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THE ORIGINS OF COVENANTING THOUGHT AND RESISTANCE: C.1580-1638.

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ABSTRACT

Until quite recently it has been argued that the Scottish Reformation of 1560 removed the trappings of Catholicism from the kirk, but retained the old machinery of ecclesiastical government. Since the 1970s, however, this notion has been placed under increasing pressure by an alternative interpretation which suggests the Reformation rejected episcopal government in favour of a conciliar form of kirk polity. This study, by adopting as its basis the more recent interpretation of the Reformation noted above, proposes the view that the genesis of the presbyterian polity of c. 1580 lies in the thought and intent of the reformers of 1560. The prevalent historiographical view that the hybrid polity of 'bishop-in-presbytery' (established in 1610) represented a popular *restoration* - rather than a stoutly resisted *introduction* - of an erastian episcopate is therefore challenged.

In particular, resistance to the new regime emanated from the lairds, merchants and professional classes of Scottish society, and thus the role of this 'middling' group in supporting presbyterianism features prominently in this work. The role of women in the events of the period is likewise discussed, as historiography (in Scotland at least) has neglected their important contribution to the maintenance of resistance during these key years. The thought and actions of two prominent Scottish presbyterian exiles - Alexander Leighton and Robert Durie - worried the king on his English doorstep, and the contribution which these two men made to covenanting thought and resistance, particularly in the 1620s and 1630s, is also examined.

Archibald Johnston of Wariston played a major role in the revolution of 1637, and the motivations which led him to become the architect of revolution in 1637 are examined. The overall theme of the thesis is one of continuity of thought and resistance, and thus the thesis looks finally in detail at the nature and process of presbyterian protest and petition from c. 1580 to 1637.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and that the work which it embodies has been done by myself and has not been included in another thesis.

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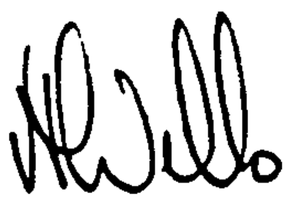

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CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

All sums of money are in £ *Scots* unless otherwise stated (a merk was two-thirds of a £). With dates the convention used is *new style* unless otherwise stated; i.e. the year is deemed to have begun on 1 January. Names have generally been modernised. The sources used to compile genealogical trees and other data on family, parochial, and patronage connections are as listed under *Section 8* of the bibliography; additional sources are as cited in the footnotes. All references to biblical sources contained in the text are taken from *The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the 1560 edition*, London, 1969, unless otherwise stated. The following abbreviations have been used in the notes:

APS	*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*
Baillie, *Letters*	*The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*
BL	British Library
BM	*The Bannatyne Miscellany*
BUK	*Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland*
Calderwood, *History*	David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
ERBE	*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*
Fasti	*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*
NLS	National Library of Scotland

OL	*Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland*
RPCS	*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*
RSCHS	*Records of the Scottish Church History Society*
SB	Robert Wodrow, *Select Biographies*
SBC	*Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections*
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
Wariston, *Diary*	*Diary of Archibald Johnston of Wariston 1632-1639*

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INTRODUCTION

It is now eight years since James Kirk's masterful *Patterns of Reform* [1989] substantially undermined the notion that 'it was Melville and not Knox who was the originator of Scottish presbyterianism'.[1] In adopting this theory, Kirk convincingly argued that the Reformation was unequivocal in its repudiation of episcopacy. The 'privy kirks' of the 1550s, he opined, became the kirk sessions of 1560, and a general council of the kirk soon followed. Under the new assembly, progress towards the establishment of presbyteries was halting, but inexorable, and by 1581 presbyteries were established. It is not proposed to revive the bitter arguments which accompanied Kirk's revisionary thesis of the progress of the first two decades of the Reformation here.[2] Rather this present work is concerned with the implications of his thesis for later historiography, and thus takes up the debate from c. 1580, at which point the author concluded his account.

I

Before proceeding, it is first necessary to discuss two persistent notions which - taken together - have acted to hinder any attempt to propose a theory of continuity of presbyterian thought and resistance during the period in question. These are firstly, that the kirk of c. 1580 to 1638 (as reflected in the title of Walter Foster's highly influential work on the structure of the kirk during the period) represents the 'Church *before* the Covenants',[3] and

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1. J.T.Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, esp. Ch.9. G.Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries*, Edinburgh, 1972, p.71.
2. See, for instance, G.Donaldson, 'Sources for Scottish Church History 1560-1600', in G.Donaldson, *Scottish Church History*, Edinburgh, 1985, p.93.
3. W.R.Foster, *The Church Before the Covenants*, Edinburgh, 1975, p.1 [my italics].

secondly, that the 'old tradition of Scottish historiography' is based on presbyterian 'narratives' which are themselves unreliable.[4]

One obvious pointer towards continuity is the basic fact that the establishment of presbyterianism in 1581 was accompanied by the signing of *Ane Shorte and generall Confession*, as was the re-establishment of presbyterianism in 1638.[5] The purpose of the *Confession* of 1581 was to bind the whole nation to support and protect 'the trewe christian faith and religion',[6] and - whilst later controversy led to disputes about the precise meaning of the oath contained therein[7] - neither side ever questioned that the *Confession* was a lawful document, or denied that it constituted a covenant between God and the people of Scotland. For presbyterians, that covenant was renewed at the assembly of 1590 and ratified by parliament in 1592. Furthermore, in 1596

> the covenant with god [was] renued and bund upe againe in the assemblie with fasting and humiliatioun, not only to stand to doctrine and discipline, but also to be mair carefull to put the same in practice...[8]

In 1606 David Calderwood reminded parliament that the 'covenant' of 1581 had ensured continuing 'peace and equitie' in the land, and guaranteed the 'honour and weale' which Scotland had enjoyed 'these 46 yeeres'.[9] In 1614 differing episcopalian/presbyterian interpretations of the *Confession*

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4. Donaldson, *op.cit.*, pp.90-97; Foster, *op.cit.*, p.1.
5. See 'The National Covenant', reproduced in J.Kerr (ed.), *The Covenants and the Covenanters: Covenants, Sermons, and Documents of the Covenanted Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1895, pp.39-51. *Ane Shorte and generall Confession of the trewe christian faith and religion*, Edinburgh, 1581.
6. *Ibid.*, (no pagination).
7. See David Hume of Godscroft, 'Elleventh Letter to Mr James Law, Bishope of Glasco', Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.142-143; William Cowper, *The bishop of Galloway his dikaiologie containing a defence of his apologie*, London, 1614, pp.143, 146-147; David Calderwood, 'The Confutatioune of ye dikaiologie', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto. LXXVI, No.2, f.23r &v. On the latter important manuscript see below, n.22.
8. *Ibid.*, f.25r.
9. David Calderwood, 'Reasons why this new sort of bishops sould not be sett up in Scotland', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.523, 526.

remained the 'cheife controversie' of the day,[10] and an attempt to replace it in 1616 failed miserably.[11] In 1633 Charles I was reminded that he remained bound by the document which his father had signed in 1581.[12] Finally, the *Confession* formed the vital first section of the *National Covenant* of 1638.[13] The kirk of 1581 to 1638 was as much the church *of* the covenant as was the kirk of the 1640s.

