

II.

SOME NOTES ON ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON AND HIS CONNECTION WITH NEWBATTLE. BY REV. J. C. CARRICK, B.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The historical associations of Newbattle are particularly rich. Its ancient abbey, founded in 1140, was the great centre of ecclesiastical and social life east of Edinburgh for centuries. Its monks were the first workers of coal in Scotland, and thus are the fathers of Britain's industrial greatness. One of its abbots took a prominent part at Bannockburn in the assertion of Scottish independence. The abbey was a favourite residence for Scottish royalty, and even up to recent times, when both Queen Victoria and the lamented Duke of Clarence visited it. The Queen of Alexander II. lies buried in the precincts. Of its thirty-six abbots and twenty-eight parish clergymen, many names stand out prominently in history, but the greatest of these is that of Archbishop Leighton. Dickson, who in 1653 succeeded Leighton in the incumbency, was the son of the famous Dr Dickson, the author of the hymn, "O, Mother dear, Jerusalem."

Alexander Jaffray, the famous Quaker, lived here, and was Leighton's friend. In 1745, when the battle of Prestonpans was fought, the Rev. William Creech lay dying in the manse; his son, Sir William Creech, the great bookseller and literary adviser, Provost of Edinburgh, was the publisher of Robert Burns' poems. Burns frequently refers to him. Sir Walter Scott draws a picture of the old churchyard, famous in resurrectionist days; and in his fragment entitled "The Gray Brother," gives an imaginary story of a Newbattle abbot.

Scott, both when residing at Lasswade and Edinburgh, was a constant visitor to Newbattle, which he considered one of the prettiest and most romantic vales in Scotland. Christopher North (Professor Wilson) frequently resided at Woodburn, near the Maiden Bridge, with his brother there, and was often to be seen in the village and woods. De Quincey made Newbattle one of his favourite resorts when living at Polton. A branch of the Welshes, into which family Thomas Carlyle married, are buried in the churchyard.

Froude, in his "Reminiscences," recounts the incidents of the Chelsea sage's visit of a few days to Newbattle House, and his keen interest in the library. The American poet, Whittier, only lately deceased, had intimate dealings with the small Quaker settlement in the parish, and addresses a poem to a Quaker party, which included some of these, on the eve of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The last of the witches, "Camp Meg," lived at the "Roman Camp" in the parish, and lies buried in the centre of the historical churchyard.

Two years ago, a handsome brass memorial was erected in the parish church of Newbattle, beside the ancient black oak pulpit from which, during his incumbency of the parish (1641-1653), Leighton was wont to preach. The inscription, which gives the main events of his life, is as follows:—

✠ To the glory of God, and sacred to the memory of Archbishop Leighton. Robert Leighton was born in London, 1611: educated at Edinburgh University, and on the Continent: ordained pastor of this parish on December 16th, 1641, where he ministered faithfully till 1653. Principal of Edinburgh University, 1653-1661; Bishop of Dunblane, 1661-1671; Archbishop of Glasgow, 1671-1674; after which, he retired into private life, and lived with his sister at Broadhurst, in Sussex, for ten years. He died, according to his long cherished wish, in an Inn (the Bell Inn, Warwick Lane, London), by night, during his sleep—June 25th, 1684; and was buried in the Parish Church of Horsted Keynes, Sussex. Blessed are the Peacemakers. For so He giveth His Beloved Sleep."

In Horsted Keynes Church, two memorials are raised to his memory,¹ and the old farmhouse is still pointed out where he stayed; though, curiously, in the diary of Mr Giles, who was rector there during Leighton's residence, there is no reference to him. Two memorials stand, one

¹ "His remains were deposited in the south chancel of the Church of Horsted Keynes, in the county of Sussex, in which parish he had resided for several years with his sister and her son, Edward Lightmaker of Broadhurst. A plain marble slab bears this inscription:—DEPOSITVM ROBERTI LEIGHTONI, ARCHIEPISCOPI GLASGUENSIS APVD SCOTOS, QUI OBIT XXV DIE JUNII ANNO DNI. 1684 AETATIS SUAE 74" (Notice of Leighton by David Laing in the *Proceedings of the Society*, vol. iv. p. 488).

