderment. (44)

It is clear, then, that Ordination is more than just an admission ceremony. It may be that the documents we examined earlier on in this thesis give rise to just such an impression and of course in at least one respect Ordination is an admission ceremony - carrying with it the blessing of those who have power to admit. By its very nature, however, the efficacy of Ordination is not dependent upon the way in which the details of the ceremony are carried through, nor is it dependent upon any of the prayers which may be made for special benefits to be bestowed upon the ordinand - important as these are. The efficacy of Ordination lies wholly within the sovereign grace of God. In that way and in that way alone, is it an objective reality. The blessing, the consecration, the place occupied within the Succession etc., however, all depend upon the subjective response of the individual concerned to the demands made upon him by God. "The Reformers were quite uncompromising on this point" says Von Allmen "To be a clergyman is to be a servant, not a parasite." (45.) It is for this reason that the Reformers felt that a man should be ordained only to a ministry he could immediately exercise. This/

This is the distinction that ought to be drawn between the two expressions "order" and "office". The tradition which places the recipient of Ordination among the VERBI DIVINI MINISTRI does not accord with the Reformers' understanding of the Ordained minister being ordained only for service within the Community of faith, the priesthood of believers where he holds office along with others who serve in other ways.

C H A P T E R X I

THE EFFECTS OF ORDINATION.

In the preceding chapter I suggested that Ordination is more than just an admission ceremony. In Reformed thinking, however, the effects of Ordination are by no means automatic.

Roman Catholics would hold that there are certain effects which come upon a man through Ordination, e.g. the bestowal of grace and the imprinting of an "indelible character". Thus Aquinas in his *SUMMA THEOLOGICA* says "Sanctifying grace is given in the Sacrament of Order;" (1) and he continues "The degree of Order does not result from their having grace, but from their participating in a Sacrament of grace." (2) With regard to the "indelible character" we read "An indelible character, in the Sacrament of Order, is imprinted on those of all the Orders" (3) and the Council of Trent was even more emphatic "Si QUIS DIXERIT PER SACRAM ORDINATIONEM NON DARI SPIRITUM SANCTUM; AC PROINDE FRUSTRA EPISCOPOS DICERE - ACCIPE SPIRITUM SANCTUM; AUT PER EAM NON IMPRIMI CHARACTEREM; VEL EUM, QUI SACERDOS SEMEL FUIT, LAICUM RURUS FIERI POSSE; ANATHEMA SIT." (4)

The Catholic Encyclopaedia, in the section on "Holy Order" gives a brief explanation of what is meant by the "indelible character" as follows: "The Principal effect of the Sacrament (of Order) is a spiritual and indelible mark impressed upon the soul, by which the recipient is distinguished from others, designated as a Minister of Christ, and deputed and empowered to perform certain offices of Divine Worship." (5)

Few people would disagree that a person is distinguished by his Ordination and that by virtue of being ordained to/

to the Ministry of Word and Sacraments, he is deputed and empowered to involve himself with Divine Worship. No doubt there is also a sense in which Ordination leaves a lasting impression upon the ordained person - in his memory and in his feelings. The difficulty for the Reformers and Reformed Churchmen down through the years, however, has been and is caused by their very strongly held belief in the Priesthood of all believers. The Spiritual character of Priesthood belongs to all Christian people and it is impossible to impress upon any Christian a deeper character than that. Thus the belief has been and still is firmly maintained that no Rite such as Ordination can imprint or impress upon a man such a character as can make him fundamentally different from all other Christians and a character of a kind which it is impossible for him to lose .(6)

The suggestion that Ordinands participate in a special Sacrament of grace was anathema to the Reformers since it ran counter to their understanding of Scripture. The teaching of the New Testament on the Priesthood of all believers is, however, adequately safeguarded in the position adopted by the Reformers where Ordination is regarded as marking a commission to a particular office or function within the Church; this as distinct from being the means of admission to an Order which stands over and against ordinary Christian folk who (allegedly) have received a lesser share of grace.

Indelibility of character among the ordained lacked credibility in the eyes of the Reformers and from the way in which the Roman Church Authorities deprived priests of their priesthood it seems that even they did not believe in an "indelible/

"indelible character". (7) Moreover, if as was said, the "indelible character" was made upon the candidate for the priesthood by the repetition of the words "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, etc." the Reformers were well aware of the fact that the lives of many of those over whom the words had been repeated showed little sign of the gift of the Holy Spirit. It is little wonder that they concluded that if the "indelible character" had no more reality than the marks of the Spirit, it was of no religious value. (8)

When all this has been said, however, it must be remembered that Ministerial functioning was, in the eyes of the Reformers, for life. (9) Re-ordination is nowhere suggested and even when raised in the Westminster Assembly it was raised only to be set aside. Thus we read "If a minister be designed to a congregation, who hath been formerly ordained presbyter according to the form of ordination which hath been in the Church of England, which we hold for substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who have received it; then, there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination." (10) Here the Assembly recognised Episcopal ordination as valid for life. The principle of no re-ordination manifested itself again in England after the Restoration of 1660. At this time, when the Church of England became fully Episcopal again, many Reformed Churchmen - ordained after the Reformed manner - refused to be re-ordained by the new bishops preferring to be driven out of the Established Church rather than to submit. They were persuaded that they had received an abiding ordination which was not/

not to be set aside and which could not be repeated. (11)

In Scotland, the same emphasis comes through in a negative sort of way. Several Assemblies of the Church had to deal with the problem of desertion from the Ministry. Thus in December 1565, the opinion of the Church was expressed "We in na wayes thinke it lawfull that sick as once puts their hand to the plough, sall leave that heavenlie vocation and returne to the profane world, for indigence or povertie. Lawfullie they may leave ane unthankfull peiple, and seek wher Jesus Chryst his holy evangell may bring foorth greater fruit; but lawfullie they may never change their vocatioun." (12)

Statements such as this tend to show that although the Reformers did not believe in the imprinting of an "indelible character" by the act of ordaining, they did believe in ordination marking the entry of a man to an inalienable office.(13)

This view is consistent with the whole attitude of the Reformed Church towards Ordination. Understood as a once and for all event but imprinting no "indelible character" upon the individual concerned, Ordination is an action which shows forth the Church's recognition of God's call - a call from which there can be no turning back.

On the other hand, Re-ordination implies that whatever effect Ordination is supposed to have is not yet present in the individual concerned; this in turn implies that his first ordination has been weak if not altogether ineffective. To suggest this is to suggest that Ordination is a mechanical process - there being only one correct way to ordain a man to the Ministry - and that the one correct way to ordain belongs to/
to/

to only one branch of the Church. If the reason for re-ordaining a minister ordained by a Presbytery is that he has not been ordained by a bishop or according to a set formula, this implies that the effectiveness of Ordination lies in its outward characteristics - in the mechanics of the rite itself.

When Ordination is understood as a Spiritual action, re-ordination is superfluous and, in fact, a denial of the universality of Christ's Spirit in His Church. (14)

Returning now to the Grace given in Ordination, we find that the Reformers never thought of this as being automatically given to an ordinand. "What (the Reformed Churchmen) could not believe ... was that by an outward rite of ordination a man who had none of the grace to begin with, there and then almost mechanically was made to have some peculiar grace and sanctity in the priesthood." (15)

Calvin, in discussing the meaning of II Tim. 1:6 (which speaks of "the gift of God that is within (Timothy) through the laying on of (the writer's) hands"), states quite firmly his opinion that grace was given to Timothy not by the outward sign but because the people were praying for a blessing upon him. (16) Nevertheless, the sign - the laying on of hands - was still a useful symbol - a sure pledge that grace would be received from God's own hand - grace to equip Timothy for the work he had to do. According to Calvin "There is no inconsistency in saying that when God wished to make use of his services and accordingly called him, He then fitted and enriched him still more with new gifts or doubled those which He had previously bestowed." (17)

bestowed." (17) Again, commenting on Ephesians 4:11, Calvin takes up the same theme: "When men are called by God, gifts are necessarily connected with office. God does not confer on man the mere name of Apostle or Pastor, but also endows them with gifts, without which they cannot properly discharge their office. He whom God has appointed to be an Apostle does not bear an empty and useless title; for the Divine command and the ability to perform it go together." (18)

It is only reasonable to believe that God equips a man for any work which He gives him to do. When Roman Catholics talk of Ordination being a Sacrament, however, they quite clearly think in terms of it having an EX OPERE OPERATUM effect. This Doctrinal standpoint we cannot discuss further here and while we may admit that God uses Ordination to quicken our awareness of the Spirit's presence we must remember that the gift of grace is always available to us and that it is this grace alone that goes to make an effective Ministry. The grace received at the moment of one's ordination strengthens a person for the whole task ahead but the Spirit is ever present creating an effective Ministry in the midst of every situation life can afford.

A P P E N D I C E S

A P P E N D I X A.THE ELECTION AND ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.(As in The Genevan Service Book of 1556.)What thinges are chiefly required in the pastours and ministers.

First let the churche diligently consider that the minister which is to be chosen, be not founde culpable of any suche fautes, which saincte Paul reprehendeth in a man of that vocation: but contrarywise endewed with suche vertues, that he may be able to undertake his charge, and diligently execute the same. Secondely that he distribute faithfully the word of God, and minister the sacraments sincerely, euer careful not onely to teache his flock publikly, but also priuatly to admonisse them: remembring alwais that if any thinge perysshe throughe his defaute, the lorde will require it at his handes.

Because the charge of the word of God is of greater importaunce, then that any man is able to dispece therewith, and saincte Paul exhorteth to esteme them, as ministers of Christe, and disposers of gods mysteries: not lordes or rulers, as S. Peter saith, ouer the flocke. Therefore the Pastors or ministers chief office standeth in preaching the worde of God, and ministring the sacramentes. So that in consultations, iudgementes, elections and other political affaires, his counsel, rather than autorite, taketh place. And if so be the congregation vppon iuste cawse, agreeth to excommunicate, thẽ it belongeth to the minister, according to their generall determination, to pronounce the sentence, to the end that all thinges may be done orderly, and withoute confusion.

The ministers and elders at suche time as there wanteth a minister, assemble the whole congregation exhortinge them to aduise and consider who may best serue in that rowme, and office. And in there be choyse, the churche appoynte two or thre, vppon sume certayne day to be examined by the ministers and elders. - First as towchyng their doctrine, whether he that should/

A P P E N D I X A. (CONTD.)

should be minister haue good ad sownde knowlage in the holi scriptures, and fitte and apte giftes to cōmunicate the same to the edification of the people. For the triall whereof, they propose hym a theme, or text to be treated priuatly, whereby his habilitie may the more manifestlie appeare vnto the. Secōdly they enquire of his life, and cōuersation, if he haue in times past lyued without slander: and gouerned hymselfe insuche sorte as the worde of God hath not hearde euel, or bene slandered through his occasiō, which being seuerallie done, they signifie vnto the cōgregation whose giftes they fynde moste excellent, and profitable for that ministerie. Appoynting by a generall cōsent eight daies at the leaste, that euery man may diligently inquire of his life and manners. - At the which tyme also, the minister exhorteth them to humble themselues to God, by fasting, and prayer, that bothe their election may be agreable to his will, and also profitable to the churche. And if in the meane season, any thynge be brought agaynst hym, wherby he may be fownde vnworthy by lawfull probations, then is he dismissed, and some other presented. If nothing be alleaged, vppon some certayne day, one of the ministers at the mornynge sermon presenteth hym agayne to the churche: framyng his sermon, or some parte thereof, to the setting forthe of his dewtie. Then at after none, the sermon ended, the minister exhortith them to the election, with the inuocation of Gods name: directing his prayer as God shal moue his herte. In like manner after the election, the minister geueth thakes to God with request of suche thinges as shalbe necessarie for his office. After that he is appointed minister, the people syng a Psalme and departe.

("The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book
by William D. Maxwell, Edinburgh and London,
1931. pp. 165-168).

A P P E N D I X B.

THE FORME AND ORDOUR OF THE ELECTIOUN OF THE
SUPERINTENDENTS, QUHILK MAY SERVE ALSO IN
ELECTIOUN OF ALL UTHER MINISTERS. AT
EDINBURGHE THE 9TH OF MERCHE 1560 YEIRIS,
JOHNE KNOX BEING MINISTER.

First was made a Sermone, in the quhilk thir Heids war intreated. First, The necessity of Ministers and Superintendents. 2. The crymes and vyces that nicht unable thame (of the ministrie). 3. The vertues required in thame. And last, Quhidder sick as by publict consent of the Kyrk wer callit to sick Office, nicht refuis the same.

The Sermone finisched, it was declared be the same Minister, (maker thareof,) that the Lords of Secrete Councell had given charge and power to the Kirkis of Lauthiane, to chuse Mr. JOHNE SPOTTISWODE Superintendent; and that sufficient warning was made be publict edict to the Kirks of Edinburghe, Linlythgow, Striveling, Tranent, Hadingtoun, and Dunbar; as also to Earles, Lords, Barones, Gentilmen, and uthers, having, or quho nicht clame to have voite in Electioun, to be present that day, at that same hour; And, therefore, inquisitioun was made, Quho wer present, and quho wer absent.

Efter was called the said Mr. Johne, quho answering; the Minister demanded, Gif ony man knew ony cryme or offence to the said Mr. Johne, that mycht unabill him to be called to that office? And this he demanded thryis. Secundlie, Questioun was moved to the haille multitude, If thair was ony uther quhome they wald put in Electioun with the said Mr. Johne. The pepill wer asked, If they wald have the said Mr. Johne Superintendent? If they wald honour and obey him as Christis Minister? and comfort and assist him in every thing perteing to his Charge? They Answerit - We will; and we do promeis unto him sick obedience as becumethe the scheip to give unto thair Pastour, sa lang as he remains faythfull in his office.

The Answers of the Pepill, and thair consents received, thir ~~Questions~~swer proponit unto him that was to be elected.
 Questioun/

A P P E N D I X B. (Contd)

Question. - Seing that ye hear the thirst and desyre of this people, do ye not think yourself bound in conscience befoir God to support thame that so earnestly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

Answer. - If anie thing wer in me abill to satisfie thair desyir, I acknowledge myself bound to obey God calling by thame.

Question. - Do ye seik to be promoted to this office and charge, for ony respect of warldly commoditie, riches or glory?

Answer. - God knawes the contrarie.

Question. - Beleve ye not that the doctrine of the Propheits and Apostles, contened in the buiks of the Auld and New Testaments, is the onely trew and most absolute foundatioun of the universall Kirk of Christ Jesus, insamekill that in the same Scriptures ar contened all things necessary to be beleved for the salvatioun of Mankind?

Answer. - I verely beleve the same, and do abhorre and utterly refuis all Doctrine alleged necessary to Salvatioun, that is not expressedly contened in the same.

Question. - Is not Christ Jesus Man of Man, according to the flesche, to wit, the Sone of David, the Seid of Abrahame, conceived by the Holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Marie his mother, the onely Head and Mediatour of his Kirk?