Having established (at least the basis of) the inherent continuity of the covenanting credentials of the kirk, it is also important to note that such a line of thought has been obscured by attempts on the part of modern historians to discredit contemporary presbyterian 'narrative' histories, and in particular David Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*. Such has been the effect of this campaign, that it has become almost obligatory to include a warning as to the 'tendentiousness' and presbyterian bias of some of the minister's 'material', the end result of which 'is often unfortunate'.[14] Yet it has also been rightly said that the work is an 'assiduous and careful collection...of original sources many of which are not to be found elsewhere',[15] and Calderwood's collection of source material is as invaluable to this thesis as it is to any other discussion of the period. Thus some attention must be given to these issues.

One might immediately disregard Foster's claim to possession of an uncommon critical gaze, since he could describe contemporary presbyterian accounts as 'scurrilous' and 'doctrinaire' whilst at the same time noting that John Spottiswood's

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10. See Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.13r-13v.

11. As Gordon Donaldson noted, the religious controversy which arose out of proposals first put forward at Aberdeen in 1616 made even 'moderate liturgical reform quite impossible'; G.Donaldson, *Scotland, James V - James VII*, Edinburgh, 1965, pp.208-211.

12. See 'Greivances & Petitions concerning the estate of the reformed kirk...be me Mr Thomas Hogge', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol. XLIII, f.255r &v.

13. See 'The National Covenant', *op.cit.*, pp.39-42.

14. D.G.Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an idea 1560-1638*, Edinburgh, 1986, p.144; Foster, *op.cit.*, p.1; Donaldson, 'Sources', p.92.

15. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.144.

> *History of the Church of Scotland*, was calm, judicious and moderate...[16]

Such comments merely reflect stereotypical notions of the 'radical' and 'moderate' nature of the presbyterian/ episcopalian historiographical debate which the archbishop himself helped to create and which subsequent historians have cultivated.[17] As David Mullan's *Episcopacy in Scotland* [1986] has pointed out, the truth of the matter was that 'Spottiswood's version of the past was no less tendentious and biased than that of Calderwood'.[18]

Nevertheless, Mullan decried the latter minister for his advocacy of an historiography which was 'not his own but that of his sources'.[19] In fact, Calderwood made no secret of the fact that his *History* was

> collected out of Mr Knox his History, and his Memorials gathered for the continuation of his history; out of Mr James Melville his Observations; Mr John Davidson his Diarie; the Acts of the Generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament; and out of several Proclamations, and Scrolls of divers...[20]

On the strength of the minister's own admission, Mullan concluded that Calderwood 'was in the first place a compiler rather than a historian', and that 'actually'

> there is very little of Calderwood in his *History*, and as a result it lacks the force of continuous first-hand narrative such as one finds in James Melville...[21]

However, a search of the extensive *Wodrow MSS* held by the National Library of Scotland has revealed several hitherto

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16. Foster, *op.cit.*, p.58.
17. See below, Chapter V, pp. 175-179.
18. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p. 147.
19. *Ibid.*, p.144.
20. From the title page of Calderwood's 'history from the beginning of King James the Fifth to the death of King James the Sixth'; see David Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland: From the beginning of the Reformation, unto the end of the Reigne of King James VI*, ed.R.Peters, Menston, 1971, (editor's note).
21. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.144.

unpublished papers by Calderwood which were written in 1614 and 1618. These include the minister's *Confutatioun of ye dikaiologie* of William Cowper, and a series of *Remarks* upon the court of High Commission. Taken together, the documents effectively form a short history of the kirk from the Reformation to the latter date, and of the High Commission from 1610 to 1638.[22] These manuscripts contain no 'gossipy aspersions' to divert the unwary reader, who also gains the benefit of 'first-hand narrative'[23] and access to material not to be found in the *History*. In fact, it is clear that in 1614 Calderwood already possessed - or at least was able to consult - the documentary store which would eventually become the *History*.

It seems obvious that these manuscripts were used in the compilation of the latter work, as were many other documents to be found amongst the *Wodrow MSS* kept by the National Library of Scotland.[24] Accordingly, this thesis uses the *History* only for the purposes of cross-reference, or where documentary evidence or relevant comment is not to be found in the *Wodrow MSS*.

II

Such preliminaries aside, the study explores six main lines of enquiry. Each of these themes is particularly concerned to determine factors of continuity and change which might (or might not) have contributed to covenanting thought and resistance during the period in question. Chapter I re-examines the highly influential work of Walter Foster on the structure of the kirk, since (in the light of James Kirk's revisionary thesis) his notion of continuity with the Knoxian kirk of 1560 has been extensively undermined. In particular, the idea of the success of financial

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22. A list of these and other so far unpublished (and so far as is known, unremarked upon) papers by Calderwood used herein is included in the bibliography, see Section 2. Full transcripts of each of these documents have been made by the present author.

23. See Mullan [*op.cit.*, p.144] who criticises Calderwood's *History* on both grounds.

24. In order to demonstrate the point, the inclusion of material from the above mentioned manuscripts in the *History* proper is remarked upon in the footnotes.

reform and of the widespread approval of the concept of 'bishop-and-presbytery', are subject to scrutiny.[25] The extent to which the ministry as a social group had developed 'all the hallmarks of an hereditary caste' by the 1630s is also examined,[26] especially in the light of comments elsewhere that 'no clergyman's son could inherit his father's religious office or the property which supported it'.[27] Clearly there exists a conflict of ideas over this issue, which is important to the matter in hand. The extent to which the ministry was affected by the problems of other social groups was, at least in part, determined by the degree to which their own lives conformed to wider societal patterns.

One of the factors which ensured that ministers could not exist as a class apart from the rest of Scottish society was that, however strong any hereditary trend might have been, not all of their sons could be accommodated within the ranks of the ministry. A close relationship between the ministry and the lay communities of the larger towns and cities was therefore inevitable, as ministers exploited local patronage networks to obtain work for their offspring, or to arrange marriages for their daughters. Yet little ink has been expended on the subject of lay support for the ministry, or on the extent to which such communities were sympathetic to the presbyterian cause. Such support was particularly apparent amongst the lairds, merchants, and professional men of the day. The evidence that does exist largely concerns Edinburgh, but nevertheless recent research has revealed that the king's northern capital was in uproar over the constant tampering with its religious practices in 1625, and this can hardly be insignificant to the present study.[28] Chapter II

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25 See Foster, *op.cit.*, *passim*, and W.R.Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration in Scotland', unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh, 1963.

26. W.Makey, *The Church of the Covenants -- Revolution and social change in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1979, p.96.

27. A. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp.87-88.

28. J.J.Brown, The Social, political, and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638', unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh, 1986.

examines the reasons which caused the 'middling sort' of Scottish society to be drawn ever deeper into conflict with the crown, and the motivations which lay behind their resistance to religious innovation.

Certainly, one source of physical and spiritual support was the family. The puritan preacher William Gouge characterised this nuclear unit of society as a 'little church', and noted of wives that

> if the fear of God possess not their hearts, though they be the the weaker vessels [they] do oft make their husbands plain vassals to them...[29]

But the evidence of the Scottish Reformation suggests that when the fear of God did possess the hearts of women, the experience often led to their political empowerment. The 'privy kirks' of the 1550s developed from the 'little church' of the family, and its most fervent members were the godly matrons who sought 'spiritual nourishment in the company of others' and thereby gained new converts to the cause.[30] Little attention has been given to the politicisation of women in Scotland during the period under review, but a similar phenomenon has been noted in puritan New England, where (it has been alleged) 'female piety was primarily attractive as an indirect means of gaining authority'.[31] Historians have long been aware that during the 1640s in England it was common for women to hold minor church offices, vote in church matters, or even preach, and that such notions of religious equality had a long pedigree.[32] In Holland during the 1620s the exiled puritan John Robinson (who entertained David Calderwood at his church in Leiden after the minister's flight into exile in 1619) preached that it was legitimate for a woman to 'reprove the church,

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29. William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties*, London, 1626, p.193.
30. See Kirk, *op.cit.*, p.2.
31. A.Porterfield, *Female Piety in Puritan New England, the Emergence of Religious Humanism*, Oxford, 1992, p.7.
32. C.Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: radical ideas during the English Revolution*, Aylesbury, 1972, pp.306-323; K.V.Thomas, 'Women and the Civil War Sects', *Past and Present*, 13, 1958.

rather than suffer it to go on in apparent wickedness'.[33] The matrons of Scotland, who funded Calderwood's enforced sojourn in Holland,[34] were surely not oblivious to such a message.