within and the other outside the parish church there, and the tradition is still fresh there that he would always go to church, especially on wet days, as an example to others. The Bell Inn, under the shadow of St Paul's Cathedral, beside Amen Corner, where the Cathedral Canons live, has only within recent years been transformed: the memory of Leighton still lingers round the place. Newbattle was his first charge—and the following are all the traces that can now be gathered up of his presence and influence here:—

1. His old Pulpit: a small round oak pulpit with canopy; handsomely carved, and originally without a seat.
2. The ancient Hour Glass; it is still entire, sand and everything, and stands about 8 inches high. The wooden frame is very rude.
3. The ancient Funeral Bell which was rung through the parish when a funeral was about to take place; the handle is an imitation, in iron, of a leg-bone. On the front of the bell—I M A 1616. Also the ancient church key of iron, sadly worn and rusted.
4. The Sacramental Vessels—

(a) Communion Cups. Communion cups of solid silver, not moulded, but beaten with the hammer; of an unusually graceful shape—a large shallow bowl resting on a richly carved pedestal, as shown in the accompanying outline engraving (fig. 1). They were all presented to the church during Leighton's incumbency, on May 29, 1646, by Robert Porteous, younger, Alexander Kaitness, Patrick Ellis of Southside, and Andro Brysson. They are still (with some modern additions) the eucharistic vessels of the parish. In 1732, one of these massive silver chalices was stolen, and carried off to England. In 1733 it was discovered at Newcastle, though some say Newbottle (near Fencehouses, in Durhamshire),—the old name of Newbattle being Newbottle [the new residence],—and brought back damaged. The repair of it cost £6, 6s. Scots, half of which was charged to "James Wilson, the beadle." The marks of these repairs are still quite

noticeable. Round the lip of each chalice are the words—"For the Kirk of Newbatl"—the name being spelt differently on each cup. The cups in Dunblane Cathedral are almost identical.

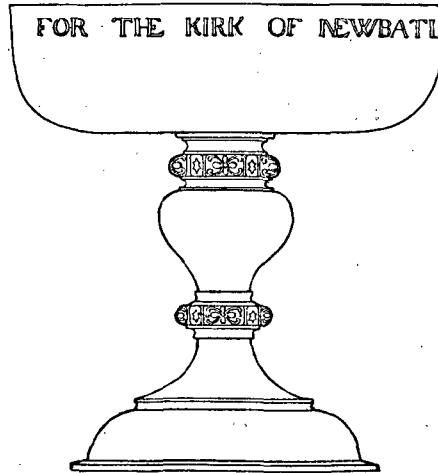


Fig. 1. Communion Cup, Newbattle (1646).

(b) *Baptismal Vessels.* A massive silver basin and beautiful ewer, hammered and inscribed. They were bought by the Session, and bear the inscriptions:—"Pereat qui amoverit vel in alium usum pervertit." ["Perish the man who bears it away, or turns it to another use,"]—with the Scripture texts:—*According to His mercy, He saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; and round the edge of the basin—Repent and be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins.* Though not in actual use during Leighton's incumbency, the baptismal vessels belonged to his period, and were bought during his lifetime.

5. *Parish and Presbytery Records.*—There are many references to

Leighton, and some in his own writing, in the Session Records. In the Presbytery Books there is much concerning him.¹

6. Leighton's Newbattle Library.—Thirty-one volumes are preserved of Leighton's Library, and are handed down from incumbent to incumbent, just as at Salton with the library of Bishop Burnet. Many of the books are much spoiled with damp, but they are as a whole of matchless interest. Some of them seem to have been presented to him as minister by the then Marquis of Lothian, with whom he was on terms of the closest friendship, and intended to be handed on to his successors. In the Session records there is an entry—"List of books given by the Marquis of Lothian to the Minister of Newbattle." But the list is gone—only the title-page being left. Most of the present books must, from their internal character, have been gathered by Leighton himself. All the books, however, were acquired by Leighton when minister at Newbattle, whether by gift or purchase, so that the entire collection is entitled to the name of "Leighton's Newbattle Library." When Leighton left Newbattle for the Edinburgh Principalship, he left these volumes behind him:—