Answer. - He is, and without him thair is nouthur salvatioun to man, nor lyfe to angell.

Question. - Is not the same Lord Jesus (the) onely trew God, the Eternall Sone of the Eternall Father, in quhome all that sall be saved wer elected befoir the foundatioun of the world was layd?

Answer. - I confes and acknowlege him in the unitie of his Godheid, to be God above all thingis, blesit for evir.

Question. - Sall not they quhome God in his eternall councill hes electit, be callit to the knowlege of his Sone, our Lord Jesus? And sall not they, quho of purpose are elected in this lyfe, be justified? And is not justificatioun and free remission of sinnes obtained in this lyfe by free grace? Sall not this glorie of the sonnes of God follow in the generall resurrextioun, /

A P P E N D I X B. (Contd)

resurrectioun, quhen the Sone of God sall appeir in his glorious majesty?

Answer. - I acknowlege this to be the doctrine of the Apostles, and the most singular comfort of God's childrein.

Questioun. - Will ye not contein yourself in all doctrine within the boundes of this foundatioun? Will ye not study to promote the same, alsweill by your lyfe as by your doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God sall grant unto yow, profes, instructe, and mantene the purity of the doctrine, contained in the sacred Word of God? And, to the uttermost of your power, will ye not ganestand and convince the gaynsayers and teichers of mennis inventiouns?

Answer. - That I do promeis in the presence of God, and of his congregatioun heir assembled.

Questioun. - Knew ye not, that the excellency of this office, to the quhilk God has called yow, requires that your conversatioun and behaviour be sick, as that ye may be irreprehensible; yea, even in the eyis of the ungodly?

Answer. - I unfaynedly acknowlege, and humilly desyre the Kirk of God to pray with me, that my lyfe be not scandalous to the glorious Evangell of Jesus Christ.

Questioun. - Becaus ye are a man compassed with infirmities, will ye not charitably, and with lawlines of spirit, receave admonitioun of your Brethrein? And if ye sall happin to slyde, or offend in ony point, will ye not be subject to the Discipline of the Kirk, as the rest of your Brethrein?

The Answer of the Superintendent, or Minister to be elected - I acknowlege myself to be a man subject to infirmity, and ane that hes neid of correctioun and admonitioun; and tharefoir I maist willingly submit and subject myself to the hailsume disciplin of the Kirk; yea, to the discipline of the same Kirk by the quhilk I ame now called to this office and chairge; and heir in God's presens and youris do promeis obedience to all admonitiones, secretly or publickly gevin; unto the quhilk, if I be found inobedient, I confes myself most worthie to be ejected not onely from/

from this honour, bot also frome the society of the Faythfull, in cais of my stubburnnes: For the vocatioun of God to bear charge within his Kirk, makethe not men tyrantes, nor Lordis, but appoynteth thame Servandis, Watchemen, and Pastoris of the Flock.

This ended, Questioun man be asked agane of the Multitude.

Questioun. - Require ye ony farther of this your Superintendent?

If no man answer, let the Minister proceed.

Will ye not acknowlege this your Brother, for the Minister of Christ Jesus? Will ye not reverence the word of God that proceedis fra his mouthe? Will ye not receive of him the sermone of exhortatioun with patience, not refusing the hailsome medicine of your saules, althocht it be bitter and unpleising to the flesche? Will ye not finally, mantene and comforte him in his ministry, against all sick as wickedly wald rebell against God and his holy ordinance?

The Peple answereth - We will, as we will answer to the Lord Jesus, quho hes commandit his Ministeris to be had in reverence, as his ambassadours, and as men that cairfully watche for the salvatioun of our saullis.

Let the Nobility also be urged with this - Ye have heard the dewty and professioun of this your Brother, by your consentis appointit to this charge; as also the dewty and obedience, quhilk God requireth of us towards him heir in his ministry: Bot becaus that neyther of bothe are abill to performe ony thing without the especiall grace of our God in Christ Jesus, quho hes promised to be with us present, even to the consummation of the world; with unfayned hairtis, let us crave of him his benediction and assistance in this work begun to his glory, and for the comfort of his Kirk.

The Prayer.

O Lord, to quhome all power is gevin in heavin and in eirthe, thow that art the Eternall Sone of the Eternall Father, quho hes not onely so luifit thy Kirk, that for the redemptioun and purgatioun of the same, thow hes humilled thyself to the deyth of the Croce; and thareupoun hes sched thy most innocent bluid, to prepair to thyself a Spous without spott; bot also,
to/

to retein this thy most excellent benefite in memory, hes appointed in thy Kirk, Teichears, Pastores, and Apostles, to instruct, comfort and admonische the same: Luk upoun us mercifully, O Lord, thow that onely art King, Teicher, and Hie Priest to thy awin flock; and send unto this our Brother, quhome in thy name we have chaarged with the cheif cair of thy Kirk, within the boundis of Louthiane, sick portioun of thy Holy Spreit, as thareby he may rychtly devyde thy word to the instructioun of thy flocke, and to the confutatioun of pernicious erroures, and damnable superstitiones. Give unto him, gude Lord, a mouthe and wisdome, quhareby the enemies of thy truthe may be confounded, the wolfis expellit, and driven from thy fauld, thy scheip may be fed in the wholsom pastures of thy most holy word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy trew knowlege: Finally, That the dregis of superstitioun and idolatry quhilk yit restis within this Realme, being purged and removed, we may all not only have occasioun to glorifie thee our onely Lord and Saviour, but also dayly to grow in godlines and obedience of thy most holy will, to the destructioun of the body of synne, and to the restitutioun of that image to the quhilk we wer anes created, and to the quhilk, efter our fall and defectioun, we ar renewed by participatioun of thy Holy Spirit, quhilk by trew fayth in thee, we do profes as the blissit of thy Father, of quhome the perpetuall increas of thy graces we crave, as by thee our Lord and King, and onely Bischope, we are taucht to pray, saying, "Our Father that art in hevin, etc."

The prayer ended, the rest of the Ministers, if ony be, and Elders of that Kirk present, in signe of thair consents, sall tak the elected by the hand, and then the cheif Minister sall gif the benedictioun, as follows:-

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, quho hes commanded his Evangell to be preiched, to the comfort of his Elect, and hes called thee to the office of a Watchman over his peple, multiply his graces with thee, illuminat thee with his Holy Spirit, comfort and strenthen thee in all vertewe, governe and guyde thy ministry, to the prayse of his holy Name, to the propagatioun of Christis kingdome, to the comferte of his Kirk, and/

and finally, to the plain discharge and assurance of thy awin conscience in the day of the Lord Jesus; to quhome, with the Father, and the Holy Chost, be all honour, prayse, and glory, now and ever. So be it.

The last Exhortatioun to the Elected.

Take heid to thy self, and unto the Flock committed to thy chairge; feid the same cairfully, not as it wer of compulsioun, bot of very love, quhilk thow bearest to the Lord Jesus. Walk in simplicity and pureness of lyfe, as it becomethe the servand and ambassadour of the Lord Jesus. Usurpe not dominion nor tyrranicall impyre over thy brethrein. Be not discouraged in adversity, bot lay befoir thyself the example of Propheits, Apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, quho in thair ministry susteained contradictioun, contempt, persecutioun and deyth. Feir not to rebuik the warld of sinne, justice, and jugement. If ony thing succeid prosperously in thy vocatioun, be not puft upe with pryde; nether yit flatter thy self as that the gude succes proceded from thy vertew, industry or cair: Bot let ever that sentence of the Apostle remane in thy hairt; "Quhat hes thou, quhilk thou hes not receavit? If thou hes receivit, quhy gloriest thou?" Comfort the afflicted, support the pair, and exhort utheris to support thame. Be not solist for things of this lyfe, bot be fervent in prayer to God for inress of his Holy Spirit And finally, behave thyself in this holy vocatioun, with sick sobriety, as God may be glorified in thy ministry: And so sall thow schortly obtain the victory, and shall receive the crown promised, quhen the Lord Jesus sall appeir in his glory, quhois Omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us unto the end. AMEN.

Then sing the 23d Psalme.

("The Works of John Knox" - Ed. by D. Laing, Edinburgh, 1848, Vol. II, pp.144-150).

A P P E N D I X C.THE DIRECTORY FOR THE ORDINATION OF MINISTERSThe Rules of Examination.

That the party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildness of spirit, and with special respect to the gravity, modesty, and quality of every one.

He shall be examined touching his skill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendering some portion of some into Latin; and if he be defective in them, inquiry shall be made more strictly after his other learning, and whether he hath skill in logic and philosophy.

What authors in divinity he hath read, and is best acquainted with; and trial shall be made in his knowledge of the grounds of religion, and of his ability to defend the orthodox doctrine contained in them against all unsound and erroneous opinions, especially these of the present age; of his skill in the sense and meaning of such places of scripture as shall be proposed unto him, in cases of conscience, and in the chronology of the scriptures, and the ecclesiastical history.

If he hath not before preached in publick with approbation of such as are able to judge, he shall, at a competent time assigned him, expound before the presbytery such a place of scripture as shall be given him.

He shall also, within a competent time, frame a discourse in Latin, upon such a common-place or controversy in divinity as shall be assigned to him, and exhibit to the presbytery such theses as express the sum thereof, and maintain a dispute upon them.

He shall preach before the people, the presbytery, or some of the ministers of the word appointed by them, being present.

The proportion of his gifts in relation to the place unto which he is called shall be considered.

Beside the trial of his gifts in preaching, he shall undergo/

A P P E N D I X C.(Contd)

undergo an examination in the premises two several days, and more, if the presbytery shall judge it necessary.

And as for him that hath formerly been ordained a minister, and is to be removed to another charge, he shall bring a testimonial of his ordination, and of his abilities and conversation, whereupon his fitness for that place shall be tried by his preaching there, and (if it shall be judged necessary) by a further examination of him.

("The Form of Presbyterial Church Government.")

NOTES OF REFERENCE .
P R E F A C E .

1. "The Form of Presbyterial Church - Government" (1645) (later referred to as "The Form of Church Government") Par. 1, "Of the Church" and footnote referring to I.Cor. 12:12, 13 and 28-31. cf "A Directory for Church Government and Ordination of Ministers" as printed in 1647, P.2. Sect. I. This document is to be found incorporated in the volume "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland", Edinburgh, 1640/41 - Reprinted 1690.

2. IBID. Par. 1, "Of the Church". cf " A Directory for Church Government and Ordination of Ministers" P.2 Sect.I, and "The Westminster Confession of Faith" (1647) (later referred to as "The Westminster Confession") CH.XXV, 3.

3. See, for example, "The Confession of Faith" of 1560 (later referred to as "The Scots Confession") XVIII, XXII, as in "The History of the Kirk of Scotland" by DAVID CALDERWOOD (Ed. T. Thomson), Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842-9 (later referred to as CALDERWOOD, History) Vol.II PP 28-29, 33.

4. "The Westminster Confession" Ch. XXV, 4.

5. "The Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church" by R.H. STORY, Edinburgh, 1897 (later referred to as STORY, Apostolic Ministry) P.4.
 "The foundation of the ordained ministry lies in our Lord's own calling, training, and commissioning of the Apostles. Theirs was a special role in the whole divine action of the world's redemption, and their office as eyewitnesses of Christ's redeeming acts and the master-builders of His Church shared the uniqueness and once-for-allness of that redemption itself. There are thus no actual successors to the Apostles in terms of their office or status, but rather a ministry of the Church following the/
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NOTES OF REFERENCE .P R E F A C E (Contd)

5.(Contd)

the pattern and example of their ministry and, as a matter of the Church's obedience, continuing the Apostolic practice of commissioning by the Apostolic rite of ordination by prayer with the laying-on of hands." - "The True Face of the Kirk" by R. STUART LOUDEN, London, 1963, P.23.

NOTES OF REFERENCEI N T R O D U C T I O N .

1. "A New History of Scotland" by W. CROFT DICKINSON, Edinburgh, 1965 (later referred to as DICKINSON, New History) Vol. I, P.312.
2. "History of Greater Britain" by JOHN MAJOR as quoted by PROF. DICKINSON in his "New History of Scotland" Vol.I, P.313.
3. DAVID HAY FLEMING gives a good account of the state of the Church in Scotland at this time in Chapter II of his book "The Reformation in Scotland", London, 1910 (later referred to as FLEMING, Reformation)
4. "History of the Reformation in Scotland" by JOHN KNOX. (New edition by W. CROFT DICKINSON, published in 1949 and later referred to as DICKINSON'S edition of KNOX'S History) - Vol. I, P.XV.
5. Article in "Records of the Scottish Church History Society" (later referred to as S.C.H.S., Records) Vol. XI, PP. 189-211. See especially P.193; also FLEMING, Reformation, PP. 48-49.
6. S.C.H.S., Records Vol. XI PP. 193-194; of DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I, P.312. See also FLEMING, Reformation, Ch. III.
7. S.C.H.S., Records Vol. XI, P.194.
8. DICKINSON, New History Vol. I, P.322 and F.N; FLEMING, Reformation, P.85.
9. DICKINSON'S edition of KNOX'S History Vol. I, P.XV and F.N; DICKINSON, New History Vol. I, P.322; BURLEIGH writing in S.C.H.S. Records Vol. XI, P.195.
10. FLEMING, Reformation, P.86 quoting from "Statutes of the Scottish Church" by PATRICK, PP. 143-144
- 11./

NOTES OF REFERENCE.I N T R O D U C T I O N
(Contd)

11. This quotation appears in "The Scottish Reformation" by D. HAY FLEMING (Hope Trust, 1960 edn.) P.7.
12. FLEMING Reformation, P.87 quoting from "Statutes of the Scottish Church" by PATRICK, P.146.
13. "The Burning Bush" by G.D. HENDERSON, Edinburgh, 1957, P.23.
14. DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I, P.315.
15. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. I. PP.326-327 gives the full text of this 'Band' or covenant. It is also included in "The History of the Reformation in Scotland" by JOHN KNOX (ed. D. Laing) published by the WODROW SOCIETY at Edinburgh as part of "The Works of John Knox" (later referred to as KNOX, Works) Vol. I., PP. 273-274.
16. CALDERWOOD, History Vol. I, P.328; cf KNOX, Works Vol. I., PP.275-276.
17. IBID., Vol. I, P.333; cf KNOX, Works Vol. I, PP.299-300.
18. IBID., Vol. I, P.333; cf KNOX, Works Vol. I, P.300.
19. IBID., Vol. I, P.333.
20. IBID., Vol. I, P.334; cf KNOX, Works Vol. I, P.302.
21. brought back i.e. restored.
22. CALDERWOOD, History Vol. I, P.336; KNOX, Works Vol. I P.306.
23. IBID., Vol. I PP. 444-445.
24. IBID., Vol. I, P.516; KNOX, Works Vol. VI, P.78.
Further evidence of a Reformed Church organisation having been established by this time is provided by "The Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews." It begins with an entry/

NOTES OF REFERENCE.I N T R O D U C T I O N
(Contd)

24. (Contd.)
entry dated 27th October, 1559 and records the names of the elders and deacons who held office for the year 1559. (OP. CIT. 1,3,5. as cited in "The Scottish Reformation" by GORDON DONALDSON, Cambridge 1960 (later referred to as DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation) P.50)
- At Ayr the town council had evidently accepted the Reformation as an accomplished fact as early as May 1559, for on the 22nd of that month John Sinclair, a chaplain and chorist in the parish church, protested that he had on the preceding Thursday and Sunday desired Robert Legat, Vicar of Ayr, to lend him vestments for Mass, but met with a refusal because the bailies and dean of gild had 'dischargit schaplandis (chaplains) of the said kirk and service' (Ayr Burgh Court Book, 1549-60, fo.3lv also as cited in DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.50)
25. "A Church History of Scotland" by J.H.S. BURLEIGH, London, 1960 (later referred to as BURLEIGH, Church History) P.154.
26. "The Burning Bush by G.D. HENDERSON, Edinburgh, 1957, P.23.
27. KNOX, Works, Vol. II, P.92.
28. IBID., Vol. II, P.264
29. IBID., Vol. II, P.93.
30. "The History of the Kirk of Scotland" By JOHN ROW (Ed. D. Laing), WODROW SOCIETY, Edinburgh, 1842. (later referred to as ROW, History) P.12.
31. "The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches of the 16th and 17th centuries" by J.L. AINSLIE, Edinburgh, 1940 (later referred to as AINSLIE, Ministerial Order) P.13.