During the reign of Charles II, the privy council recorded that 'women were the chieff formentors of [ecclesiastick] disorders' such as 'Field conventicles', and that (by implication) their husbands had indeed become their 'vassals' in this point. The court therefore recommended the use of those acts of 'James the Sixth..againest conventicles', because

> by parity of reason...without husbands being lyable for their wives, it is impossible to preserve the peace of this kingdome, or to prevent rebellion...[35]

The 'Field conventicles' of 1684 owed their inception to the 'popular festival' of the 1590s, which 'burgeoned in the 1620s into great evangelistic events'.[36] The existence of smaller private meetings and conventicles in the 1620s has also been remarked upon,[37] but curiously, their own resemblance to the 'cellular structure' of the 'shadowy underground world of the privy kirks' has not been noted.[38] Contemporary evidence suggests that women played a major part in the organisation of conventicles, both large and small, and Chapter III undertakes a further investigation of their role which is long overdue.

The upsurge of resistance to royal policy in Scotland in the 1620s coincided with the growing threat of the counter-Reformation in Europe. Such concern was also apparent in England, where

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33. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.46.
34. On Calderwood's trial before the High Commission in 1617 see, David Calderwood, 'A trew Relatioun of my tryall before the High commissioun and my troubles following thereupon', in *Wodrow MSS*, Qto LXXVI, No. 1, 1617. On the minister's association with the matrons of Edinburgh see below, Chapter III.
35. *RPCS*, VIII, 1683-84, pp.347-349.
36. L.E.Schmidt, *Holy Fairs - Scottish communions and American Revivals in the early modern period*, Preston, 1989, p.22.
37. See David Stevenson, 'Conventicles in the Kirk, 1618-37, The emergence of a radical party', *RSCHS*, XVIII, 1973.
38. Kirk, *op.cit.*, p.2; *cf*. Stevenson, 'Conventicles', *passim*.

Alexander Leighton, a Scottish presbyterian minister resident in London, appealed directly to James to lead a crusade against the new infidel.[39] The cause was popular with the king's subjects on both sides of the border, and the widely supported call for a war in Europe offered a chance for James to deflect criticism of the crown's perceived religious drift, which was seen in both kingdoms as being dangerously sympathetic towards Catholic Spain.[40] In the event James refused to heed such advice.[41] But if failing to lead a holy war was bound to excite further presbyterian suspicion of the crown's religious policy at home, then losing one was the next worst scenario. Thus Charles' embarrassing defeat by France in 1628 focused attention firmly on the crown and its servants. Leighton laid the blame for failure squarely at the door of the bishops. Simply put, an unholy regime could not hope to win a holy war.[42]

The very fact that Scottish presbyterians were active in London is demonstrative of the British dimension of the episcopalian/presbyterian debate.[43] But this should not be allowed to obscure the essential Scottish presbyterian in Leighton or his arguments. Without doubt his thought has been justifiably

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39. See Alexander Leighton, *Speculum Belli Sacri, or, A looking glasse of the holy war*, Amsterdam, 1624.

40. On this subject in general see C.H.Carter, 'Gondomar: Ambassador to James I', *Historical Journal*, 7, 1964; T.Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War 1621-1624*, Cambridge, 1989; T.Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in R.Cust and A.Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, London, 1989.

41. For an anaysis of James' foreign policy during the period, see M.Lee, *Great Britains Solomon: James the VI and I and his three kingdoms*, Chicago, 1990, esp. Chapter 9.

42. See Alexander Leighton, *An appeal to the Parliament, or, Sions Plea to the prelacie*, Amsterdam, 1629.

43. On the extent and nature of the British dimension to the Scottish Revolution, see J.Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', in J.Morrill (ed.),*The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, Edinburgh, 1990; J.Morrill, 'The Causes of Britain's Civil Wars', in J.Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution*, London, 1993; C.Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642*, Oxford, 1991; C.Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, Oxford, 1990, esp. Chapter 2; B.P.Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union 1603-1717*, Oxford, 1987.

defined in terms of apocalyptic,[44] but the origins of his ideas did not lie solely in England, and this point is discussed in Chapter IV. Neither was Leighton the only Scot in London to offer a remedy for the religious ills of the nation. John Durie (the son of Robert Durie, one of the ministers exiled by James in 1606) was also active in London, especially during the second half of the 1620s and the following decade. Durie's self-professed mission was to bring about the unity of the protestant churches of Europe, in order that they could better combat the Catholic threat. He also looked to the British crown for leadership, but perceived the lack of religious concord between Scotland and England as a stumbling block. This issue is also discussed in Chapter IV.

Meanwhile, presbyterians in Scotland did not fiddle whilst the flesh of Leighton's cheeks burned. The guest appearances of the much revered Robert Bruce at great 'revivals' such as that of Shotts in 1630 has been noted,[45] but not the content of his peaching, which included a sermon on the martyrdom of Alexander Leighton.[46] The fact that 'four or five thousand persons' attended Bruce's funeral in the following year[47] is indicative of the influence which the old minister could still bring to bear at the latter date. Yet historians continue to insist that it was the imposition of the Prayer Book in 1637 which awoke Scottish presbyterians from their 'passivity'.[48] Chapter V looks at the presbyterianism of Archibald Johnston of Wariston in order to determine the veracity of the latter case. Here was a man (or so it has been argued) who was instantly converted by the 'gross political imprudence' of Charles I in 1637.[49] If so, then he must have plucked the idea of the *National Covenant* practically out of thin air, since it was off the press so soon after his conversion. Try as historiography

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44. See P.Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war*, London, 1978, esp.pp.116-124.
45. Schmidt, *op.cit.*, p.23.
46. See Chapter III, p.118, and references there cited.
47. Schmidt, *op.cit.*, p.23.
48. The term is that of Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', p.13. But see also Chapter V, and references there cited.
49. C.Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642*, Oxford, 1991, p.47.

might to claim Alexander Henderson (minister of Leuchars) as the document's co-author, a close scrutiny of Wariston's *Diary* demonstrates that Henderson was little more than a scribe on this occasion.[50] Clearly, the origins of Wariston's thought deserve closer scrutiny.

Finally, Chapter VI examines the form and nature of presbyterian resistance, and the thought which lay behind it, from the Glasgow assembly in 1581 to the Glasgow assembly of 1638. Historiography continues to portray the major upheavals of the period as separate events. Thus we have the 'Subscription Crisis' of 1584-86; the imposition of royal supremacy between 1596 and 1603; the re-establishment of episcopacy from 1606 to 1610; and the 'Five Articles' controversy of 1617 to 1625. James' death intervened, but Charles once again upset presbyterian sensibilities with the manner of his coronation and parliament of 1633, and finally the imposition of the Book of Canons and the Prayer Book in 1636-37. Each crisis, it will be argued, was primarily dictated by the issue of royal supremacy over the kirk. Such a policy required direction from the crown, and presbyterian resistance was continuously directed at deflecting its aim.