1. "Clavis Theologica." Folio. "A Key to Theology." A thick folio volume of blank pages with printed headings: a religious common-place book and theological ledger—in which to put down anything striking in the course of reading. A score of pages are torn out from the beginning, and in the pages left there is not a single MS. entry. The first remanent page is headed—"Whether Christ died for all men or not?" The first twenty pages have the general heading—"De Christo," and there are spaces for notes on His Nativity, Death, Resurrection, &c. Then the Sacraments, Church, the Commandments, &c. It is pre-eminently a young man's book and study-companion,—a methodical help to reading and meditation. Why there are no entries it is difficult to say; perhaps Leighton hit upon some better and less laborious method; but his Theological Lectures and Commentaries show deep research, and contain crowds of learned references which could not have been gathered in a day, but must have been the savings and accumulations of years of study. This has a peculiar interest, as probably one of Leighton's earliest intellectual tools.

2. "Doctrinale Bibliorum Harmonicum, id est Index dilucidus Novus,—

¹ The extracts relating to Leighton from the Records of the Presbytery of Dalkeith and the Kirk-Session of the Parish of Newbattle are printed at length in the *Proceedings*, vol. iv. pp. 463-486.

autore Georgio Vito D. Abbate coenobii Anhusani Wirtembergici."—Winteri, 1613. Folio. A Harmony of the Bible. Each book of the Bible is taken separately, and its chief doctrinal points are alphabetically arranged. There is thus a doctrinal concordance for *each book* of Scripture, and not for the whole Bible, as in modern concordances. This copy bears marks of use, and there are oil stains on its pages from the old Scotch cruizies, which were universal in Leighton's time. The author of this concordance was George Vitus, Lutheran Abbot of Wurtemberg.

3. "Thesaurus Locorum Communium."—Augustinus Marloratus. Folio, 1574. A dictionary of common places, or concordance to the whole Bible, not taking the books separately, as in the last, but all Scripture in a mass. Not only are references given as, *e.g.*, under P—Pax—to all the places where "peace" occurs in the Bible, but illustrations are given in a freer and more general way than is common in modern concordances. It is remarkable that, under this word, the pages are much worn, and bear marks of much reading—which is in keeping with the character of the man to whom the book belonged. This Biblical Cyclopædia is by Marloratus, Reformed pastor in Rotterdam. At the beginning of the volume are a number of Latin poems laudatory of the learning of this great Biblical Scholar. There is also a sentence or two of commendation from the Reformer Beza. It bears the imprimatur of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, given at Lambeth Palace, 1573.

4. The "Magdeburg Centuries." Folio. Leighton's handbook on general Church History, written by Matthew Flacius of Magdeburg, and still an authoritative work of reference. The History of the Church is traced from the beginning till the dawn of the sixteenth century.

5. "Joannis Baptistae Folengii Mantuani, Divi Benedicti monachi, in Psalmos aliquot juxta Hebræam veritatem commentarius." [Title-page lost.] Folio. A commentary on certain Psalms according to the Hebrew Text, by Spitel of Mantua. The finest volume in the collection; it must once have been really a handsome folio. It has richly gilded edges, and is bound in particularly fine leather, which also has once been gilt. The author's name, "John Spitel," is done in gilt on front and back. Spitel was a monk of the monastery of Mantua, and his commentary on the Psalms is richly devotional, many passages reminding one of Leighton's own sublime strain of discourse. He may have received some of this style from his old devotional commentary, which was a standard work in its day. Leighton was accused of harbouring and using ascetical and Roman Catholic books, as Bishop Butler was in a later century; and in this small Newbattle Library, there is a good sprinkling of works by Roman Divines. One peculiarity of this book is, that each page is lined and bordered with red ink, evidently done by the hand, which must have been an immense labour, as there are over 1000 pages.