NOTES OF REFERENCE.I N T R O D U C T I O N
(Contd.)

32. cf. FLEMING, Reformation, PP.242-243.
33. FLEMING, Reformation, P.243 quoting from the document "Reformation of Church - Government in Scotland cleared from some mistakes and prejudices" (1644).
34. "Calvin and the Reformation" by J. MACKINNON, London, 1936, P.218.
35. "The Scottish Reformation" by A.F. MITCHELL, Edinburgh, 1900, PP. 103-117.
36. "The Faith of John Knox" by JAMES S. McEWEN, London, 1961, P.23.
37. "The Scottish Presbyterian Polity" by JANET G. MacGREGOR, London, 1926.
38. BURLEIGH, Church History, PP. 153-154; cf DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I. P.319 FN. "At Geneva he (Knox) was attracted by Calvin's religious and political doctrines which were henceforth to influence all his work."
39. What was adopted and what was later added may be distinguished by comparing KNOX, Works, Vol. IV, PP.149-214, with Vol. VI, PP.287-470.

C H A P T E R O N E.

1. "Miscellany of the Wodrow Society" (ed. D. Laing)
Edinburgh, 1844, (later referred to as WODROW, Miscellany)
Vol. I, PP.3-4
2. IBID., Vol. I, P.16.
3. IBID., Vol. I, PP.17-18.
4. IBID., Vol. I, P.17; cf AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, PP.
28-33 drawing attention to the place occupied by this
Doctrine of the Headship of Christ in the First Helvetic
Confession of 1536, the French Confession of 1559, the
Belgic Confession of 1561 and in the writings of English
Churchmen right down to the period of the Westminster
Documents and later. Thus in "The Works of John Whitgift",
Parker Society, Cambridge, 1851, Vol. III, P.198, Cart-
wright is quoted, "It is sufficient now to admonish you
that no one can be monarch between God and His Church
but Christ; which is the only Head thereof. Therefore
the monarchy over the whole Church, and over every parti-
cular Church, and over every singular member in the Church,
is in Christ alone."
"Calvin (See Institutes 4:6:9) and Knox and the other
leaders held strongly by the sole headship of Christ in
His Church. It was a principle which sank deep down into
the minds and hearts of all faithful ministers of the
Reformed Churches" - AINSLIE, OP. CIT., P.29.
5. IBID., Vol. I, PP.16-17.
6. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.159. In an "Ordination
address" of that date these words appear "So be thou to
them a pattern in the Word, in conduct, in love, in the
Spirit, in faith and uprightness: and God grant to thee
His Holy Spirit, that thou mayest officiate as a true
minister of thy Lord, in the Name of God" - AND THEREWITH
(the Decanus) LAYS HIS HAND UPON HIM.
7. Thus in WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I., P.17 we read
"Seynge it is the very eleccion of God, it is well and
justlye/

C H A P T E R O N E (Contd.)

7. (Contd)

justlye approved by the voyce of the Churche, and the imposition of handes of the heedes of the preestes."

8. "The Institutes of the Christian Religion" by JOHN CALVIN, (translated by H. BEVERIDGE) Edinburgh, 1863, (later referred to as CALVIN, Institutes)

9. See also CALVIN, Institutes, 4:1:5 - "Those who think that the authority of the doctrine is impaired by the insignificance of the men who are called to teach, betray their ingratitude; for among the many noble endowments with which God has adorned the human race, one of the most remarkable is, that He deigns to consecrate the mouths and tongues of men to His service, making His own voice to be heard in them."

10. Thus in 4:3:2 we also read, "For neither are the light and heat of the sun, nor meat and drink, so necessary to sustain and cherish the present life, as is the Apostolical and pastoral office to preserve a Church in the earth."

11. Commenting on Ephesians 4:11 Calvin says "The government of the Church, by the preaching of the Word, is ... declared to be no human contrivance; but a most sacred ordinance of Christ. The Apostles did not appoint themselves, but were chosen by Christ; and at the present day, true pastors do not rashly thrust themselves forward by their own judgment, but are raised up by the Lord. In short, the government of the Church by the Ministry of the Word is not a contrivance of men, but an appointment made by the Son of God They who despise this Ministry, offer insult and rebellion to Christ its author."

12. "Nous recevons les vrais ministres de la Parole de Dieu, lesquels il faut écouter comme lui - nene, et réputons leur ministère être une commission de Dieu nécessaire en l'Eglise." - "L'Eglise de Genève," by H. Heyer, Geneva, 1909, P.259.

- 13./

13. See AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.9.
14. Thus in "The Letters of John Calvin" edited by J. BONNET Vol. I, (1855) P.318 and quoted in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order P.139 we read "Our colleagues make considerable progress in preaching; but in two of them there is, I fear, somewhat of vainglory. You understand who the other person, the third, is; in my opinion he evinces a better regulated judgment.
- Peter has, besides, shown already some tendencies which are not very satisfactory As, however, we have not yet ascertained the point with sufficient certainty, I have resolved to observe him more closely ... Louis, as I always feared, has more of levity and less of self-control in his conversation and behaviour than becomes a minister of the Gospel; but this defect, as I hope, will in course of time be corrected, if only the other more essential qualifications are not found wanting." - The date of this letter is 1542.
15. "Or afin que rien ne fasse confusement en l'Eglise, nul (ne)se doit ingerer en cet office sans vocation." - "L'Eglise de Geneve," by H. HEYER, Geneva, 1909, P.262. See also AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.141.
16. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.142 commenting upon CALVIN, Institutes, 4:3:10 and 11.
17. See CALVIN, Institutes, 4:3:15. and cf. "A New Eusebius," by J. STEVENSON, London, 1968, P.249
18. Thus of Genesis 48:14 and St. Matthew 19:15 etc.
19. SUPRA., P.18.
20. ZWINGLI'S "Corpus Reformatorum," Vol. IV, P.425 as quoted in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.140.
21. "Nous croyens que nul ne se doit ingerer de sen autorité propre pour gouverner l'Eglise; mais que cela se doit faire par élection, en tant qu'il est possible, et que Dieu le permet." - "Documents of the Continental Reformation," /

C H A P T E R O N E (Contd)

21. (Contd)

Reformation," edited by B.J. KIDD, Oxford, 1911, P.670.

22. "The History of the Reformation in the Low Countries," by G. BRANDT, London, 1720, Vol. I., P.318 as quoted in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.140.

23. Thus, in the English 'Directory' of TRAVERS and CARTWRIGHT we read "Let no man thrust himself into the the executing of any publique charge in the administrat- ion of the Word, Sacraments, Discipline or care over the poore. Neither let any such sue or seek for any pub- lique charge of the Church, but let every one tarry till hee be lawfully called."

In the Second Helvetic Confession it is stated "No one ... ought to usurp for himself the honour of the Ministry of the Church, that is to lay hold of it for himself Let ministers of the Church be called and chosen by an ecclesiastical and constitutional election ... without turbulence, seditions, and contention We condemm here all who hasten unauthorised, since they have not been elected, sent, nor ordained" - See AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.141; also foot note relat- ing to Article XXIII of the Church of England and the Preface to the (Anglican) Ordinal.

24. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.142.

25. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.189.

26. Dr. Ainslie on page 147 of his 'Ministerial Order' quotes from CALVIN'S "Letter to Olivianus of Heidelberg" - "Premierement les ministres sont é^lus par nôtre compagnie" (In the first place the ministers are chosen by our Company.)

27. G. BRANDT, "The History of the Reformation in the Low Countries," Vol. I., P.318 as referred to in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.147.

28. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.147.

29/

C H A P T E R O N E (Contd)29. LOC. CIT.30. IBID., P.147 and F.N.

31. Here we read "A candidate for the Ministry shall first be examined by means of exercises from the Word of God, upon texts which shall be prescribed If the Company are satisfied with these, they shall then test his knowledge of Greek by giving him a chapter of the New Testament to translate; and of Hebrew they shall see to it that he knows at least enough to be able to make use of good books for the better understanding of the Scriptures. To this shall be added an essay of his own on the essentials of philosophy ... Finally, a brief confession of his faith in Latin shall be read, and he shall be examined upon it by the method of disputation." AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, PP.148-149 quoting from the "Discipline of the Reformed Church of France" edited by M.G. CAMPBELL, London, 1924, PP.1-2.

32. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, PP.143-144.33. M.G. CAMPBELL, OP. CIT., P.3, as in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.144.34. See AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, PP.145-146 for a discussion of this matter.35. IBID., P.150. The question is taken from CALVIN'S "Letter to Clovianus" of 1561.36. IBID., P.150.37. SUPRA, P.21.38. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.151.39. G. BRANDT, "The History of the Reformation in the Low Countries," Vol. III, PP.316-317 as referred to in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.151.40. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.151. The quotation is from "A Demonstration of the Truth of that Discipline etc. 1588" by JOHN UDALL, edited by E. ARBER, London, 1880, P.30.

C H A P T E R O N E (Contd.)

41. IBID., P.158.
42. G. BRANDT, OP. CIT., Vol. III, P.316 as referred to in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.158.
43. Thus the English 'Directory' of TRAVERS and CARTWRIGHT states, "Before the election of a minister and the deliberation of the Conference (Presbytery) concerning the same, let there be a day of Fast kept in the Church interested" - AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.158. Dr. Ainslie also quotes, in this connection, the "Second Admonition to Parliament" drawn up by CARTWRIGHT in 1572. In referring to an Ordination, and describing the proceedings, it is stated in this document that "after a sermon made according to the occasion" there followed "earnest prayer to God with fasting according to the example of the Scriptures..."
44. "The Ceremonies of Ordinatione are Fasting, earnest Prayer and Imposition of Hands of the Elderschip." - INFRA., P.93.
45. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, PP.158-159.
46. IBID., P.159 F.N.
47. SUPRA., P.14.
48. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.159; "A Manual of Church Doctrine," by WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, revised edition by T.F. TORRANCE and R.S. WRIGHT, London, 1960. (later referred to as WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual) P.92. F.N.
49. IBID., PP.159-160. "Quant à la manière de l'introduire pour ce que les cérémonies du temps passé ont été tournées en beaucoup de superstitions à cause de l'infirmité du temps il suffira qu'il se fasse par un des ministres une déclaration en remontrant de l'office auquel on l'ordonne, puis qu'on fasse prières et oraisons afin que le Seigneur lui fasse la grâce de s'en acquitter" - "L'Église de Geneve," by H. HEYER, Geneva, 1909, P.263.
50. IBID. P.166

51. LOC. CIT., The quotation is from "Synodicon in Gallia Reformata," by J. QUICK, London, 1692, Vol. I., P. 3.
52. LOC. CIT., Here again Ainslie refers to QUICK, OP. CIT., Vol. I., Pages 62 and 93.
53. G. BRANDT, "The History of the Reformation in the Low Countries" Vol. I., P.319 as quoted in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P. 166.
54. See AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.177 quoting G. BRANDT, OP. CIT., Vol. III., P.317. It was laid down by this Synod that "the public Confirmation of (an ordinand) before the People ... is to be performed by due Stipulation and Questions, Exhortations, Prayer and Imposition of the hands of the Minister (or Ministers, if there be several) pursuant to the Formulary for that purpose"
55. J. QUICK, - "Synodicon in Gallia Reformata" Vol. I., P.210 as in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.177.
56. J. QUICK, OP.CIT., Vol. I., P.228 as in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.177.
57. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.185.
58. IBID., P.185 and F.Ns.
59. IBID., P.185, quoting the "Second Admonition to Parliament" drawn up by CARTWRIGHT in 1572.
60. IBID., P.186 quoting the "Seconde Parte of a Register" Vol. I., P.165.
61. IBID., P.186 quoting the "Seconde Parte of a Register" Vol. II., P.218.
62. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.135.
63. IBID., PP.153-154.
64. Row, History, P.12.

C H A P T E R T W O

1. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.93; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II. P.15.

2. Examples of where exception is taken to orthodox beliefs and practices are given by BURLEIGH in his "Church History", PP.155-156 (See also G.D. HENDERSON, The Burning Bush, PP.29-30.)

On 24th August, 1560, exactly one week after the adoption of the Scots Confession, two Acts were passed by Parliament, one against the celebration of the Mass; the other abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope. As Prof. G.D. Henderson has written,

"The Acts clearly express the Scottish conception of the Reformation as in the first place a rejection of Romish sacerdotalism, the Roman doctrine of priesthood and sacrifice, and in the second place, a rejection of the hierarchical system connected with this "

3. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.110. cf PP.237-238 where the same sentiments are expressed in the Book of Discipline; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II., P.28.
4. IBID., Vol. II P.119; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II P.36.
5. IBID., Vol. II. P.111; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II. P.29.
6. IBID., Vol. II. PP.115-116; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II. P.33.
7. IBID., Vol. II., P.116; CALDERWOOD History, Vol.II., P.33.
8. IBID., Vol. II. P.87; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II. P.11.
9. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II. PP.44-45; "Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, from the year MDLX," MAITLAND CLUB, Edinburgh, 1839-45 (later referred to as B.U.K.) PP.3-4.