III

This thesis does not represent an attempt to displace general theories of the *causes* of the covenanting revolution. Rather the main aim is to demonstrate that the events of 1637-38 *were* conceived in Scotland's past, and thus that the revolution was not - in Walter Makey's phrase - found beneath a gooseberry bush.[51] It has been said that the covenant was born out of the Scottish nobility's hostility to the crown in the 1630s. There is little doubt that the latter institution had, by the latter decade, lost touch with their economic and political interests. But the notion that the

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50. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.247-322.
51. Makey, *op.cit.*, p.17.

Road to Revolution began in 1625[52] has been competently challenged. The roots of aristocratic dissatisfaction (it has been convincingly counter-argued) lay in the economic developments of James' reign, and not that of his son.[53] As early as the 1580s the Scottish nobility were experiencing severe financial crisis. Under the circumstances, Charles' revocation was a continuation - rather than the commencement - of the crown's apparent lack of sympathy for their plight. Nevertheless, it has been well enough argued that the policy added to noble resentment towards Charles' bishops, who by the 1630s had usurped the nobility's traditional jurisdiction in Scotland, and had become the 'civil servants' of an absolutist regime.[54] Thus it would be difficult to quarrel with the analysis that aristocratic discontent was a major factor in the causes of the Scottish Revolution, and to the extent that it could not have succeeded without their participation, the *National Covenant* was indeed the 'nobility's covenant'.[55]

Nevertheless, one must be careful of ascribing such title on the grounds of which societal grouping was first to subscribe the doocument. As one adherent of the above view has noted, even 'a revolution - above all a revolution - had to follow the conventions of a still hierarchical society'.[56] The lairds, it is said, were as keen as the nobility to be rid of the interference of bishops in civil government. 'Between 200 and 300' lairds signed a supplication to have the prelates removed from the privy council in October 1637. Certainly, this element of the 'middling sort' closely followed the nobility in the rush to append their signatures to the *Covenant*, spurred on by worsening economic conditions, ever-mounting taxation, and the prospect of having to fund higher

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52. M.Lee, *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I 1625-1637*, Chicago, 1985.
53. K.M.Brown, 'Aristocratic Finances and the Origins of the Scottish Revolution', *English Historical Review*, 104, 1989.
54. J.Goodare, 'The Nobility and the Absolutist State in Scotland, 1584-1638', in *History*, 78, 1993, p.176; Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', p.8, refers to the Scottish bishops as Charles' 'inspectorate'.
55. See Lee, *Road to Revolution*, esp. Chapter 7; Lynch, *A New History*, p.249.
56. *Ibid.*

stipends.[57] In 1638, it was the lairds who flocked to Edinburgh in such large numbers that they threatened to swamp the provisional government's attempts to keep control of the situation.[58] Was the *National Covenant*, then, the 'laird's covenant'? The burghs were apparently rather more reluctant revolutionaries, who only belatedly became enthusiastic and dedicated supporters of the alliance,[59] perhaps (it has been argued) because 'it was quite unprecedented' for them to join the nobility in a revolt against the crown.[60]

Yet organisation and commitment on the part of every social group in Scotland was necessary for successful revolution, and few historians would deny that it was the *Covenant* which provided a focal point around which all the various sections of society could gather. The problem is that such theories, whilst demonstrating the existence of deep discontent with the crown's fiscal and political policies, do not adequately explain the origins of the covenanting *idea*[61] or the mechanisms of resistance which acted in its support. Thus one is left to consider the Prayer Book as the 'occasion' of riot, and the *National Covenant* as the means of converting a spontaneous popular dynamic into revolution,[62] with little to connect the two save an obscure lawyer prone to fits of madness.

Equally, it seems inconceivable that the appearance of the Prayer Book in 1637 could have caused the immediate re-birth of so-

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57. *Ibid.*, p.252; D.Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644*, Newton Abbot, 1973, p.38; Foster, *Church Before the Covenants*, p.36. See also, Makey, *op.cit.*, *passim*.
58. D.Stevenson (ed.), *The Government of Scotland under the Covenanters, 1637-1651*, Edinburgh, 1982, p.xvii.
59. D.Stevenson, 'The Burghs and the Scottish Revolution', in *The Early Modern Town in Scotland*, ed. M.Lynch, Edinburgh, 1987.
60. Goodare, *op.cit.*, p.180.
61. But see, for instance, M.Steele, 'The 'Politick Christian': The theological background to the National Covenant', in J.Morrill (ed.),*The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, Edinburgh, 1990, who argues for the emergence of a political paradigm based on 'Federal Theology' which 'legitimised resistance to monarchical authority' [p.54]. Nevertheless, the *Covenant* is still held to be very much a post-1637 product.
62. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

called 'radical' presbyterianism. If the episcopate was to be removed then the co-operation of the kirk was necessary. Certainly, this was made easier by the fact that the bishops were perceived by all sides as the 'agents of royal absolutism'.[63] But why should a ministry which had meekly accepted and co-operated with an episcopal kirk polity since 1610, and been apparently tolerant of the 'tyranny' of bishops for so many years,[64] become so disturbed by the Prayer Book.? After all (so it is said) the ministers were financially better off than most and rather uninterested in the affairs of state by the 1630s.[65]

It has been rightly said that 'the organising secretary of the party of 1638 and the author of its revolutionary manifesto' was Johnston of Wariston.[66] But just why he should have led the 'middle orders' of Scottish society at full gallop towards their goal of staking out a 'clearer political role' for themselves is not adequately explained. Perhaps Wariston simply woke up one morning in 1637, climbed on his high horse, and placed the 'Geneva Bible in one saddlebag and Buchanan's *History* in the other',[67] but it seems unlikely.

In 1639 John Spottiswood noted that

> did men understand how things went at our Reformation, and since that time, they would never have moved to think that Episcopacy was against the Constitution of this church...[68]

The archbishop's problem was that men such as Johnston of Wariston and David Calderwood did understand 'how things went at the Reformation', and it was their conception of Scotland's history which was used to link the 'loose coalition' of nobles, barons and burgesses in 1638. Part of the revolutionary struggle

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63. Goodare, *op.cit.*, p.180.
64. See Foster, *Church Before the Covenants*, *passim*.
65. M.Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', pp.252-253.
66. *Ibid.*, p.254.
67. *Ibid.*.
68. Quoted in Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.147.

revolved around differing conceptions of history, and that battle had been going on for many years. Wariston and many others of the 'middling sort' did not suddenly come to the realisation that Scotland was the 'new Israel' and one of 'only two sworn nations of the Lord': they truly believed it and had done so for many years.[69]

The Scottish revolution was the culmination of a number of recurring themes, not just in Scottish Calvinism,[70] but in the history and historiography of Scottish presbyterianism. In this context at least, the riot of 1637 began the collapse of the new regime under the onslaught of the old. Consequently this study seeks to establish continuity between the reformers of c. 1580 and those of 1638, and thus to discover the *origins* of covenanting thought and resistance, rather than its immediate *causes*.

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69. Johnston, *Diary*, p.344. On the 'middling sort' see below, Chapter II.
70. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', p.254.

CHAPTER I

Polity and Provision:

continuity and change in the structure of the kirk.