6. Osiander's—(a) "Summaries of XVIIth Century Church History."

"*Epitomes Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ centuriæ decimæ sextæ.*" Lucas Osiander, D. Tubingen, 1508. (b) "Summaries of XVth Century Church History." Ditto. Tubingen, 1507. Osiander's "Summaries of Church History," a well-known standard narrative of the Reformation age, with all its wars and controversies.

7. "D. Hieronymi Osorii Lusitani, Episcopi Sylvensis, de Regis Institutionibus et Disciplina, Lib. viii. Olysippone, 1571." Osorius, the Spanish Jesuit's treatise on "The Institutions and Discipline of a King," published in Portugal in 1571, with the Pope's imprimatur printed on it, and dedicated to Sebastian, King of Portugal. This work on monarchy, from a very high and "Divine-right" point of view, is bound in skin vellum, with rich gilt facings, and it has once been tied with green ribbons, the ends of which still remain. There are jottings by "R.L." on the fly-leaf.

8. Complete Catalogue of the Books in the Bodleian Library, 1620. In some respects the most interesting volume in the library—a small quarto, in vellum, containing a catalogue of all the books and MSS. in the Oxford Bodleian Library in 1620 (which is the date on this copy), published at Oxford, by John Lichfield and James Short. Possibly Leighton may have brought this old catalogue to Newbattle from Oxford with his own hand; but on the fly-leaf there is a faded jotting:—"1625, Mr Cheyne, Parson of Kinkell. Aet. 40 yrs," and a very striking coincidence is here. The parish of Kinkell, Aberdeenshire, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century had a series of mishaps. Its bell was bought by the parish of Cockpen, the next parish to Newbattle, and is still the bell of the parish church there, and has "Kinkell" engraved on it; and, very probably this catalogue of the Bodleian Library came to this district at the same time, bought along with other effects of the minister and church. Hence also probably the name on the book, and its presence in Leighton's Newbattle Library.

9. *Philosophia digne restituta: libros quatuor præcognitorum philosophicorum complectens, a Johanne-Henrico Alstedio, ad illustrissimam Anglorum Academiam quæ est Cantabrigiæ. Herbornæ Nassoviorum, 1612.*" John Henry Alsted's "Philosophy." A logical and philosophical work—a strange mixture of metaphysics, theology, logic, and psychology.

10. *Locorum Communium S. Theologiæ Institutio per Epitomen, Auctore Luca Trelcatio, judice ecclesiæ Rom.*" London, 1608. Luke Trelcatius' "Theological Common Places." London, 1608. A small volume of theology, logically arranged, from a strongly Protestant point of view. Published in London, 1608. It is bound in vellum, and has a complete index written in Leighton's own handwriting—the same handwriting as on other books here, and at Dunblane, where his great library exists. It is an interesting study in calligraphy.

11. *Speculum Pontificum Romanorum in quo imperium, decreta, vita,*

prodigia, interitus, elogia accurate proponuntur, per Stephanum Szegeginum Pannonium," 1526. "View of the Roman Pontificate," by Stephen Szegeginus of Pannonia. The Roman Pontificate is described with grotesque fulness—"Its Rule, Decrees, Life, Wonders, Death, and Elegy accurately laid out." It is a strongly Protestant handbook, but has nothing else particularly interesting about it.

12. "Analysis Logica in Epistolam ad Hebraeos, Auctore D. Roberto Rolloco Scoto, Ministro Jesu Christi et Rectore Academiae Edinburgensis." "Logical Analysis of the Epistle to the Hebrews," by Dr Robert Rollock, Principal of Edinburgh University. Edinburgh (R. Charteris, King's Printer, 1605). It was under Principal Rollock's rule that Leighton's father was a professor, and not improbably this little commentary on the "Hebrews" may have been presented by the Principal and inherited. The most touching thing about it is that on the front page, a text written in Latin in the same hand as all the rest, is inscribed, and with the faded initials "R.L." after it:—"God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Jesus Christ."