10. IBID., Vol. II. P.44; Despite the great dearth of suitable candidates for the ministry, a high standard of qualification was set. Thus KNOX could write, "We are not ignorant, that the raritie of godlie and learned men sall seme to some a just reassone quhy that so strait and scharpe examinatioun suld not be takin universallie; for so it sall appeir, that the most parte of (the) Kirkis sall haif no Minister at all: But let these men understand, that the lack of able men sall nott excuse us befoir God, gif by oure consent unable men be placed over the floke of Christ Jesus ..." - Works, Vol.II. P.194.
11. B.U.K., P.33.
12. See DR. DUNCAN SHAW in S.C.H.S., Records, Vol.XVI, P.36 F.N. 3. This practice was in accordance with Calvin's criticism of mediaeval ecclesiastical usage; See his Institutes, 4:4:9 and his comment on I Peter 5:3.
13. E.g. See Dickinson's edition of KNOX's History, Vol. I., P.44 et passim. The Roman controversialists themselves continued to use the word "clergy" as can be seen by reference to Vol. I., P.64 of "The Works of Ninian Winzet." These are edited by J.K. HEWISON and published by The Scottish Text Society, at Edinburgh 1888 and 1890. (The Volume Numbers are 15 and 22).
- Dr. Shaw, writing in S.C.H.S Records, Vol. XVI, P.36, tells us in a footnote that the word "clergy" was re-introduced in the late 16th century by some of the pro-episcopal party in Scotland. Such usage was, however, constantly resisted and, in 1586, it was said to smell of the pride of papistry by James Melville - see CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. IV., P.517.
14. B.U.K., P.5 et passim.
15. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., PP.115-116; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II. P.33.
16. B.U.K., P.19.
- 17./

C H A P T E R T W O (Contd)

17. The ceremonies used in the ordination of priests were discussed and condemned by CALVIN in his Institutes 4:19:25-29. The Confession of Faith branded priests of the old order as "no ministeris of Christ Jesus" and The Book of Discipline swept aside all claim to lawfulness on the part of the old clergy by stating categorically that "the Papisticall Preastis (had) neather power nor authoritie to minister the Sacramentis of Christ Jesus". (KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.255). All this despite the fact that the authors of these two documents (with the exception of Spottiswoode) had themselves been in priest's orders.
18. KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.184.
19. cf. SUPRA, P.7.
20. Thus, for example, in KNOX, Works Vol. II., PP.186, 210,239 we find references within the Book of Discipline to "the Ordour of Geneva, quhilk now is used in some of oure kirks", to "the Booke of our Common Ordour, callit the Ordour of Geneva" and to "oure buke of Common Ordour".
21. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.189.
22. "The First Book of Discipline" by JAMES K. CAMERON, Edinburgh, 1972 (later referred to as CAMERON, Discipline) P.17. This is exactly what the compilers of the Book of Discipline had in mind. It was because the "Electioun of Ministeris" had "altogither bene abused" that they considered it expedient to deal with the subject of Ministerial admission "moir largelie" - KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.189.
23. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.189.
24. LOC. CIT.
25. IBID., PP.189-191.
26. IBID., P.191.
27. The alternative reading is given in a footnote on
page/

27. (Contd)

191 of KNOX, Works, Vol. II. The question referred to as being raised by DR. WILLIAM McMILLAN in his book "The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church 1550-1638." Dunfermline, 1931, having to do with the admission of priests, already ordained, to office in the Reformed Church, is, of course, an important one. In a footnote on Page 343 of his book McMillan says "It seems quite clear that 'admission' and not 'ordination' was the crucial question in the minds of the Reformers at this period". With this observation the present writer would agree.

The omission of any reference to prayer in the chapter of the Book of Discipline dealing with the Admission of Ministers, however, hardly justifies the assumption that the Discipline in purely and simply concerned with the admission of those who were already "in orders." The Discipline is concerned with the Election, examination and admission of ministers quite irrespective of whether these came from inside or outside the ranks of the former "clergy". All had to be admitted to the Ministry of a particular charge by "the publict approbation of the peple and declaration of the cheiff minister." The explicit reference to "imposition of handis" in the Book of Discipline - if only to declare the ceremony "nott necessarie" - is proof enough that the Reformers understood themselves, in devising a code of practice for admitting to a particular charge, also to be establishing the pattern for admission (or as we would say, ordination) to the Ministry itself.

28. B.U.K., P.27; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II., P.206.29. IBID., P.5.30. KNOX, Works, Vol. II. PP.192-193.31. IBID., P.193.

32. See footnote 20 of this Chapter.

33. B.U.K. P.30.

34/

C H A P T E R T W O (Contd)

34. IBID., P.54.
35. "The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book" (of 1556) by WILLIAM D. MAXWELL, Edinburgh and London, 1931, (later referred to as MAXWELL, Genevan Service Book), P. IX.
36. As, for example, in the 1564 Act of Assembly quoted above.
37. S.C.H.S. Records, Vol. XVI, P.38 F.N.3.
38. MAXWELL, Genevan Service Book, P.167.
39. That the term "inauguration" was employed by the Scottish Reformers when referring to the initial appointment of a minister to a parish or a bishop to a diocese is ably demonstrated by SHAW in S.C.H.S. Records, Vol. XVI, PP.35-37. (For specific references to the use of the word see B.U.K., PP.27,28,54,173,176,196 and 386)
40. MAXWELL, Genevan Service Book, PP.165-168.
41. See MAXWELL'S Genevan Service Book, Page 59 where we read, "It should be clearly understood with regard to this service in the 'Forme of Prayers' that it was an Ordination Service, and not merely one of Admission to the Ministry of that particular church. In the case of those who had already been ordained as priests, it was a mere Service of Admission, and it was frequently used as such. But that it was also used as an Ordinal we know definitely, because William Whittingham was ordained in the English Congregation in 1559 or thereabouts."
42. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.168.
43. INFRA, P.53.
44. The first volume of Winget's Works (Vol.15 in The Scottish Text Society collection) is subtitled "Certain Tractates etc." and is later referred to in these notes by WINGET, Certain Tractates.
The content of the second volume (Vol. 22 in The Scottish Text Society Collection) does not concern us in this/

44. (Contd.)

this thesis but references to the notes provided at the back of this volume are hereafter referred to by WINGET, Vol. II., Page.....

45. WINGET, Certain Tractates, P.15.

"Sir" was the title of respect commonly given to a priest. "Until the Reformation, 'Dominus' or 'Sir' was given to such of the inferior clergy or priests of the Church of Rome who had not studied, or at least obtained, the degree of Master of Arts, in some university either at home or abroad" - See WINGET, Vol. II., Page,109.

46. WINGET, Certain Tractates, P. XXXIV and F.N.47. Namely "The Second Tractate", the text of which is to be found in WINGET, Certain Tractates, PP.15-22.48. WINGET, Certain Tractates, Pages XCII and 47-131.49. IBID., P.5850. LOC. CIT.51. Questions 33, 34 and 35 of "The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions" appear on Pages 98-100 of WINGET, Certain Tractates.52. IBID., P.99.53. LOC. CIT.54. IBID., P.10055. IBID., P. XXXVII.56. IBID., P. XXXVII F.N.57. IBID., P. XXXVII where the editor quotes from "The Ressoning" Edinburgh, 1563.58. IBID., P.16. The marginal note reads "Johne Knoxis ansuer to this wes ' I ordinat nane superintendentis nor ministeris' ".59. LOC. CIT.; Again in a marginal note we read "His (i.e. Knox's) answer heir wes sa schort and obscur that we vnderstude/

C H A P T E R T W O (Contd.)

59. (Contd.)

vnderstude it not."

60. IBID., Pages XXXVIII and 37.61. IBID., PP.16-1862. IBID., PP.18-20.63. IBID., PP. 20-22.64. IBID., P.2165. IBID., P.21-22.66. IBID., P.35-45.67. IBID., P.38.68. IBID., P.41.69. IBID., P.42.70. LOC. CIT.71. IBID., PP. 43-4472. IBID., P.44.

73. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.168. Winget's own words are remarkable in this context: "Gie ony of zow wyl obiect that the preistes, bischopis and thi clergie in oure dais hes bene blekkit and (are) sa ignorant or vitious, or baith and alsua sclanderous, that thay ar vnworthie the name of pastores, allace! we ar rycht sorie that this is treu for the maist part, and mair." - Certain Tractates, PP.43-44.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

1. CAMERON, Discipline, P.51.
2. LOC. CIT.
3. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.102.
4. KNOX, Works, Vol. I., PP.239,407,432 et passim;
Vol. III. P.247.
5. IBID., Vol. I. P.46; cf P.47.
6. IBID., Vol. I. P.194. Prof. Donaldson explains the significance of this article by stating that bishops had frequently commissioned friars to preach on their behalf.
- OP. CIT., P.102, F.N.
7. IBID., Vol. I. P.553.
8. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.102 quoting the "Sermons" of HUGH LATIMER, P.66.
9. KNOX, Works, Vol. I. P.46.
10. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.103. For example, the Reformer could write of "that cruell tyrant and unmercyfull hypocrite, FALSELIE CALLED BISCHOPE OF SANCTANDROIS" - Works, Vol. I. P.307; and of "Beatoun, FALSIE CALLED BISCHOPE OF GLASGU" - Works, Vol. II, P.131 et passim.
11. IBID., P.104. Among the documents referred to by Donaldson is The Scots Confession, XVIII.
12. "The (First) Buke of Discipline" as in KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.193.
13. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.104.
14. WINGET, Certain Tractates, P.7.
15. KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.91.
16. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.105 and F.N.
17. LOC. CIT.
18. IBID., PP.105-106.
- 19./

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C H A P T E R T H R E E (Contd.)

19. IBID., P.106.
20. LOC. CIT.
21. IBID., PP.106-107.
22. IBID., P.107.
23. IBID., PP.107-108 of "Old Priest and New Presbyter"
by NORMAN SYKES, P.34.
24. IBID., P.108.
25. LOC. CIT. and F.N. No.2.
26. LOC. CIT.
27. IBID., P.109. The book cited is by B.J. KIDD.
28. KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.398.
29. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, PP.108-109.
30. IBID., P.108.
31. KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.202.
32. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.114 quoting
"Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary,
Queen of Scots", (H.M.S.O.) I, No.554.
33. KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.202.
34. LOC. CIT.
35. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.114.
36. Thus, PROF. BURLEIGH in his Church History suggests
that phrases such as "The Superintendent and his Council"
or "the Council of the whole Kirk" seem to adumbrate the
later Synod and General Assembly although "these are left
wholly indeterminate" - P.166.
37. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.189 et passim.
38. IBID., Vol. II., PP.207-208.
39. See "The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland"
by DR. DUNCAN SHAW, Edinburgh, 1964. P.75.
40. STORY, Apostolic Ministry, P.253.
- 41./

C H A P T E R T H R E E (Contd)

41. LOC. CIT.
42. IBID., PP.253-254.
43. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.109; D. SHAW, OP. CIT., PP.75 ff.
44. For details of these appointments, see BURLEIGH, Church History, P.179.
45. KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.205.
46. LOC. CIT.
47. LOC. CIT.
48. IBID., Vol. II., PP.205-206.
49. IBID., Vol. II. P.206
50. IBID., Vol. II., PP.206-207.
51. IBID., Vol. II., P.207.
52. LOC. CIT.
53. IBID., Vol.II., P.208.
54. IBID., Vol. II., P.205.
55. IBID., Vol. II., PP.207-208.
56. IBID., Vol. II. PP.203-204; B.U.K. passim.
57. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, PP.114-115.
58. IBID., PP.115-116.
59. KNOX, Works, Vol. II, PP.202-203.
60. Thus, BURLEIGH writes - In the Book of Discipline....
 "the impression is distinctly given that it (i.e. the office of Superintendent) was conceived as a missionary agency to meet an urgent need of the moment, if the Reformation was to be carried to the whole nation within a measurable time. 'Nothing desire we more earnestly than that Christ Jesus be universally ONCE preached throughout this Realm, which shall not suddenly be' unless Superintendents be appointed. 'Once' clearly is intended to mean 'in the shortest possible time.' " -
Church History, P.170.

C H A P T E R T H R E E (Contd)

61. BURLEIGH suggests that "if he (i.e. the Superintendent) exercised supervision over the ministers and Kirks within his diocese, they also exercised a sort of supervision over him and might complain of his faults and negligence." - Church History, P.170.
62. "He differed from the minister QUOAD JURISDICTIONEM but had not the full spiritual powers of a mediaeval or Anglican bishop". DONALDSON, writing in S.C.H.S., Records, Vol. XI, P.214.
63. KNOX, Works, Vol. II PP.201-202.
64. IBID., Vol. II, P.201.
65. IBID., Vol. II, P.204.
66. IBID., Vol. II., PP.204-205.
67. IBID., Vol. II., P.204; of the statement on Page 60 SUPRA about "godly bishops" not being "anointing bishops" or "ordaining bishops". The expression "preachearis thameselves" stands out almost in complete contrast to the word "bishop" as it had come to be known with all its prelatiic overtones.
68. IBID., Vol. II., P.193.
69. IBID., Vol. II., P.189.
70. CAMERON, Discipline, P.21. In suggesting that the Book of Discipline as we know it is a revision of an earlier work, Prof. Cameron is supported by Prof. Donaldson. The Discipline received official recognition only in January 1561; "the book of common reformation" which appeared as early as 20th May 1560 may therefore have been simply a first edition with considerable alterations being made to the document between its first appearance and its eventual approval. (See DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, PP.53-54 and 61-63.)
71. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.116; S.C.H.S., Records, Vol. XI., PP.214-215.

C H A P T E R T H R E E (Contd)

72. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., PP.189-190.
73. IBID., Vol. II., P.190
74. LOC. CIT. See CAMERON, Discipline, P.19 for a statement of the grounds upon which a person may not be admitted to the ministry.
75. CAMERON, Discipline, P.20.
76. "Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews," (Edited by D. HAY FLEMING), Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1889/90, Vol. I., P.75.
77. See S.C.H.S., Records, Vol. XI, P.214. Here DONALDSON quotes Erskine of Dun's letter of November, 1571, addressed to the Regent Mar. The content of this letter I discuss on Pages 81-83, INFRA.
78. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.118. Putting the same thought in different words, Donaldson writes:- "Whatever the Theological implications and the nature of the rite of admission, an essential part in the proceedings pertained to the Superintendent." - LOC. CIT.
79. SUPRA, PP.70-71.
80. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.119.
81. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.192.
82. See Page 75, INFRA.
83. PROF. STORY in his "Apostolic Ministry" describes the procedure succinctly:-

"The 'Call' of the Christian congregation was recognised as the primary basis of admission to the cure of souls. Before the person so called could be admitted he must be strictly examined by ... the ministers of a district acting together in a presbyterial capacity, who must satisfy themselves as to his adequate learning, good character, and general capacity for the work of the ministry. If he stood the examination, he might then be ordained - not otherwise." - P.245 of Page 75 for cautionary note/

83. (Contd)

note on the use of the term "ordination".