> And as for peace (which is never weill groundit
> but upon the good liking of the mynds), will mens
> mynds coalesce by this doing, either for the mater
> (estate of bishops I meane)? Not the tenth man
> lykes of it, either for the forme or convoy it is
> brought in with. Everie man loathes the craft
> and fraud in it...
>
> David Hume of Godscroft, 1610.

At least one recent commentator on events in Scotland during the first half of the seventeenth century has made a determined attempt to dismiss the minister from the revolutionary playing field.[1] By 1637 - or so we are told - the presbyterian controversialist of old was no more. Following the destruction in 1596 of the 'twin hubs' of presbyterian hegemony (the seminary of St Mary's College, Edinburgh, and the ministers' joint lodging in the city),[2] the 'Melvillian' minister did not die, but he did 'seep slowly away'.[3] His fate, as with Alexander Wreittoun of Kilwinning, was either to be safely 'eardit with his mouth down that all the ill micht ga to hell';[4] or, like David Calderwood of Crailing, to retire quietly to the shadowy edges of seventeenth-century society.[5] In place of the Melvillian reformers, a 'new professional' ministry had taken over by 1637, but, lacking a stomach for the game, it was confined to the terraces in order that it might applaud meekly as a revivified nobility won the match.[6]

Such a notion is predicated on two earlier studies of the changing financial circumstances of ministers over the first half of the seventeenth century.[7] From this research a sketch of the 'typical' minister of the 1640s has emerged, revealing a man who was relatively prosperous, well educated, and committed to his often isolated community. He ministered to the spiritual, financial, and educational needs of his congregation, and consequently - and in most cases apparently deservedly - the minister was 'a man of

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1. Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, London, 1992, esp.pp.247-262; Michael Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland: 1559-1638', in M.Prestwich (Ed.), *International Calvinism 1541-1715*, Oxford, 1985, pp.225-255.
2. *Ibid.*, p.253. On the closure of the latter see *RPCS*, 1596-7, p.357; *APS.*, IV, p.107.
3. Lynch, 'Calvinism', p.253.
4. *Fasti*, III, p.116.
5. See G.Donaldson & R.S.Morpeth (eds), *Who's Who in Scottish History*, Oxford, 1973, p.130.
6. Lynch, *Scotland*, p.249; Lynch, 'Calvinism', p.253.
7. W.R.Foster, *The Church before the Covenants - The Church of Scotland 1596-1638*, Edinburgh, 1975, esp.Ch.8; W.Makey, *The Church of the Covenants 1637-1651 - Revolution and Social Change in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1979, esp.Ch.8.

some consequence' to his parishioners.[8] It is asserted that all this was made possible because the ministers of the kirk accumulated capital via their enhanced stipends, and thus enjoyed a 'steady rise in income' from 1600. By 1640 ministers' living standards, in direct contrast to that of their parishioners, had considerably improved.[9]

Problems arise however, in the theoretical extrapolation from the *cause* of this 'new-found prosperity' to its *effect*, that is, from the rise in living standards to the creation of a 'new professional status' for ministers: which was (it has been emphasised) a *divisive* factor in the social relationships of the period. The ministers of 1637 became a generation 'apart from the rest of society', as they 'clung' tenaciously to their newly established 'special privileges'.[10] It is not inconceivable that this was all part of James VI's long-term strategy for dealing with his troublesome Scottish ministers, and it is hardly surprising that Charles I should follow his father's lead. Presbyterian stalwarts, such as Andrew Melville and David Calderwood, certainly believed that attempts to improve the financial condition of the ministry after 1603 were elements of a wider conspiracy, aimed at divorcing them from the communities of which they were so conspicuous a part. To some extent at least, they were correct: it can hardly be coincidence that each effort to augment stipends (in 1606, 1616-17, and 1629-33),[11] heralded concomitant moves to erode further the polity and doctrine of the presbyterian kirk. Despite Calderwood's obvious propaganda motives, there was a genuine crisis of conscience involved here, since a minister's first duty was to his own and his congregation's spiritual well-being. If the *price*

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8. *Ibid.*, pp.102-103, 116.
9. Lynch, 'Calvinism', p.252; *cf.* Makey, *op.cit.*, p.116; Foster, *op.cit.*, pp.166-167.
10. Lynch, 'Calvinism', pp.252-253.
11. In late 1606 constant moderators were imposed on the presbyteries; in 1616-17 the 'Five Articles' were first proposed; and in 1633 Charles sought ratification of his supremacy over the kirk, and proposed further 'innovations'. On the various legislation and committees convened to augment stipends see Foster, *op.cit.*, esp.Ch.8.

of the stipend was conformity, was the ultimate *cost* of earthly security the damnation of the soul? Melville was being less than cynical in considering that the £14000 sterling which accompanied printed copies of a sermon by George Downame (later Bishop of Derry) to Scotland in 1608 would convert more souls than his text;[12] and in 1617 Calderwood berated those ministers who, 'looking to their bellies more than to God', had accepted such bribes.[13] If by 1637 the ministers' own *'esprit de corps'* had been hardened at the expense of their presbyterian consciences, whilst at the same time they had become aloof from their congregations[14] - and thus preached only the state-inspired conformist message - then such a policy was indeed successful, and Calderwood's worst fears realised.

Nevertheless, the inherent contradictions in such a thesis remain. Relative prosperity alone need not have been a necessarily socially divisive factor, since calvinist thought generally - and Calvin in particular - did not condemn wealth *per se*.[15] Indeed it has been argued - by both historians and sociologists[16] - that calvinists regarded wealth as a sign of God's blessing. Rather, they castigated conspicuous consumption, the acquisition of wealth for its own sake, or the use of money for the sole purpose of satisfying bodily lusts and desires. Truly, God warned of the corruptive power of riches, but as the marginal comment in the Geneva edition of the Bible stressed, those whom the apostle condemned to 'weep and howl' were the *wicked and profane* rich.[17] Highly

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12. Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.744; *cf.*, D.G.Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland - The History of an Idea 1560-1638*, Edinburgh, 1986, pp.102-103.
13. Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.254.
14. Lynch, 'Calvinism', p.253.
15. On the influence of calvinist thought in general see for example: Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: the Church in English Society 1559-1625*, Oxford, 1982; James Kirk, 'The Influence of Calvinism on the Scottish Reformation', *RSCHS*, 1974, No.18, pp.157-179; Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the development of capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707*, Oxford, 1980; R.H.Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, London, 1926.
16. Most notably, Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London, 1965; Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, London, 1968.
17. James:V:I.

respected and influential ministers such as Robert Rollock[18] explicitly noted the difference between good and evil as far as wealth was concerned:

> If a Christian man seeke the glorie of God in his calling, then he shall be blessed in his actiones: but when in doing any thing the Christian calling is forgot, and the Lord Jesus is not before the eye of a man, then the actione is unholie... [19]

Wealth, honestly acquired, was a gift from God, and as such it was the duty of the beneficiary not only to accept the bequest, but to employ it in the best possible way. Through 'good workes' (i.e. giving or using wealth in such a way as to benefit others), an individual could 'confirme [his] election, justification, and life', and thus be assured of his own salvation. Such strong personal conviction of God's effectual calling left him or her at peace with their conscience, whilst at the same time projecting the image and message of 'Godliness' for the edification of others.[20] Used in this way, 'good workes' fostered a sense of community, bringing minister and congregation closer together, rather than isolating one from the other.[21]

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18. Rollock was minister of Greyfriars, and sometime principal of Edinburgh University, and his works were immensely popular in both Scotland and England Several of his sermons appeared in print in his own lifetime and were reprinted after his death to accompany later religious controversies. See Robert Rollock, *Certaine sermons, upon severall texts of scripture. Wherof the first eleven were before published, and the remnant seven are newly adjoined*, Edinburgh, 1616 [first pub. 1599]; *Five and twentie lectures, upon the last sermon of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1619. Interestingly, translations of Rollock's weighty Latin works into English were carried out simultaneously in England and Scotland. At Edinburgh they were translated by Charles Lumsden (his son-in-law, and minister of Duddingston), *An exposition upon some select psalms of David*, Edinburgh, 1600; and by Henry Charteris (his pupil and admirer, son of the King's printer of the same name), *Certaine sermons* [1599, see above], *Lectures upon the first and second epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians*, Edinburgh, 1606. At London Henry Holland (vicar of St Brides, London) translated *Lectures upon the epistle of Paul to the Colossians*, London, 1603, and *A treatise of Gods effectual calling*, London, 1603.