13. S. Chrysostom's Works in Latin. Antwerp, 1547. With some letters on the fly-leaf in another hand (a sort of shorthand)—and the word—"Jonathan."

14. Jobi Historiae Docta et catholica explicatio per R. Patrem D. Joannem Ferum Metropolitanæ Ecclesiae Moguntinensis. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1574. A Roman Catholic Exposition of "Job," "not only to teach true doctrine, but to heal controversies," by John Ferus, Bishop of Mentz.

15. "Illustrium et clarorum virorum epistolae selectiores." Lugduni Batavorum, 1617. Elzevir Edition. "The Letters of Famous and Illustrious Men," showing the abuses of the Roman Church, &c., are well known.

16. Cornelius Crocus. Philology and Rhetoric. Discussions on words and meanings. Partly bound in an old vellum will, beginning—"Wilhelmus." Curious old writing, and rich illuminations, with beautiful initial letters.

17. Calvin's "Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles" (Latin). (Much damaged and boardless.)

18. Claudian's Works, 1612, with Latin commentary on the poet. Editor—Caspar Barthius. (Much damaged and boardless.)

19. "De Prima Mundi Aetate," by Lambert Danalus. Four books, 1590. "Concerning the First Age of the World." (Boardless.)

20. "Papa Confutatus, sanctae et apostolicae ecclesiae in confutationem papae." London, 1580. Bound in a sheet of vellum illuminated in black and red lettering; fine initials. Protestant controversy.

21. "De Arcanis Dominationis Arn. Clapmarii," Lib. iii. Arnold Clapmarius. "Concerning the Mysteries of Government." And bound up with it in thick vellum are *Casaubon's* Works: "Isaaci Casauboni ad Frontonem Ducaem, S. J. Theologum Epistola, in qua de Apologia disseritur communi Jesuitarum nomine ante aliquot menses Lutetiae Parisiorum Edita."

London, 1611—(vellum and strings). The latter treatise is peculiarly interesting as an indication of Leighton's affinity with the great scholars of the period who were being gradually drawn towards Episcopacy. Casaubon as a Continental Presbyterian who was attracted by the Church of England, might naturally be a favourite author with Leighton.

22. Theodore Beza's Works. Geneva, 1588; and bound up with it a History of the Reformers, with fine engravings—the only book in the whole collection which has plates. Fine heads of Huss, Savonarola, Bucer, &c., and a full narrative of the Waldenses, especially the burnings of 1559, closing with "Emblems," and pictures with descriptive poetry below, like Quarles' "Emblems," &c., *e.g.*—"Life a Sea,"—and a representation of a ship ploughing its way amid "the troublesome waves of this present world."

23. Raymund Lullius' Works. "Ars magna."—Treatises on logic, rhetoric, astrology, science,—a general gazetteer and emporium of knowledge. A very fine copy, bound in vellum, with strings, of date 1592.

24. "A Commentary on the Galatians," by Dr Martin Luther. London, 1603, printed in black letter.

25. A volume of loose Tracts and Papers bound together—valuable but sorely spoiled by damp and mice. One of the tracts is entitled—"Christ Confessed, or several important questions and cases about the Confession of Christ, written by a Preacher of the Gospel, and now a Prisoner,"—written by a Covenanter. Also—"The Charge of High Treason, Murder, Oppressions, and other Crimes exhibited to the Parliament of Scotland, against the Marquis of Argyll and his Accomplices." January 23, 1646. And a large number of other covenanting papers and tracts, including a tract on the persecutions of the Quakers, by Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen,—the great advocate of the Quakers, and several times Commissioner to Parliament. Jaffray, for several years, lived in an old house in Newbattle, next to the manse, now pulled down, having married the daughter of Leighton's predecessor, the Rev. Andrew Cant, who afterwards became minister at Aberdeen. Leighton's strong advocacy of *Peace* in the troubled times of Episcopal and Presbyterian rivalry arose from—(1) His close friendship with the Quaker Jaffray, his next door neighbour; (2) His early education in France, where, for nearly ten years, till the age of 30, when he was appointed Minister of Newbattle, he associated with the French Quietists, of whom Fénelon and Madame Guyon may be taken as fair examples, and whose salient doctrine was that where religion does not work peace with God, peace with man, and peace in the soul, it accomplishes nothing; (3) His own innate spiritual tendencies, to some extent mystical, fostered too by his study of Roman Catholic mystical and spiritual writers; (4) A reaction from the fierce spirit of unrest and storm in the midst of which he lived; (5) To some extent the pacifying influence of the calm, beautiful scenery in the midst of which his lot was cast, first at Newbattle with its