84. STORY, Apostolic Ministry, P.242; See also article in S.C.H.S., Records, Vol. XVIII by the REV. MARK DILWORTH.

85. "Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticanae", edited by HEW SCOTT, Edinburgh, 1915-1950.

86. STORY, Apostolic Ministry, P.244. A little earlier Story suggested that "among the natives of Scotland the clergy were almost the only possessors, though by no means generally the possessors, of the qualifications necessary for the duties of minister, preacher, and reader." (P.242).

It is interesting, to note, also how 5 of the Romish bishops simply adopted the principles of the Reformation and continued to serve in the Reformed Church.

Thus, as Donaldson points out, Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway was a firm adherent of the Reformed cause before the Parliament of 1560 and in 1562 he was referred to as "overseer of Galloway" in the "Thirds of Benefices" PP.131, 137, 146, 150.

Adam Bothwell, provided and consecrated to the see of Orkney in 1559, was in his diocese from the spring of 1560 till that of 1561, during which time "he suppressed the Latin rite and organised a reformed ministry," his "visitation oversight and labours" receiving financial recognition similar to that given to the bishop of Galloway. ("Thirds of Benefices" - P.152)

So, too, was Robert Stewart a well known member of the Reforming party by the end of 1561; and Donaldson reminds us that while Bothwell and Stewart were not present at the Parliament of 1560, those who did attend and voted on the Reforming side included James Hamilton bishop of Argyll and John Campbell "styled 'elect of the isles'".

The part played by these reforming bishops in the work/

86. (Contd)

work of Reformation must not be forgotten and serves to demonstrate how the Reformed ministry evolved out of the old structure. - See "Scottish Reformation" PP.58-60.

This whole area of discussion, however, must be seen against the background of what has been written on Pages 57-58, SUPRA.

87. STORY, Apostolic Ministry, P.242.

88. PROF. DONALDSON would probably not agree with this totally. He does say, (Scottish Reformation, P.60) that the Reformers had no interest in a succession through bishops - even although these as individuals were still active within the Church - but he is of the opinion that "for several years two distinct ecclesiastical structures (remained) in Scotland." "The important truth" he says is "that the entire structure of the old regime remained intact" while in the Reformed congregations "their doctrine and their services ALONE were officially recognised." (OP. CIT. P.72).

In the context of our subject, this matters little and the important thing for us is that the way in which men were admitted to the ministry was reformed.

89. See Pages 170-174, INFRA.90. STORY, Apostolic Ministry, P.245.91. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.116.

92. E.g. upon the adoption of the Second Helvetic Confession by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1566.

93. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.117; cf KNOX, Works, Vol. II. P.193.

94. KNOX, Works, Vol. II., P.255.95. DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.117.96. LOC. CIT.97. IBID., P.116, F.N.

C H A P T E R F O U R.

1. DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I., P.331; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.191.
2. See the Preface to "The Forme and Maner of Ordaining Ministers etc." (1620) as it appears in WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I., P.597.
3. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.192; Douglas was "inaugurated" - the term used by CALDERWOOD in his History, Vol.III., P.206 - on 10th February, 1572, by the laying on of hands of Bothwell, Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswode, Superintendent of Lothian and Mr. David Lindsay.
4. The text of this letter is to be found in full in CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, PP.156-162. It also appears in "The Scots Worthies" by JOHN HOWIE, GLASGOW, 1848, PP.207-211.
5. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.157; See also WOTHERSPOON AND KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.118.
6. LOC. CIT.
7. Thus, in answer to the question "if it be expedient (for) a superintendent to be where a qualified bishop is" Erskine of Dun writes "I understand a bishop or superintendent to be but one office; and where the one is the other is." - CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III P.160; WOTHERSPOON AND KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.119.
8. See Page 84, INFRA.
9. He writes, "the administratioun of the power is committed by the Kirk to bishops or superintendents. Wherefore, to the bishops and superintendents perteaneth the examinatioun and admissioun of men to offices and benefices of spirituall cure, whatsoever benefice it be" - CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III., P.157.
10. IBID., Vol. III., P.157; WOTHERSPOON AND KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.118. I Tim. 2:2 is also referred to by Dun. He believed that if the power of examining and admitting to Spiritual offices (together with the power of oversight/

C H A P T E R F O U R (Contd)

10. (Contd)

sight) should ever be taken from bishops or superintendents then this would "alter and abolishe the order which God hath appointed in His Kirk" - CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.158.

11. It is interesting, however, to find that Dun nowhere suggests that bishops have some kind of inherent right to the exercise of power in the Kirk. In the text of the letter as printed in CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, he states quite explicitly, "The superintendents which are called, and placed orderlie by the Kirk, have the office and jurisdictioun; and the other bishops, so called (!), have no office nor jurisdictioun in the Kirk of God." (P.160)

The power of the Kirk is only delegated to Superintendents; their "Episcopal function" is derived from the whole "order of presbyters."

12. of PP.61-65, SUPRA.

13. See PP.119-123 of this thesis; cf chapter VIII - in particular PP.173-174, INFRA.

14. of P.80, SUPRA.

15. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, PP.158-159; WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.119. "Erskine ... did not deny the right of the Crown to present to bishoprics, but as Douglas had not been examined or admitted by any ecclesiastical authority, he regarded him as an intruder, having neither office nor jurisdiction in the Kirk of God." - BURLEIGH, Church History, P.192.

16. B.U.K., Vol. I. PP.207 ff. BURLEIGH, Church History, PP.192-193.

17. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.193.

18. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III. P.170.

19. IBID., Vol. III. P.172; WODROW, Miscellany, Vol.I, P.593.

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20. B.U.K., Vol. I., P.209; CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, PP.172-173; WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I., PP.593-594.
21. See CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III. P.253; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.194.
22. DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I., P.352.
23. B.U.K., Vol. I, P.246; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.195.
24. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.195.
25. IBID., P.194. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that at the inauguration of Douglas to St. Andrews, "Winram 'admitted', using the form prescribed in the Book of Common Order for the admission of Superintendents; and (that) the Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswoode, superintendent of Lothian and David Lindsay, minister of Leith 'consecrated' with imposition of hands." (LOC. CIT.).
26. DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I. P.352.
27. WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I., P.594 quoting Russell's "History of the Church in Scotland" Vol. I. P.300.
28. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.194 et passim; See also the article by Gordon Donaldson in the "Miscellany of the Scottish History Society" (later referred to as S.H.S., Miscellany) Vol. VIII, P.89 and F.N.
29. S.H.S., Miscellany, Vol. VIII, P.90.
30. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.197.
31. S.H.S., Miscellany, Vol. VIII., P.90, quoting James Melville's "Diary", P.68.
32. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.197.
33. LOC. CIT.
34. IBID., PP.197-198
35. IBID., P.198.
36. S.H.S., Miscellany, Vol. VIII P.90; From B.U.K. Vol. II, P.405 we learn that the General Assembly lamented/

36. (Contd)

lamented the death of Glamis and Andrew Melville wrote an Epigram - See CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.397.

37. S.H.S., Miscellany, Vol. VIII, PP.90-91 quoting a "Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland" V, P.253.

38. S.H.S., Miscellany, Vol. VIII, P.91.

39. IBID., Vol. VIII, P.91.

40. IBID., Vol. VIII, P.100.

41. LOC. CIT.

42. IBID., Vol. VIII, P.101.

43. LOC. CIT.

44. LOC. CIT.

45. IBID., Vol. VIII, P.92.

46. IBID., Vol. VIII, P.102.

47. LOC. CIT.

48. LOC. CIT.

49. IBID., Vol. VIII, P.103.

50. IBID., Vol. VIII, PP.103-104.

51. DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I., P.352.

52. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, PP.529-555.

53. of the teaching of the First Book of Discipline as outlined on Pages 38-43, SUPRA.

54. "Pastors, bishops, or ministers, ar they wha ar appointit to particular congregationes, quhilk they rewill be the Word of God, and over the quhilk they watch. In respect whair of sumetymes they ar callit PASTORS, becaus they feid their congregation; sumetymes EPISCOPL, or bishops, because they watch over their flock; sumetymes MINISTERS, be reason of their service and office; and sumetymes also PRESBYTERI, or seniors, for the gravity in manners quhilk they aucht to have in taking cure of the spirituall/

54. (Contd)

spirituall government, quhilk aucht to be most deir unto them" - CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.535.

55. See P.93, SUPRA, and of what is said concerning the agent or agents of "ordination" in, for example, the Second Helvetic Confession (P.28 and P.30, SUPRA); the Continental and English Churches (PP.30-31 SUPRA) and the Scottish Book of Common Order (PP.41-42, SUPRA)

56. See CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, PP.529-530
 "The policie of the Kirk is an order or forme of spirituall government, quhilk is exercisit be the members appoyntit thereto be the Word of God; and therefore is given immediatly to the office-beararis, be quhom it is exercisit to the weile of the haill bodie" (OP.CIT., P.530).

57. S.H.S., Miscellany, Vol. VIII, P.103.

58. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, PP.539 ff et passim.

59. IBID., Vol. III, P.548.

60. IBID., Vol. III, P.541.

61. IBID., Vol. III, P.534.

62. See PP.30 ff, SUPRA.

63. ROW, History, P.79.

64. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.530.

65. IBID., Vol. III, P.534 and P.93, SUPRA.

66. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.176. The 1597 Assembly ordained "that there (should) be ane uniformitie in the ordination of the Ministrie throughout the haill countrey, impositiouns of hands" (B.U.K., Vol.III, P.925).

67. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. V., P.723.

68. IBID., Vol. III, P.526.

69. B.U.K., Vol. II, PP.408-409 and P.413; CALDERWOOD, History/

69. (Contd.)

History, Vol. III. PP.403-404 and P.411.70. DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I., P.353; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.205.71. IBID., Vol. I., P.353.72. IBID., Vol. I, P.355; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.202.73. IBID., Vol. I, P.356.74. For an account of the operation of this Act, see DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I, P.356 and BURLEIGH, Church History, P.203.

75. The Assembly had replied to James' request in these terms:-

"We praise God that your Majesty has such opinion and estimation of such a person as we judge the said Mr. Robert to be, whom we acknowledge to be already a Bishop according to the doctrine of St. Paul, and qualified to use the function of a Pastor or Minister at the Kirk of Dornoch or any other Kirk where he is lawfully called as also to have the office of a Commissioner or Visitor in the bounds of Caithness if he be burdened therewith. But as to that corrupt estate or office of them who have been termed Bishops heretofore, we find it not agreeable to the Word of God neither is the said Mr. Robert willing to attempt the same in that manner" - BURLEIGH, Church History, P.203.

76. DICKINSON, New History, Vol. I., P.356.77. IBID., Vol. I, P.357; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.204.78. LOC. CIT.79. IBID., Vol. I, P.358.80. IBID., Vol. I, PP.359-360; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.206.

81./

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C H A P T E R F O U R (Contd)

81. WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I., P.594.
82. IBID., Vol. I., PP.594-595; BURLEIGH, Church History, P.207.
83. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.207.
84. LOC. CIT.; See also WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I, P.595.
85. LOC. CIT.; WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I., P.595.
86. LOC. CIT.
87. CALDERWOOD, Manuscript of History, quoted in WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I., PP.595-596.
88. P.93, SUPRA.
89. e.g. P.70, SUPRA.
90. WODROW, Miscellany, Vol. I, P.594. There is evidence that some Bishops were against magnifying their office in any way. Thus, when William Row was ordained at Forgandenny in 1624, the Bishop of Dunkeld "professed two things: (i) he came there not as a Bishop, but as a member of Presbytery, and (ii) he could not ask a word but what was in the Psalm Book (i.e. the Book of Common Order of 1560/61)" (See ROW, History, PP.326-327.
91. IBID., Vol. I., P.596.

1. BURLEIGH, Church History, P.210.
2. IBID., P.213.
3. IBID., P.214.
4. IBID., P.215.
5. LOC. CIT.
6. IBID., PP.217-218.
7. IBID., P.220.
8. IBID., P.224.
9. IBID., P.225.
10. LOC. CIT.
11. IBID., PP.225-226.
12. "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland",
by ALEXANDER HENDERSON, Edinburgh 1640/41 - Reprinted
1690. (later referred to as HENDERSON, "Government and
Order")
13. IBID., "To the Reader".
14. LOC. CIT.
15. LOC. CIT.
16. IBID., PP.1-2.
17. As distinct from SUCCEFSIO IN GRADUM EUNDEM.
18. HENDERSON, "Government and Order", P.2.
19. "The Office of a Bifhop confifting in Power or
Priority above a Paftor, as having no warrant in the
Scripture, as being a member of the wicked Hierarchy of
the Pope and as a curfed Tree, which amongst them
hath brought forth no better Fruits, than Herefie, and
Errours in Doctrine, Idolatry and Superftition in Worfhip,
Tyranny and Perfecution in Government, and Lewdnefs and
Profanity of Life, both in Paftors and People; They have
abjured and removed out of their Church, together with all
the Branches of that Hierarchy, and all the Offices,
Titles, Dignities, and Courts depending thereupon, as may
be/

19. (Contd)

be seen in their CONFESSION OF FAITH, Books of Discipline, and Acts of Affemblies of Old and of late." - IBID., PP.2-3.

20. "For how soon it was possible for them, Presbyteries and Affemblies (which from the beginning had been intended) were erected and established: And no sooner was this brought to pass, but SUPERINTENDENTS and all others of that kind, which at first were of necessary use in visiting the Country and in planting of Churches, were declared to be neither Necessary nor Expedient for the Church" - IBID., P.3.

21. Thus we read: "... the office of a Bishop was never received in that Church. But when some Ministers, who in regard of their Benefices were called Bishops, had, by their own usurpation and the foolish disposition of their Brethren, obtained some degree and power over them; They did come into England, and, without the consent or knowledge of the Church, received Consecration and returning home, did Consecrate others like themselves." - IBID., P.4 cf PP.100-102, SUPRA.

22. HENDERSON deals more fully with this on Pages 4-10 of the "Government and Order."

23. IBID., PP.4-5 cf. "The Form of Church Government" - "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers,"

"He that is to be ordained minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the Apostle." (I.Tim. 3:2-6; Titus 1:5-9).

"He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained" (I. Tim. 3:7-10; 5:22) By implication this refers to the Presbytery (See "The Form of Church Government" - "Touching the Power of Ordination" where we read "Ordination is the act of a Presbytery/

23. (Contd)

Presbytery" (I.Tim. 4:14)).

24. IBID., PP.5-625. IBID., P.6. cf "The Form of Church Government" -

"The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers" (Par. 1 and 2) where we read "He that is to be ordained must address himself to the Presbytery, and bring with him a testimonial of his taking the Covenant of the three Kingdoms; of his diligence and proficiency in his studies; what degrees he hath taken in the University, and what hath been the time of his abode there; and withal of his age, which is to be 24 years; but especially of his life and conversation."