19. Rollock, *Lectures upon Paul*, p.74.

20. Rollock, *Five and Twentie Lectures*, p.98. On the importance of 'good works', their relevance to personal election, and their role in the edification of others, see Marshall, *op.cit.*, pt.I, *passim*; John Morgan, *Godly Learning - Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640*, Cambridge, 1986, p.23.

21. In 1586 the General Assembly (which was the first to meet after the re-establishment of presbyterianism in that year, following the fall of the Arran

Thus when Patrick Walkinshaw (minister of Monkland, near Hamilton) died in 1624, he was owed £5783-13s-1d by his parishioners, and had been the financial and spiritual 'banker' of his flock for thirty-six years.[22] Such behaviour was therefore not 'new' or unique to the 1630s, and no more or less than the congregation expected. On the other hand, failure to use wealth for 'good workes' caused problems. When Duncan Burnett (a parishioner of Kirkintilloch near Glasgow) filed a petition against his minister in 1617, he did not attack Joseph Laurie's acquisition of worldly wealth, but rather his failure to use it for the common good. Burnett - who had a personal grudge against Laurie, probably because the latter had refused to lend him money - alleged that the minister was:

> ane dissembled hypocrite, ane whose conscience was so wyde that cartes and wains micht go throw it...[and that he] had als meikle silver as micht buy him from the gallows...[23]

The divisive factor was not Laurie's wealth, or the undoubted status which went with it, but the fact that - at least in Burnett's eyes - it was not being employed in a Christian manner.

If indeed Laurie was guilty of the above charge (i.e., of not practising that which he preached), he was apparently not representative of the majority of the ministry. It has been stated that by 1640 the 'ordinary rural minister...had money to spare in a society usually short of cash; so he lent it, at interest, to his flock'. For their part, urban ministers, themselves earning over £100 (sterling) in the 1630s, 'lent to the nobility'.[24] But the key point, surely, is that the 'typical' minister was only behaving as a 'typical' calvinist ought: if he was blessed with riches he had a duty to use them wisely, and if this in turn increased his authority and

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administration) was concerned to reinforce this notion, ordering that careful attention be paid to the diligent distribution of 'ecclesiasticall goods', by which it meant poor relief; *BUK.*, II, pp.665-666.

22. *Fasti*, III, p.273.
23. *Ibid.*, p.482.
24. Lynch, 'Calvinism', p.252.

standing in the community, that was no more than God intended. Logically therefore, such practices would have acted as a cohesive force between the minister and the community, whether rural or urban, if only on the strength of the old adage that 'he who pays the piper calls the tune'.

It is worthwhile noting therefore, that any increase in the prosperity and standing of ministers in Scottish society would only have had the effect of reducing them to the status of spectators of the revolution in 1637: (a) *if* the problems associated with presbyterian conscience had been satisfactorily dealt with by that date, and (b) *if* the ministers of the kirk could be justifiably termed 'new'.[25] That is to say, the 'new' ministers of the 1630s could have been marginalised only if they had *finally and irrevocably* divorced their so-called 'Melvillian' forbears. George Buchanan, whose works inspired Andrew Melville and earlier presbyterians, and consequently induced much fear and loathing in James VI,[26] died in 1582: but his *De Iure* and the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* were re-published in the 1630s;[27] his kin were ministers of of Ceres, near Cupar in Fife, almost continuously from 1578 to 1642;[28] and his great-nephew represented the presbytery at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638.[29] Of course family connections alone do not guarantee ideological continuity, but it would come as no surprise to find that Walter Buchanan of Ceres actually had taken up his place with the Bible in one hand and his great-uncle's

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25. *Ibid.*, pp.252-253; Lynch, *Scotland*, p.248.

26. See, for example, R Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians', in Roger Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*, Cambridge, 1994; and J.H.Burns, 'George Buchanan and the anti-monarchomachs', in *Ibid.*.

27. George Buchanan's *De Iure Regni Apud Scotos, Dialogus*, (Edinburgh, 1579) and his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1583) were republished in a single volume in 1614, 1624, and 1638. The first two editions of this volume were printed at Amsterdam, and the latter at Frankfurt, (see I.D.McFarlane, *Buchanan*, Bristol, 1981, Appendix A, Nos.222, 223, 224.) from whence they were imported into Scotland despite being banned by Act of Parliament in 1584; *APS*, III, p.296.

28. Thomas Buchanan [1578-1599]; Robert Buchanan [1599-1618]; Walter Buchanan [1624-1642].

29. *Fasti*, V, pp.130-131.

History in the other. There was therefore, no *necessary* break of continuity (at parish or presbytery level), in either thought or practice, between the 'Melvillian' presbyterians of the 1590s and the 'new' men of 1637. In any event, even the passivity of so-called conforming ministers was a double-edged sword. '[L]ittle Mr Andrew Gray' of Coull near Aberdeen, for example, was famed for his 'church without a roof' and 'conscience that was cannon proof, but he signed the National Covenant of 1638, and so did his 'flock'.[30]

In the light of the above remarks, this chapter seeks to re-examine critically the evidence which supports the case for the prosperity of the ministry by 1637. It will be asserted that the causes and consequences of prosperity (or the lack of such an attribute), and the little studied tendency of the ministry to assume 'all the hallmarks of an hereditary caste'[31] by 1637, are inextricably linked with revolution in 1637. In so doing it will also challenge the notion that such men were an almost insignificant minority by the latter date.

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30. 'He was a prelactic first [in 1624]and then, became a presbyterian [in 1637]
Episcopal one more he turned, [in 1662] but for neither would be burn'd:'
Epitaph of Andrew Gray, *Fasti*, VI, p.89.