matchless woodlands and rich historic associations, and then at Dunblane with its noble reposing mass of cathedral masonry. It may be interesting to present here (fig. 2) a facsimile of Leighton's signature as Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel-Royal from a charter granted by him as Dean, to William Maxwell of Murreith, of the fishings of Culdooch in Kirkcudbright, formerly in possession of the late David Laing,¹ and the only such signature he had met with.

R. Dunblain, Decan' sacre Regij

Fig. 2. Signature of Leighton as Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel-Royal.

26. "The Perpetuall Government of Christ's Church," by the Rev. Thomas Bilson, Warden of Winchester College. Bilson was one of the first of Anglican High Churchmen. This book on Episcopacy was published at London in 1593, by Christopher Baker, Queen's Printer. It is an elaborate argument in favour of bishops, written by a strong advocate of the Episcopal order.

27. A little French Catechism (fly-leaf lost)—on the Christian Faith from the French Reformed point of view. At the end are the Ten Commandments put into verse, and a tune given, the music being printed. The tune is still a well-known one to us, and goes very well with the eight verses into which the Ten Commandments are compressed. It is strange to read that old music out of this battered old book. It was published at Lyons, by Jaques Faure. Bound in vellum, quartodecimo.

28. "A Familiar Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans" in French, with one of the boards covered with French writing—probably the work of some Huguenot Protestant. Leighton spent his youth in France, and brought this and other French volumes over with him from the Continent to Newbattle.

29. "A Replye to an answer made of Dr Whitgifte, against the Admonition to the Parliament," by T. C. (probably Thomas Cartwright), Hooker's opponent. The book, at any rate—which is a hot one against bishops and archbishops, proving them unscriptural to the author's complete satisfaction,

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 488.

and treating Archbishop Whitgift's arguments, on their behalf, in the most scornful manner,—is thoroughly in Cartwright's style and spirit.

30. A Work on Astrology, Physiognomy, Cheiromancy, and kindred arts. This is one of the most curious books in the collection, being full of woodcuts and designs of all kinds. The astrological section gives rules for sketching your life-history by the stars on the shortest notice, and on the most approved principles; that on Cheiromancy teaches the reader how to tell fortunes from the palm—scores of illustrations being given of variously contorted palms. The chapters on Physiognomy are particularly rich.

Another relic of Leighton of great interest is preserved in the National Museum, and now exhibited. It is a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, in the usual printed form (Edinburgh, 1643), which cost the parish the sum of 4s., and contains on the blank leaves at the end the signatures of the minister, heritors, and parishioners of Newbattle in October 1643.¹

It may be mentioned that the present parish church of Newbattle, of date 1727, is built of the old Abbey stones, many of which can still be traced in the walls and tower. At the dissolution of the monastery, the Abbey Church was pulled down, and rebuilt about 200 yards off. This was Leighton's church. In 1726 it was again shifted another 200 yards off, and the same old Abbey stones were built up again for the third time. Though the present church, therefore, is not Leighton's, the stones once heard his voice, and the monastic voices of earlier days. Part of the present manse of Newbattle is the old parsonage of the good archbishop; his dining-room, bedroom, and study are small, quaint rooms, and on the outside stepped gable is the inscription—"Evangelio et Posterio." The London coaches ran past the end of his house in the olden days, and made their first stoppage after leaving Edinburgh at the ancient "Sign of the Sun" Inn, which is still standing,—a most interesting old building facing the gates of Newbattle House.

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 488.