When such testimony has been received and considered by the Presbytery, that court must then proceed "to inquire touching the grace of God in (the candidate,) and whether he be of such holiness of life as is requisite in a minister of the Gospel; ... to examine him touching his learning and sufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the Holy Ministry; and, in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place." - See also Appendix C.

26. IBID., P.6. cf "The Form of Church Government" -

"The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers" (Par. 3.) Here it is stated that ".... being approved, he (the candidate) is to be sent to the Church where he is to serve, there to preach three several days, and to converse with the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occasion to inquire into, and better to know, his life and conversation."

27. HENDERSON talks only of objections being lodged ("Government and Order", P.6.) but "The Form of Church Government" - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers" (Par. 4.) talks about people appearing before the/

27. (Contd)

the Presbytery to give their "consent and approbation" to the candidate becoming their minister.

28. HENDERSON, "Government and Order", PP.6-7. See also "The Form of Church Government" - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers." (Par. 4.)

29. IBID., P.7; "The Form of Church Government" - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers" (Par.5) suggests that "Upon the day appointed for ordination a solemn fast shall be kept by the congregation, that they may the more earnestly join in prayer for a blessing upon the ordinances of Christ, and the labours of His servant for their good."

30. LOC. CIT.

31. "The Form of Church Government" treats a little more fully of the questions to be asked. Thus we read:-

"After the sermon, the minister who hath preached shall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his faith in Christ Jesus, and his persuasion of the truth of the Reformed Religion, according to the Scriptures; his sincere intentions and ends in desiring to enter into this calling; his diligence in praying, reading, meditation, preaching, ministering the sacraments, discipline, and doing all ministerial duties towards his charge; his zeal and faithfulness in maintaining the truth of the Gospel, and unity of the Church, against error and schism; his care that himself and his family may be unblameable, and examples to the flock; his willingness and humility in meekness of spirit, to submit unto the admonition of his brethren, and discipline of the church; and his resolution to continue in his duty against all trouble and persecution."

The people are then asked "concerning their willingness/

C H A P T E R F I V E (Contd).

31. (Contd).

willingness to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ; and to obey and submit unto him, as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage and assist him in all part of his office." - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers." (Pars. 6 and 7).

32. HENDERSON, "Government and Order," P.8.33. IBID., P.8. cf "The Form of Church Government" - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers" (Par.9) which also speaks of an exhortation to the newly ordained minister.34. IBID., P.8.35. LOC. CIT.36. "A Defcription of the Church of Scotland is intended; NON JUS SED TACTUM, their doing fimply and not the reafon of their fo doing" is given. - IBID., P.1.37. "The Westminster Confession" CH. XXV, 2 and F.Ns.38. "The Form of Church Government" - "Of the Church" and F.Ns.39. "The Westminster Confession" CH. XXV, 4 and F.N.40. IBID., CH. XXV, 3 and F.N; "The Form of Church Government" - "Of the Church" and F.N.41. "The Form of Church Government" - "Of the Officers of the Church".42. IBID., "Pastors" and F.N.43. IBID., "Of the officers of a particular Congregation" and F.N.44. IBID., "Pastors" and F.N; IBID., "Of the Officers of a particular Congregation" and F.N.45. IBID., "Of Church - Government etc." of "The Westminster Confession", CH. XXX.

46./

46. "The Westminster Confession," CH. XXX 2 and F.N.
47. of the thoughts of PROF. T. TORRANCE as expressed in an unpublished paper entitled "Lawful Ministry and Ordination in the Church of Scotland."
48. "The Sum of Saving Knowledge," - The Practical use of Saving Knowledge - Second Warrant, PAR. 5.
49. OP. CIT. "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers." See also "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and F.N.; and "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers" and F.N.
50. IBID., "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and F.N.; and "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers" and F.N.
51. See P.18 SUPRA et passim.
52. P.112 SUPRA.
53. "The Form of Church Government," - "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and F.N. IBID., "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers" and F.N.
54. LOC. CIT.
55. IBID., "Touching the Power of Ordination" and F.Ns.
56. IBID., "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and F.N.;
IBID., "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers" and F.N.
57. IBID., "Touching the Power of Ordination."
58. IBID., "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers" (Par. 10).

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTERS SIX AND
SEVEN.

1. See P.6 SUPRA.
2. ROW, History, P.12.
3. The Scots Confession, echoing the First Confession of Basel (1534) states that if anything in it can be shown to be "repugning to Godis holie word" it will be altered accordingly - KNOX, Works, Vol. II, P.96.
4. KNOX, Works, Vol. II, P.184.
5. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.530.
6. P.86, SUPRA.
7. "Bibles of England" by A. Edgar, Paisley, 1888, P.151.
8. "The Claims of the Church of Scotland" by G.D. HENDERSON, London, 1951, P.20.
9. IBID., PP.21-22.
10. KNOX, Works, Vol. IV. P.84.
11. IBID. Vol. III, P.166.
12. IBID., Vol. II, P.284. cf P.111.
13. CALVIN, Institutes, 1:7:1.
14. KNOX, Works, Vol. III, P.64.
15. IBID., Vol. IV, P.450.
16. IBID., Vol. IV, P.267.
17. "The Claims of the Church of Scotland" by G.D. HENDERSON, London, 1951, P.23.
18. LOC. CIT.
19. KNOX, Works, Vol. V, P.196.
20. S.C.H.S., Records, Vol. IX, P.105.
21. LOC. CIT.
22. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.13.
23. KNOX, Works, Vol. VI, P.194.
24. CALVIN, Institutes, 1:7:4.
- 25/

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTERS SIX AND SEVEN.(Contd)

25. **KNOX, Works, Vol. II, P.111.**

26. **AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.13.**

The following are the main points of the introductory note to Chapters Six and Seven. The note is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the general principles of the Ministry and the second dealing with the specific duties of the Minister.

The first part of the note deals with the general principles of the Ministry. It states that the Ministry is a service to the people and that the Minister is a servant of the people. It also states that the Minister is responsible to the people and that he must be accessible to them. The note also states that the Minister must be honest and that he must be fair. It also states that the Minister must be courageous and that he must be able to stand up for the people's interests.

The second part of the note deals with the specific duties of the Minister. It states that the Minister must be able to lead the people and that he must be able to inspire them. It also states that the Minister must be able to listen to the people and that he must be able to understand their needs. The note also states that the Minister must be able to make decisions and that he must be able to take responsibility for his actions.

The note concludes by stating that the Minister is a servant of the people and that he must be able to serve them well. It also states that the Minister is a leader and that he must be able to lead the people well. The note ends by stating that the Minister is a public servant and that he must be able to serve the public well.

1. They were, however, deemed worthy of honorarium. of I. Cor. 9:13-14; See also I.Tim. 5:17 and Didache 13:1-3.
2. "The Interpreters' Dictionary of the Bible" edited by G.A. BUTTRICK, New York, 1962 (later referred to as BUTTRICK, Dictionary) Vol. I, P.171; cf "The Church's Ministry" by T.W. MANSON, London, 1948 (later referred to as MANSON, Ministry), P.33.
3. For example, see Luke 6:13; Matth. 10:2. of statement by MANSON - "the only 'essential Ministry' in the Church is that involved in the continual presence of Christ Himself, and all others are derivative, dependent, and functional. 'He (Christ) gave some to be Apostles; and some, prophets; and some evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ.'(Eph. 4:11 f) All alike from Apostles to teachers are objects of the same verb 'gave', whose subject is Christ. All alike are organs of the one Body" - OP. CIT., PP. 31-32.
4. MANSON, Ministry, P.31.
5. Eph. 2:19-20; I. Cor. 3:10.
6. Page 127 INFRA et passim.
7. MANSON, Ministry, P.52.
8. "The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries" by T.M. LINDSAY, London 1902 (later referred to as LINDSAY, Church and Ministry), P.77; cf "Jesus and His Church" by R. NEWTON FLEW, London, 1938 (later referred to as FLEW, Jesus and His Church) P.131.
9. IBID., P.77; FLEW, "Jesus and His Church", P.131.
10. Other examples of experiences mutually shared are given by PROF. FLEW in "Jesus and His Church", P.131.
11. PROF. MANSON gives a good account of the meaning of/
of/

11. (Contd)

of the Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents of Ἀποστολος
on PP.35 ff of his book, "The Church's Ministry."

12. "Theological Dictionary of the New Testament"
edited by GERHARD KITTEL, Grand Rapids, Michigan,
1964, Vol. I, PP.398-447.
13. "The One and the Many in the Israelite
Conception of God" by A.R. JOHNSON, PP. 8 ff. as
referred to in MANSON'S book "The Church's Ministry"
The Talmud states "The Apostle of any one is even as
the man himself by whom he is deputed" - see "The
Dictionary of the Bible" edited by JAMES HASTINGS,
Edinburgh, 1909, (later referred to as HASTINGS,
Dictionary) P.44.
14. IBID., P.36. See also PP.51-52 and BUTTRICK,
Dictionary, Vol. I, P.171.
15. "Church Order in the New Testament" by EDUARD
SCHWEIZER, English translation published by S.C.M.
press, London, 1961 (later referred to as SCHWEIZER,
Church Order) PP.194 and 196.
16. IBID., P.194.
17. LOC. CIT.
18. FLEW, "Jesus and His Church", PP.133-134 quoting
and essay written by KARL HOLL and published in
Gesammelte Aufsätze (1927), ii, 54.
19. SCHWEIZER Church Order, P.194 cf MANSON, Ministry,
P.47 - "During the Ministry (of Jesus) it would seem
that Apostleship was a function rather than a status."
20. IBID., P.197.
21. LOC. CIT.
22. Rom 1:1; I. Cor 1:1 etc.
23. See, for example, Paul's reasoning as given in
Gal.: 1:11-17; Implicit in this passage is his claim
to/

23. (Contd).

to be fitted for Apostleship.

24. I. Cor. 9: 1-2; 15: 8-9.

25. Writing in "A Theological Word Book of the Bible"
edited by A. RICHARDSON, London, 1969, P.20.26. MANSON, Ministry, P.45.27. OP. CIT. Vol. I, P.422.28. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, P.85.29. i.e. The Twelve (excluding, of course, Judas but
including Matthias) and Paul.30. This expression, used by Paul of himself, aptly
describes the feeling which impelled (and still impells)
others to become ministers of God.31. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, P.85.32. IBID., PP.85-86.33. Page 1, SUPRA.34. "A Theological Word Book of the Bible" edited by A.
RICHARDSON, London, 1969, P.182. See also LINDSAY,
Church and Ministry, P.91.35. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, P. 90. The quot-
ation is taken from the Didache 4:1.36. Prophets and Prophecy in the Old Testament are
subjects admirably dealt with by PROF. W.T. DAVISON
in HASTINGS, Dictionary, PP.757-764.37. The quotation here is from J.C. LAMBERT'S article
in HASTINGS, Dictionary, P.764.38. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, P.96.

39. Didache 11:7; 13.

40. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry. P.96.41. Didache, 10: 7. Silas and Judas, who were prophets
in the Church at Jerusalem, are referred to as ἡγουμενοι
("leading/

41. (Contd.)

("leading men") in Acts 15:22 etc.

42. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, P.99.43. IBID., PP.99-100.44. IBID., P.102.45. cf what has been said of the prophets, SUPRA
P.132.

46. Didache 13:2; 15:2.

47. This was regarded as a serious duty and there are warnings in Apostolic and sub-apostolic literature that the work of a teacher should not be lightly undertaken (cf James 3:1; Epistle of Barnabas 4:9).

48. Thus in "The History of the Church" by EUSEBIUS (translated by G.A. WILLIAMSON), Harmondsworth, 1965, we read of a meeting "of the presbyters and teachers of the village congregations" (Page 308).49. CALVIN, Institutes 4:3:4 cf P.16 SUPRA.50. cf what is said about this in "A Theological Word Book of the Bible" edited by A. RICHARDSON, London, 1969, PP.146-152.51. CALVIN, Institutes, 4:3:14 cf P.20 SUPRA.52. cf PP.133-134 SUPRA.53. In commenting upon Acts 13:2-3 PROF. F.F. BRUCE states that here "The Divine message directed the leaders of the Church to set Barnabas and Saul (Paul) apart for a special work to which He had called them After further fasting and prayer, Barnabas and Saul were released and commissioned for their new service. Their colleagues laid their hands on them and sent them away with their blessing and good will. It is evident that the laying on of hands in this instance imparted no qualification to Barnabas and Saul which they did not already possess. But by this means/
means/

53. (Contd)

means the Church of Antioch, through its leaders, expressed its fellowship with Barnabas and Saul and recognised them as its delegates or 'apostles'.

They were sent out by the whole Church, and it was to the whole Church that they made their report when they returned to Antioch (Acts 14:26 f). But they were already apostles of Christ; this was a status which the Church could not bestow but only recognise -

"Commentary on the Book of Acts" by F.F. BRUCE, London, 1968, P.261.

C H A P T E R S E V E N

1. See A.V. and R.S.V. of I. Cor. 12:28.
2. See among other early documents, Didache 11:1,2,8. and "The History of the Church" by EUSEBIUS (translated by G.A. WILLIAMSON) Harmondsworth, 1965, V, 14-21. (Pages 217-229); cf Mt. 7:15; 24:11,24; Mk. 13:22; Acts 13:6; II Pet. 2:1; I Jn. 4:1-3 etc.
3. It must also be said that Paul gives little insight into the establishment of an "official" ministry even when that came about. Certainly the reference to "governments" or "administrators" at I. Cor. 12:28 suggests the germ of an official organisation and in Rom. 12:8 we find him speaking of $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. This word, $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is not an official title, however. It refers simply to those who "take the lead" in Church affairs. "They may, like the household of Stephanas, which seems to have held a similar position at Corinth (I Cor. 16:15 f), have sometimes consisted of the earliest converts, but whether early or late they would be marked out by the qualities for leadership that they exhibited in the Church" - "A Commentary on the Bible" edited by A.S. PEAKE, London, 1920, P.646.
4. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, PP.169 ff.
5. INFRA, PP.156-160.
6. Thus Acts 11:30 refers to the elders of the Jerusalem Church while Acts 14:23 talks of Paul and Barnabas appointing elders in every Church.
7. WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.74 and F.N.
8. "The True Face of the Kirk" by R.STUART LOUDEN, London, 1963, P.23.
9. LOC. CIT.
10. WOTHERSPPON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual, PP.74-75.
11. IBID., P.75 See also "Conflict and Agreement in the Church" by T.F. TORRANCE, London, 1959, Vol. I PP. 23 ff and PP.214 ff.

12. Thus in "The Form of Church Government" -
 "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of ministers,"
 et passim, we read "No man ought to take upon him(self)
 the office of a Minister of the Word without a lawful
 calling". A man is inwardly called by God to service
 in Christ's Church. This being so, the Church cannot
 "make" a man a minister of Christ. What it can do is to
 recognise him as one called of Christ and authorise him to
 function as a minister within the visible Church.