31. Lynch, 'Calvinism', pp.252-253.

I

In 1590 Robert Rollock wrote that the duties of the presbyterian ministry consisted of four main elements, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of the sacraments, the exercise of discipline, and the care of the poor.[32] Rollock, in common with his fellow members of the General Assembly of 1596, believed it to be the duty of the 'Godly' magistrate to ensure 'sufficient stipends for provision of Pastors', in order that they might accomplish the task.[33] Recent research into the financial status of ministers during the first half of the seventeenth century has suggested that this had been achieved by the 1630s, and has tended to portray the ministers of the latter decade as prosperous, and even greedy.[34] It has been asserted that the average net assets of ministers for the period 1600-09 stood at £1244 (£104 sterling),[35] a sum which - if not princely - already represented relative affluence when compared to the income of the majority of their parishioners.[36] By the 1620s the living standards of ministers had more than trebled, until by the latter decade average assets stood at £3777 (£315 sterling).[37] By 1637 (or so it is said) a 'constant platt' for the financial provision of ministers had been achieved,[38] albeit at the cost of upsetting the nobility, lairds, and burgesses who would have to pay for it: and whatever else the ministers of the kirk had to complain about, they were now part of a well-paid and 'professional order'.[39]

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32. Mullan, *op. cit.*, p.74.
33. Calderwood, *History*, V, p.416.
34. Foster, *op.cit.*, esp.Ch.8; W.Makey, *op.cit.*, esp.Ch.8.
35. Foster, *op.cit.*, p.167. £1 sterling = £12 Scots.
36. It has been estimated that by 1625 the 'average' minister had a stipend of approximately £360 (£30 sterling), whilst a cottar or farm worker earned £40 (£3-6s-8d sterling) per annum, making the minister some nine times as wealthy; Makey, *op.cit.*, pp.116-117.
37. Foster, *op.cit.*, p.167.
38. *Ibid.*,Ch.8, *passim*.
39. *Ibid.*, esp.Ch.8. See also: Makey, *op.cit.*, p.122 & *passim*; Lynch, *Scotland*, esp. pp.247-255; Lynch, 'Calvinism', pp.251-253.

Such an analysis is not without its problems. As Table 1 (overleaf) demonstrates, during the period 1630 to 1638 average net assets of ministers at death seemingly plunged by as much as 43% to £2160 - a figure which is less than one-third (29%) greater than that of 1600 to 1609[40] - and it may be that the high average figure for the third decade of the century is unrepresentative. A later survey shows that average net assets stood at only £2684 (£224 sterling) in 1662,[41] which further suggests that the statistics given for 1620-29 may be unreliable, and it seems likely that what *most* ministers actually experienced was a much less spectacular improvement in their living standards over the period. In particular, the inclusion of the assets of Patrick Galloway (minister of St Giles, Edinburgh) and Henry Charteris (minister of North Leith) in the calculations for 1620-29 is questionable, since both are clearly unrepresentative of the 'typical' minister.[42] Much of the evidence for the marked increase in the prosperity of ministers is based on the case that their moveables almost trebled in value between 1600 and 1629:[43] yet the value of those of Galloway and Charteris - at £7,770 - is greater than that of the combined worth of the remainder of those surveyed between 1620 and 1629 (at £4,496) taken together.

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40. This analysis is based on a reworking of the figures given by Foster, who based his findings on an examination of the testaments of 81 ministers of Edinburgh, Brechin, and Dunblane who died between 1600 and 1638; Foster, *op.cit.*, Ch. 8; and W.Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration in Scotland', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1963, pp.407-414.

41. Makey, *op.cit.*, p.116.

42. Both Galloway and Charteris (alone of the 17 ministers who constitute the sample for 1620-29) inherited their considerable wealth: the former from his marriage to Katherine Lawson, who was the widow of Gilbert Dick, a prosperous Edinburgh merchant; the latter from his father, Henry Charteris, who had been the king's printer until his death in 1599, and left an estate of £7,260; Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration', pp.411-412; *Fasti*, I, pp.53-54, 154-155; 'Testament of Henry Charteris', in *BM*, II, p.223. Approximately 10% of the ministry were heritors of significant estates (see below), and this group may not be representative of the pre-1638 ministry as a whole. A recent survey of 86 of the ministers who attended the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 concluded that the group 'were almost innocent of inherited wealth', and noted only seven ministers (8%) who may have been significant heritors; Makey, *op.cit.*, pp.46-47.

43. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, p.167. 'Moveables' are defined as a minister's disposable assets, such as furniture, books, ready cash, and livestock.

Table I.

Relative Prosperity of Ministers: 1600-1638, including a comparative example for 1662.

Year	Total No. of Testaments	Average Value of Moveables	Average Net Assets	Index A (1600 = 100)	Index B (1600 = 100)
1600-09	029	282	1244	100	100
1610-19	016	271	1529	096	123
1620-29	017	751	3777	266	304
1630-38	019	597	2160	212	174

Source: (Cols. 1-4) Foster, *Church*, p. 164; Foster, 'Administration', pp. 317, 407-414.
Figures quoted in columns 3 and 4 are in pounds Scots.
Index A measures the percentage rise or fall of ministers' living standards against the average value of 'moveables' in each period, where base level for 1600 = 100.
Index B measures the percentage rise or fall of ministers' living standards against the average value of 'net assets' in each period, where base level for 1600 = 100.

Table 1a

Graphical representation of rising living standards.

If, as in Table 2 (overleaf), the above two ministers are omitted from calculations for the period 1620-1629, a much less dramatic rise in living standards is apparent, clearly demonstrating that the amount of distortion involved is significant. An objection may also be raised to the inclusion of the testament of William Struthers (minister of St Giles) in calculations involving the years 1630-38, as once again his total 'wealth' - at £16,000 - is unrepresentative,[44] and again Table 2 illustrates the resulting distortion of the data. As Table 2a shows, the revised figures suggest that - rather than falling during the years 1630-38 - the average prosperity of ministers was beginning to level off after the sharper increase of previous years.

But even so, it is also worthy of note that the contents of an individual's testament did not necessarily represent assets that were realisable during his *lifetime*: they consisted of 'moveables' and a 'normally favourable balance of debt'. The first were the accoutrements of everyday life - furniture, books, and livestock - and the second was usually acquired because of unpaid stipend, which neither they nor their heirs were ever likely to collect.[45] Andrew Strachan (minister of Dun, near Brechin) left £13000 in 1622, but this was almost entirely a legacy of eighteen years of unpaid stipend and tacks. It seems unlikely that he was much comforted - either in life or death - by such knowledge, and absurd to suggest that he was wealthy because of it.[46] Strachan's net *realisable* wealth at the time of his death was £133, and his example was not wildly untypical of testaments registered between

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44. Struthers possessed a library valued at £2000 (which consituted the sum total of his 'moveables'), and was owed £14,000 in unpaid stipend and other debts; Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration', p.413. His net assets - at £16000 - represent 64% of the total worth (at £24,815) of all the surviving testaments for this group. He is clearly unrepresentative of his peers, none of whom could muster individual assets of more than £4000 (itself a considerable sum); see Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration', pp.412-414.

45. As Foster (*Church before the Covenants*, pp.160-161) himself states, unpaid stipends were the subject of 'endless litigation', which was costly and seldom successful.

46. *Ibid.*, pp.161, 167-169; Makey, *op.cit.*, p.116.

Table 2

Prosperity of Ministers: 1600-1638

including comparative examples for 1650-59, and 1662.

--1--	-2-	-3-	---4---	---5---	---6---	---7---
Year	Total no. of Testaments		Average Value of Moveables	Average Value M'bles (Adjusted)	Index A (1600 = 100)	Index B (1600 = 100)
1600-09	029	----	282	------	100	100
1610-19	016	----	271	------	096	-----
1620-29	017	016	751	417	266	148
1630-38	019	018	597	475	212	168
1650-59	151	----	370	------	131	-----
--1662--	015	----	445	------	158	-----

Source: (1600-38)-as for Table I; (1650-62)-Makey, *Op.Cit.*, p.116. Indices A & B as for Table I.