As we shall discover shortly (P.156 f., INFRA) the
 New Testament evidence relating to appointment in the
 Church is contained very largely in Acts 6:1-6; 13:1-3
 and I Tim. 4:14. Having regard to this evidence the
 Reformed Church of Scotland exhibits a Biblical face
 in its practice of admitting people to the ministry.
 "Timothy's ordination has special interest, not only in
 referring to the laying on of hands by the presbyters as
 a body (See PP.159-60 INFRA)- a practice which Scottish
 Presbyterianism faithfully endeavours to reflect, but
 also in suggesting that there was a prophetic impetus
 towards the recognition of the gift of God in him:
 Timothy had a Divine call ... and then was ordained by
 the Church, acting corporately through its existent
 ministry." - "The True Face of the Kirk" by R. STUART
 LOUDEN, London, 1963, P.27.

13. BUTTRICK, Dictionary, Vol. II. P.72.
14. IBID., Vol. II, P.73. "In the Diaspora it was
 commonly called $\gamma\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ and the elders were called
 'archons' - $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$."
15. LOC. CIT.
16. Acts 14:23.
17. See article by PROF. H.M. GWATKIN in HASTINGS,
Dictionary, P.141.
18. It is clear from other passages written by Clement
 that/

18.(Contd)

that he, in common with other people, was in the habit of using the designations 'bishop' and 'presbyter' interchangeably. See also PP.153-155, INFRA.

19. So called by PROF. A.M. HUNTER in his book, "Introducing the New Testament." S.C.M. Press, London, 1945 and reprints.
20. This quotation is taken from PROF. GWATKIN'S article on The Bishop in HASTINGS, Dictionary, PP.99-100.
21. IBID., P.99.
22. LOC. CIT.
23. Even in the Letters of Ignatius, the bishop still appears as a congregational bishop, the president of a body of congregational presbyters. The Monarchical bishop had not at this point come into being.
- One other point ought to be noted here. The Presbytery was at first a purely local body corresponding in no way to the modern Presbytery which is a Court composed of ministers and elders from the separate congregations within a given area. In its infancy the Presbytery was more akin to our modern Kirk Session.
24. Acts 1: 23-26. See also P.137, SUPRA.
25. PP.137-138, SUPRA.
26. HASTINGS, Dictionary, P.538.
27. The Greek verb used is $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\omega$. cf also what has been said on P.21, SUPRA.
28. See HASTINGS, Dictionary, P.537.
29. IBID., P.538.
30. LOC. CIT. The question itself appears in AUGUSTINE'S De Baptismo, 3:16.
31. See PP.162-163, INFRA.
32. P.159, SUPRA. See also LINDSAY, Church and Ministry/

32. (Contd.)

Ministry, PP.154-156.33. SUPRA.34. This term $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\sigma\omega\varsigma$ is used in I Tim. 5:17 to describe the presbyter who labours in the Word.35. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, P.377. See also OP. CIT., P.208.36. WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual, PP.84-85. The quotation is taken from "The Pentecostal Gift" published by the Scottish Church Society, Glasgow, 1903, P.187.37. IBID., P.85 and F.N. "The beginning of the change dates from the time of Pius" (A.D. 140-163), and was incomplete for several generations later.38. IBID., PP.85-86.39. IBID., PP.86-87 cf. CALVIN, Institutes, 4:4:2 and 4:4:15.40. IBID., P.87.41. IBID., PP.88-89.42. The note printed by WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK in their Manual, PP.88-89 is worth pondering in this connection.

"There does not seem to be ground for the belief current elsewhere that Confirmation and Ordination are, in some sense in which other ministerial functions are not, inherently and by the nature of the office peculiar to the Episcopate. As a matter of fact, in the small communities in which the office was originally exercised, ALL functions seem to have been equally reserved to the Bishop when and where he could personally discharge them, and to have been discharged by other Presbyters when and where the Bishop was absent; and this seems to have been as true of Preaching, of Baptism, or of celebration of the Eucharist, as of Confirmation or Ordination./

42. (Contd)

Ordination. To celebrate was indeed considered to be 'the Bishop's most important function' (GORE, Church and Ministry P.138 F.N.); to preach was his right, and in his presence the Presbyter might not preach (JEROME, Ep. iii ad Evagrium - quoted by GORE). Only the consecration of a Bishop REQUIRED the presence of Bishops In the East, Confirmation is ministered by the Presbyter as freely as is Baptism - to allege the use in it of Chrism obtained from the Bishop as an invocation of the Bishop to confirm, would make unction of the sick also an Episcopal and not a Presbyteral function. The reservation of Ordination, however, to the Bishop as guardian of unity would tend to follow his office whenever his office appeared: and when established would be more zealously guarded and less readily delegated - for the same reasons which cause Ordination under the Presbyterian system to be rigidly reserved to the Presbytery. The impression that this function at least was distinctive of the Bishop's office, and that, in respect at least of the right to ordain, he differed characteristically from other Presbyters, rapidly gained currency and is often met with."

C H A P T E R E I G H T.

1. STORY, Apostolic Ministry, P.4. as quoted on P.1.
SUPRA.
2. See Chapter VI of this thesis which deals with the
Prophetic Ministry of the Early Church and the various
Χαρισματα associated with it.
3. For the missionary nature of the Church in
Apostolic times see PP.125, 129 and 130-131, SUPRA.
4. "The Presbyterian Churches" by JAMES MOFFATT,
London, 1928 (later referred to as MOFFATT,
The Presbyterian Churches) P.8.
5. See P.126 SUPRA cf. LINDSAY, Church and Ministry,
P.75.
6. LOC. CIT. This work was later consolidated by
that of the Prophets and Teachers - See PP.131-136,
SUPRA.
7. See Pages 125-128; 130-131; 143-144 SUPRA.
The situation is admirably summarised in WOTHERSPOON
AND KIRKPATRICK'S Manual of Church Doctrine, P.74.
"The Apostles form the perpetually existing and unrepeat-
able foundation of the Church in all ages. Their
Ministry, in direct appointment by Christ, was unique and
cannot be transmitted, but by the Ministry of the Word
mediated to the Church through the Apostolic tradition
of Revelation in the New Testament, their authoritative
and judicial ministry continues to order and govern the
life and mission of the Church."
See also Chapter IX of this thesis.
8. See P.132 SUPRA.
9. See PP.132-133, SUPRA.
10. See PP.133-135, SUPRA.
11. LOC. CIT.
12. See PP.141-142, SUPRA.
- 13./

C H A P T E R E I G H T. (Contd)

13. See P.142, SUPRA. For a long time the Prophetic and the "official" Ministries existed side by side. In a sense the Prophetic ministry guided and supported the local "official" ministry. Thus, in Acts 15:6 we find the Apostles and elders working together.
14. See P.142 and PP.145-156, SUPRA.
15. See P.146 and PP.156-160, SUPRA.
16. cf what has been said on PP.143-145, SUPRA.
17. Acts 11:30. See also P.147, SUPRA.
18. See PP.145-146, SUPRA, where we noted that in all probability the ministry of the Seven involved more than serving tables.
19. According to MOFFATT, this is the force of the term ἀδελφοί after the words Ὁι ἀποστολοι και Ὁι πρεσβυτεροι in Acts 15:23 - See "The Presbyterian Churches", P.10; cf also P.147, SUPRA.
20. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, P.11. For discussion on the synonymity of πρεσβυτερος and επισκοπος etc. see PP.153-156, SUPRA.
21. See P.156, SUPRA.
22. cf what has been said on PP.151-152 and PP.155-156, SUPRA.
23. PP.148-150, SUPRA.
24. See PP.153-156 and the quotation of Dr. Moffatt on P.168, SUPRA.
25. Titus 1:5.
26. I Tim. 5:22.
27. PP.157-158, SUPRA.
28. See PP.159-160, SUPRA.
29. The allusion here is to II Tim. 1:6.
- 30./

30. In II Tim. 1:6, Timothy is urged "to rekindle the gift of God that is within him". This urging is reputed to come from Paul (and here, of course, we cannot go into the authorship of II Timothy); this being so, the gift can only refer to the promised power of the Holy Spirit. In the letters of Paul (e.g. Rom. 12:6 ff; I Cor. 12:4 ff) "the gift" ($\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$) denotes a special endowment of the Spirit which enables the recipient to carry out some function in the community.

31. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, P.14.

32. IBID., PP.17-18.

33. IBID., P.19.

34. The quotation here is as given by MOFFATT in his book "The Presbyterian Churches" PP.19-20. BISHOP LIGHTFOOT in his Commentary on "St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians" London and Cambridge, 1868, P.96 gives the exact words of JEROME "Quum Apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos" ... "manifestissime comprobatur eundem esse episcopum atque presbyterum." (Epistle cxlvi (1. P.1081)) Lightfoot also includes another two quotations of Jerome:- "Among the ancients, bishops and presbyters are the same, for the one is a term of dignity, the other of age" (Epistle lxi (1. PP.414-5 ed Vallarsi)) and "If anyone thinks the opinion that the bishops and presbyters are the same, to be not the view of the Scriptures but my own, let him study the words of the Apostle to the Philippians" (Ad. Tit. 1.5 (VII, P.695)) - Lightfoot, OP. CIT., PP. 96-97.

See also LINDSAY, Church and Ministry, P.164 F.N. for a further statement of Jerome's strongly held viewpoint.

35. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, P.20.

36. "The Christian Ecclesia" by F.J.A. HORT, London, 1908, PP. 231-232.

37./

37. "St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians".
Commentary by J.B. LIGHTFOOT, London and Cambridge,
1868, P.93.
38. "The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion", P.66
as quoted by MOFFATT on P.20 of "The Presbyterian
Churches."
39. See also PP.133-135 and PP.156-160, SUPRA.
40. See P.158, SUPRA.
41. See PP.157 and 159 SUPRA. Note especially,
Augustine's rhetorical question as quoted on P.159,
"What else is the laying on of hands than a prayer over
one?".
42. cf PP.160-163, SUPRA.
43. The term some people would apply to men like
Titus and Timothy.
44. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, P.25.
45. LOC. CIT.
46. "Christianity in History" by J.V. BARTLET and
A.J. CARLYLE, London, 1917, P.367.
47. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, P.28.
48. cf CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. I, P.336. Here we
read of the petition sent to the Queen Regent by those
agitating for reform. Reformation was deemed necessary
"so that the grave and godlie face of the primitive
church (might) be REDUCED (i.e. RESTORED), ignorance ...
expelled (and) true doctrine and good maners (made) ONCE
AGAIN (to) appears in the Church ..." See also KNOX,
Works, Vol. I, P.306 and cf PP.4-7, SUPRA.
49. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, PP.28&29.
50. IBID., P.29 cf PP.8-11 and PP.118-123, SUPRA.
- 51/

C H A P T E R N I N E.

1. The most notable example of this theory is the Series claimed by the occupants of the See of Rome. "The Church of Rome traces back an unbroken series of occupants of the Episcopal chair in the so-called Apostolic See of Rome, a series going back to St. Peter and to the commission from the lips of Jesus Christ (Math. 16:17-19) held as personally applied to St. Peter. According to this Roman view, 'the power of the keys' is interpreted in a sense exclusive to Peter personally and held to have been transmitted to his successors. Regular ministry is found only in attachment to this chain." -

LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, PP.24-5.

The same view is expressed by C.H. TURNER in Essay III of the volume "Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry" edited by DR. H.B. SWETTE (London, 1918), entitled "Apostolic Succession". Thus he writes, "St. Augustine was willing enough to take up the succession argument if challenged on it; and when he did take it up, he meant quite obviously succession in the chair of a single see. The Apostolic Succession of the Church of Rome is from holder to holder, not from consecrator to consecrated." (P.193).

2. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.200.

3. This doctrine was expressly stated by the Council of Trent in these words:- " PROINDE SACROSANCTA SYNODUS DECLARAT, PRAETER CETEROS ECCLESIASTICOS GRADUS, EPISCOPOS, QUI IN APOSTOLORUM LOCUM SUCCESSERUNT, AD HUNC HIERARCHICUM ORDINEM PRAECIPUE PERTINERE; ET POSITOS ... MINISTROS ECCLESIAE ORDINARE" (Accordingly, the most holy Synod declares, that superior to the other ecclesiastical grades there are the bishops, who have entered successively into the place of the Apostles, and belong peculiarly to this hierarchic order; and/

3. (Contd.)

and have been placed ... to ordain the ministers of the Church.)

4. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.201.
5. IBID., P.201 "... the true Ministry is made to depend both on the Petrine 'Series' and on the lawful Episcopal 'transmission'."
6. "The Church and the Ministry" by CHARLES GORE, London, 1919, PP.58-59.
7. IBID., P.98.
8. SUFRA, PP.152-156.
9. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.202.
10. IBID., P.203.
11. LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.25.
12. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.204.
13. LOC. CIT.
14. "The Primitive Church" by B.H. STREETER, London 1930, P.38.
15. "The Evangelical Church Catholic" by P. CARNEGIE SIMPSON, London, 1934, P.156.
16. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.205.
17. LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.25.
18. cf. CALVIN, Institutes, 4:5:14. "One thing I say, which even they themselves will not be able to deny: Among bishops there is scarcely an individual, and among the parochial clergy not one in a hundred, who, if sentence were passed on his conduct according to the ancient canons, would not deserve to be excommunicated, or at least deposed from his office. I seem to say what is almost incredible, so completely has the ancient discipline, which enjoins strict censure of the morals of the clergy/

18. (Contd).

clergy, become obsolete; but such the fact really is. Let those who serve under the banner and auspices of the Romish See now go and boast of their sacerdotal order. It is certain that that which they have is neither from Christ, nor His Apostles, nor the Fathers, nor the Early Church."

See also CALVIN'S Tracts (Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh) "We certainly deny not that the Church of God has always existed in the world, for we hear what God promises concerning the perpetuity of the seed of Christ. In this way, too, we deny not that there has been an uninterrupted succession of the Church from the beginning of the Gospel even to our day: but we do not concede that it was so fixed to external shows - that it has always been and will henceforth be, in (the) possession of the bishops If the Church resides in the successors of the Apostles, let us search for successors among those only who have faithfully handed down their (the Apostles') doctrine to posterity." (Vol. iii, P.264). See also CALVIN'S Tracts, Vol. iii, P.265.

19. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, PP.211-213.
20. KNOX, Works, Vol. III, P.460.
21. P.34, SUPRA.
22. PP.43-53, SUPRA.
23. P.43, SUPRA.
24. See PP.187-190, INFRA.
25. CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II, P.206; cf B.U.K. Vol. I, P.27.
26. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.214. As PROF. G.D. HENDERSON points out, however, the word "admitted" is misleading and ought to be given as "appointed" - "Church/

26. (Contd)

"Church and Ministry", London, 1951, P.157.

The attitude of the Reformed Churches generally to the Papal "Succession" claims is seen quite clearly in the practice and procedure of these Churches. Dr. Ainslie provides evidence of Calvin's attitude; also extracts from the French Discipline and the Heidelberg Catechism, which corroborate his statement, "In admitting men to the Ministry, it was not considered a recommendation in their favour that any of the candidates had been in the Orders of the Papal Church Succession. In fact ... more caution and care were judged to be necessary in admitting them than in accepting others who had not been in Papal Orders. When such were seeking to enter the Reformed Ministry, they were required to conform to the Reformed Church methods of admission" - Ministerial Order, P.210.

27. See CALDERWOOD; History, Vol. III, P.297.

Here again we may quote AINSLIE in saying that in all the regulations regarding the admission of men who had been in Roman Orders, to the Ministry of the Reformed Church "we may see common prudence in the safeguarding of the evangelical character of the ministry by preventing men, still Roman in belief, getting into it. We may also conclude that the claims of Papal "successions" did not weigh greatly as having much value for the Ministry" - Ministerial Order, P.211.

The Reformers' were not so much concerned about the validity of a man's ordination as they were about the effectiveness of his ministry. cf PROF. G.D. HENDERSON, "Church and Ministry", London 1951, PP.156-157.

28. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.214. There is an example of this in the case of Bishop Alexander Gordon of Galloway. Thus in KNOX, Works, Vol. VI, P.387 we read, /

28. (Contd)

read, "In addition to these five superintendents, the Assembly on the penult of June 1562, refused the petition of Alexander Gordon, formerly bishop of that diocese, to be acknowledged as Superintendent of Galloway. In December following, he was again put in nomination, with Superintendents for Aberdeen and other places, but the haille Kirk remitted this to further advisement. 'Here' Calderwood remarks, 'we may see that the bishops converted from Poperie, were not suffered to exerce jurisdiction ecclesiasticall by virtue of their Episcopall Office.' "

29. IBID., PP.214-215 and F.N.30. IBID., P.216.31. IBID., P.217 cf DONALDSON, Scottish Reformation, P.60 et passim.32. PP.100-102, SUPRA.33. PP.106-107, SUPRA.34. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.217 and F.N. referring to "Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines" edited by A.F. MITCHELL AND J. STRUTHERS, Edinburgh and London, 1874, P.468.35. "The Form of Church Government" - "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers."36. "The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland" by G.W. SPROTT, Edinburgh and London, 1882, P.193 and F.N. referring to Baillie's M.S. Lectures on this subject, preserved in the Library of Glasgow University.37. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.218.38. "Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici" - The Provincial Assembly of London, London, 1654, Part I, P.185.

39./

39. IBID., Part II, P.33. Again in Part II, P.45 it is stated "That the receiving of our Ordination from Christ and His Apostles and the Primitive Churches, and so all along through the Apostate Church of Rome, is so far from nullifying our Ministry, or disparaging of it, that it is a great strengthening of it when it shall appear to all the world, That our Ministry is derived to us from Christ and His Apostles by succession of a Ministry continued in the Church for 1600 years, And that we have, (1) a lineal succession from Christ and His Apostles, (2) not only a lineal succession, but that which is more, and without which the lineal is of no benefit, we have a Doctrinal succession also."

40. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.219. Here also, as on the following pages, Ainslie gives examples of statements made by various Reformers on the matter of Doctrinal Succession. Thus he quotes Knox's answer to the Jesuit, James Tyrie, who had challenged the Reformers to show the Succession in their Church. First of all Knox affirmed that the Church was not in bondage to any succession but only to the Gospel. Then, taking Ephesians 2:19-20 as his proof text, Knox remarked: "Heir we find men, who befoir were strangers, maid cietizens with the saints and of the household of God; we find them buylded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets: we find Jesus Christ to be the cheaf corner stone - but we find no mention of any sic succession as Maister Tyrie seameth rigorously and without Godes commandment to crave" (P.220)

Knox continued:-

"Yet lest that the wryter, or any other, should think themselves rather mocked than answered, we ade (add) to the premises, That we are able to show the succession of our Kirk directly and laughfully to have flowed from the Apostles. And our reason is becaus that/

40. (Contd.)

that in our Kirkis we nether admit doctrine, rYTE, nor ceremonie, which be their (the Apostles') wrytingis we find not authorised ..." (KNOX, Works, Vol. VI, PP.697-698).

41. Par. XVIII.

42. "Spiritual succession of the whole Church in Apostolic doctrine, mission and practice is of much greater moment that any kind of formal or linear ministerial succession ..." LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.25.

43. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.223.

44. STORY, Apostolic Ministry, P.5.

45. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, PP.223-224.

46. KNOX, Works, Vol. II, P.108. cf CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. II, P.26.

47. cf the definition of Apostolic Ministry given on P.1, SUPRA.

48. cf P.56, SUPRA.

49. LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.24.

50. IBID., P.25.

C H A P T E R T E N.

1. LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.25.
2. of Chapters VI and VII, SUPRA.
3. For example, the Genevan Confession of 1537, John A'Lasco's Church Order of 1550 and The French Confession of 1559. (See P.16, SUPRA). In the message sent by "The Superintendents, Ministers and Commissioners of the Churches Reformed within this Realme of Scotlande to all the Faithful of Scotland, 25th December, 1565", we read "The ministers of Jesus Christ have an office without al comparison ... for they bring us the glad tidings of salvation etc. ... If we think that al these things may be due without ministers or without preaching, we utterly deceyve ourselves. For the same order that God hath observed since that He hath collected His visible Church, He will shall be observed so long as it continueth upon the face of the earth." - See KNOX, Works, Vol. VI, P.433; also, "Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici" - The Provincial Assembly of London, London, 1654, Preface.
4. "The Second Helvetic Confession" as quoted in "The Scottish Journal of Theology" (later referred to as S.J.Th.) Vol. 25, No.1., February, 1972, PP.75-76.
5. S.J.Th. Vol. 25, No.1, February, 1972, P.76. The quotation is taken from the article by PROF. J.J. VON ALLMEN entitled "Ministry and Ordination according to Reformed Theology."
6. This, clearly, was the fear the early Reformers possessed when they expressed the opinion that the imposition of hands could tend towards superstition. (cf PP. 28-29, SUPRA.)
7. of WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.92.
8. "The Form of Church Government" - "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers."
- 9./

C H A P T E R T E N (Contd.)

9. By this expression is meant the idea of a minister being "created" simply through the action of a congregation appointing him to office. Ordination is more than a human appointment. Principal Hill in his "Lectures in Divinity" has this to say, "We Presbyterians join with the Church of Rome and the Church of England in holding that the persons vested with Church government derive their powers, not from the people, but from Jesus Christ by His Ministers." (OP.CIT. ii, 442). Ordination, "considered as the act of Jesus Christ, by His office-bearers constituting a minister of the Church universal" is to be distinguished from the popular election of the minister by a congregation "which is the appointment of men applying or limiting the exercise of" the ministerial commission "in such manner as they please, and with more or less wisdom, as it happens." (OP.CIT. ii 440,441).
10. LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, PP.26-27.
11. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, P.113.
12. LOC. CIT. Here Moffatt quotes from the book "The Church and its Polity" by DR. CHARLES HODGE: "The function of the people is not to confer the office, but to join in the exercise of a judgment whether a given person is called of God to be a minister, and to decide whether he shall exercise his office over them, as their Spiritual guide." (P.143)
13. "The sovereign action of Christ the Head within the life of the Body is the heart of ministerial ordination." - LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.26.
14. cf. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, PP.116-117; LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, PP.25-26 et al.
15. Hence the Church of Scotland's willingness to recognise the Ordination of other Churches as being valid in substance. cf P.132, SUPRA.
16. WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.79 and F.N.

C H A P T E R T E N (Contd.)

17. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, PP.118-119.
18. After all, Knox claimed for himself an extraordinary calling - See 46, SUPRA.
19. "The Form of Church Government" - "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers" as paraphrased in LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.27. cf "The Second Helvetic Confession" as quoted in S.J.Th. Vol. 25, No.1. February, 1972, P.79 " ... we condemn all those who go off of their own accord, being neither chosen, sent, nor ordained."
20. P.36, SUPRA.
21. cf. Chapters VI and VII, SUPRA.
22. LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, P.30.
23. "The Form of Church Government" - "Touching the Doctrine of Ordination" and F.N.; also "Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers" and F.N. cf P.115, SUPRA.
24. "Ordination does not give birth to a sacerdotal caste; rather it legitunises a service" - J.J. VON ALLMEN, S.J.Th. Vol. 25, No.1. February, 1972, P.81.
25. WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK, Manual, P.92.
26. J.J. VON ALLMEN, S.J.Th., Vol. 25 No.1. February, 1972, P.76.
27. "The Form of Church Government" - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers."
28. LOC. CIT.
29. cf CALVIN, Institutes, 4:3:12. Here Calvin states his opinion that fasting and prayer was the one sure way of inducing "reverence and solicitude" in people about to elect a minister (cf P.19, SUPRA) See also PP.27-28, 42, 93, 103 and 111, SUPRA.

30. S.J.Th. Vol. 25 No.1. February, 1972, P.79.
31. P.194, SUPRA and NOTES 9-11 of this chapter.
32. cf CALVIN, etc; also the procedure set out in "The Forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments" (1556) which in time became the first Book of Common Order of the Reformed Church of Scotland, PP.41-43, SUPRA.
33. S.J.Th. Vol. 25, No.1. February, 1972, P.79.
It is for this reason also that the Church of Scotland has always insisted upon serious examination of candidates for the ministry. See LOUDEN, The True Face of the Kirk, PP. 27-28; also, "The Form of Church Government" - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers," and N.B. "The Westminster Larger Catechism" (1648), A. 158 - "The Word of God is to be preached only by such as are sufficiently gifted and also duly approved and called to that office."
34. cf PP.14, 28-30, 93, 103, 112 and 116, SUPRA.
35. KNOX, Works, Vol. II, P.193. and of P.42, SUPRA.
36. CALVIN, Institutes, 4:3:16. See also PP.22-23, SUPRA.
37. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, PP.119-120 quoting "The Lambeth Joint Report on Church Unity," P.139.
38. The quotation is from a volume by A.E.J. RAWLINSON entitled "Foundations," London, 1912, P.399 and is included in a footnote on P.93 of WOTHERSPOON and KIRKPATRICK's, Manual.
39. Institutes, 4:3:16.
40. As indicated in his "Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland" Edinburgh, 1641, C.XIV.
41. PROF. STORY, on P.246 of his book "Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church" rather sarcastically

C H A P T E R T E N (Contd)

41. (Contd).

suggests that the Reformers "might have remembered that of the earliest of all ordinations it is recorded that Moses was commanded to lay his hand on Joshua - not that he might receive the Spirit, but - because the Spirit was already in him." (Numbers 27:18).

42. OP. CIT. P.92.

43. MOFFATT, The Presbyterian Churches, P.119.

44. VON ALLMEN, OP. CIT., PP.47-49.

45. S.J.Th. Vol. 25 No.1. February, 1972, P.82.

In a footnote on the same page Von Allmen suggests "This is one reason why the monachism, which acted as a parasite on the Church of that period, failed to survive the Reformation."

C H A P T E R E L E V E N .

1. cf. The "Summa Theologica" of ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, Third Part (Supplement), London, 1922, - "The Sacrament of Order," Question XXXV, 1, PP.11-13.
2. cf. IBID., Question XXXVI, 3, PP.23-24.
3. cf. IBID., Question XXXV, 2, PP.13-14.
4. COUNCIL OF TRENT, The Canon "De Sacramento Ordinis" as it is given in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.191. A translation is to be found in "The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent" by THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, London, 1851. Under Session XXIII, Canon IV, (P.160) we read,

"If anyone shall say, that, by sacred ordination the Holy Ghost is not given; and that the bishops do therefore vainly say, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; or, that a character is not thereby imprinted; or, that he who has once been a priest, can again become a layman; let him be anathema."
5. "The Catholic Encyclopaedia" as quoted in AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.191.
6. In this connection the words of The Second Helvetic Confession are again worth quoting. In it we read "... the priesthood and the ministry are very different from one another. For the priesthood is common to all Christians, not so the ministry" - See S.J.Th. Vol. 25, No. 1., February, 1972, P.84.

Commenting upon this Prof. Von Allmen seeks to establish the individual roles of both ministers and lay people within the fellowship of the Church. "To understand the Christian doctrine of the ministry, it is essential to recover and preserve categories of the apostolate rather than those of the priesthood. By keeping the categories of the apostolate rather than those of the priesthood, it becomes possible to make a distinction between ministers and the laity which threatens neither one nor the other. It does not threaten/

6. (Contd)

threaten the laity (who, like the ministers, are members of the royal priesthood) because it does not permit ministers to become privileged bearers or representatives of this royal priesthood, and therefore laymen need not fear that their own rights will be usurped by the ministers who would exercise those rights in their stead. Nor does the grounding of the ministry in the apostolate threaten the ministry the moment the laity is sufficiently mature to be able to uphold the responsibilities of its own role: the ministers, without being afraid to see their own position rendered precarious, are on the contrary enabled to serve this maturation of the laity. This means that the Church is not called upon to choose between her ministers and her lay people, as if the laity must be silenced in order to allow ministers to find their own training ground, or as if the ministers should be moved out of the way because the lay people have grown up. This seems quite clear and straightforward. But we must understand that the sacerdotal or priestly interpretation of the ministry was so deeply rooted in the Church's consciousness, that we have been unable to 'desacerdotalise' the Christian conception of the ministry in order that the Church as a whole should accept its apostolic rather than its priestly nature." (OP. CIT., PP.84-85).

7. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.193 and F.N.
8. LOC. CIT.
9. IBID., P.194.
10. "The Form of Church Government" - "The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers." (Par.10).
11. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.196.
12. B.U.K., Vol. I, P.74. See also B.U.K., Vol. I, PP.172-173 for a similar sort of answer given by the Assembly/

12. (Contd)

Assembly of February, 1570. In July, 1570, the Assembly enacted, "Becaus some who had once accepted the charge of the ministrie had deserted their calling ... all and sindrie ministers who heerafter sall accept the said office, sall be inaugurated publictlic, conforme to the order sett down in the end of the treatise of excommunicatioun; and sall protest solemnlie, that they sall never leave the said vocation at anie time heerafter, under the paine of infamie and perjurie ... " - CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.2. In the Second Book of Discipline similar sentiments are expressed - See CALDERWOOD, History, Vol. III, P.535.

13. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.197.

14. Consistently this has been the position of the Church of Scotland - not least during the period of our study.

15. AINSLIE, Ministerial Order, P.197.

16. "Commentaries on The Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon" by JOHN CALVIN, Edinburgh, 1856, PP.189-190.

17. IBID., P.190.

18. "Commentaries on The Epistles of Paul to the Galations and Ephesians" by JOHN CALVIN, Edinburgh, 1854.

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