'Adjusted' indicates the omission of unrepresentative testaments, see pp. 25-26

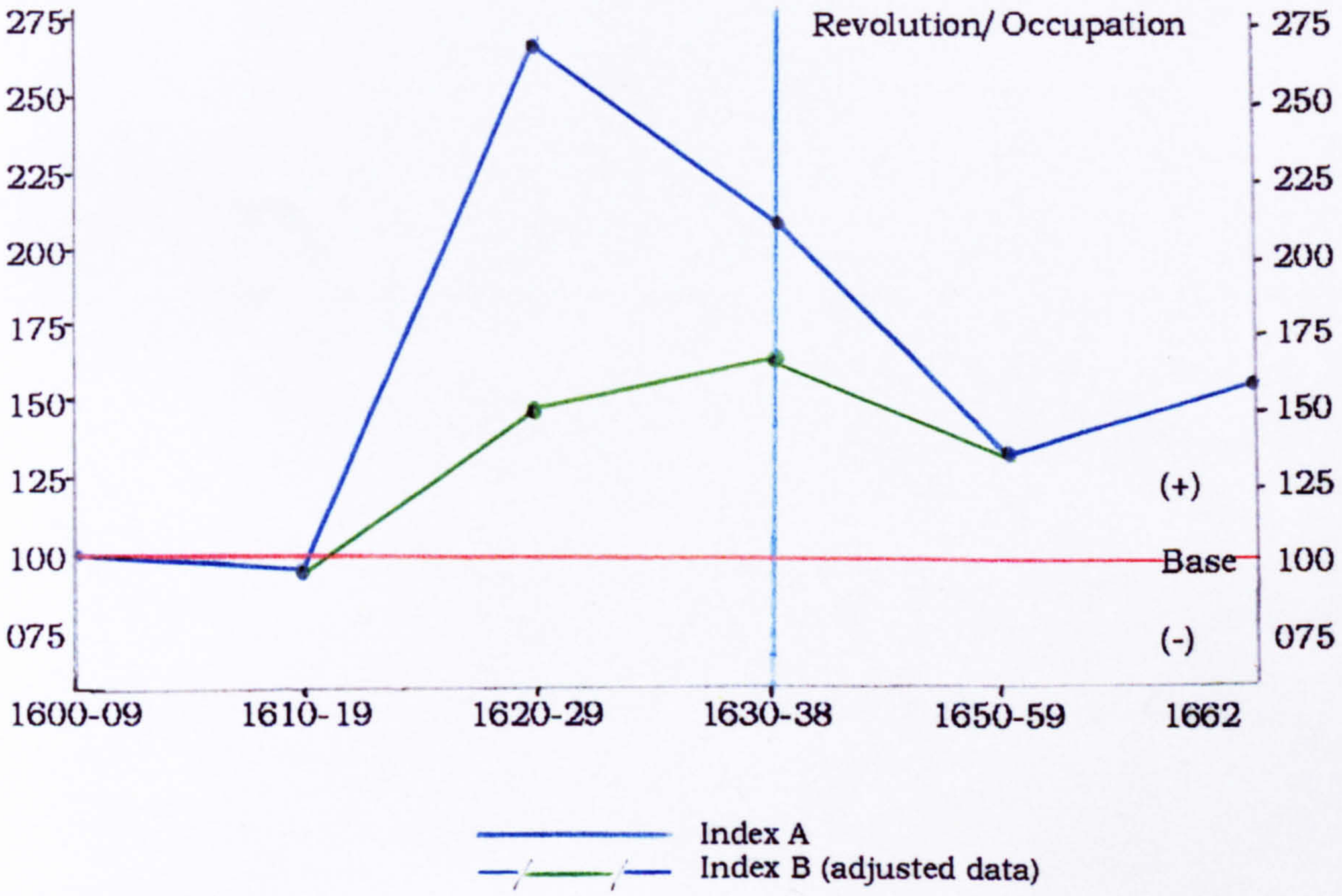
Figures quoted in columns 4 and 5 are in pounds Scots.

Index A measures the percentage rise or fall of ministers' living standards against the average value of 'moveables' in each period, where base level for 1600 = 100.

Index B measures the percentage rise or fall of ministers' living standards against the (adjusted) average value of 'moveables', where base level for 1600 = 100.

Table 2a

Graphical Comparison of Original/ Adjusted Data (indices A & B).



1620 and 1629.[47] Alexander Home, minister of Dunbar, left one pound in immediately realisable assets in 1623, and was owed £5632 in unpaid stipend and other dues.[48] At the opposite end of the scale, Robert Lindsay - who had been minister of Corstorphine for only seven years at the time of his death in 1624 - left a negative balance of £240.[49] Even if his wife and two children had been able to collect the £333 owed him, they would have been left with just £93. Large amounts of unpaid stipend and pensions were an especially common factor of the period, and without this, few testaments currently under examination would have recorded total assets of over £1000.[50] Indeed, if this factor is removed from calculations, only six of the eighty-one testaments of ministers registered[51] between 1600 and 1638 display such a favourable balance.[52] Equally few ministers, apart from those in the more lucrative urban parishes, had more than small stockpiles of cash,[53] and many of those that did - in the true tradition of Robert Rollock's ideal - lent or gave it to their needy parishioners. William Birnie of Ayr acquired money both as a merchant and later as a minister, but left little cash, having been 'charitable even

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47. John Hall, minister of St Giles, left £13,224, and of this £12,808 was in unpaid stipend and pensions; Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration', p.412; *Fasti*, I, pp.55-56. The testament of William Struthers, on the other hand, was untypical of the 1630s, since his 'favourable balance' was eight times that of the average for the period; *Ibid*, p.413.

48. *Ibid.*, p.411.

49. *Ibid*; *Fasti*, I, p.6.

50. Two exceptions here are Patrick Galloway and Henry Charteris, who despite being owed £4884 and £1177 respectively in unpaid stipend and other loans, left immediately realisable assets of £6096 and £1046; Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration', pp.411-412..

51. The current sample includes only those testaments registered between 1600 and 1638 in the *Commissary Court Records* for Edinburgh, Brechin, and Dunblane. But a survey of <u>all</u> of the testaments of Scottish ministers filed between 1650 and 1659 (151 in total) has revealed similar findings, with unpaid stipend remaining the major factor in the creation of a 'favourable balance' of overall net assets; Makey, *op. cit.*, pp.115-117.

52. <u>1600-1609</u>: Alexander Leslie, minister of Rothes, £1,244; William Edmonstone, of Cargill, £1,117. <u>1620-29</u>: Galloway and Charteris noted above. <u>1630-38</u>: William Struthers, noted above, n.51; John Aird, of Newbattle, £1,363. Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration,' pp.407-414; *Fasti*, VI, p.348, IV, p.149, I, p.332.

53. Once again Galloway was the exception here, for he left £2,267 in 'reddie money'; Foster, 'Ecclesiastical Administration', p.411.

above his estate' in giving and lending to good causes. As the testaments of ministers reveal, these debts were also commonly outstanding at death, and not necessarily recoverable.[54]

It is unsafe, therefore, to base an estimate of the general prosperity of ministers on their 'net assets' at death. It seems equally prudent to be wary of Alexander Henderson's triumphal comment in 1641 that the ministers of the kirk:

> beside their Gleab and Manse, are all provided to certaine, and [for] the most part, to competent stipends, which are paid either in victuall or moneys, or in both...[55]

Henderson's *Government and Order* was - at least in part - a justification of revolution, and thus reflected an ideal position: it was not an accurate picture of the financial condition of the kirk during the 1630s, or even that of 1641. His own stipend was two years in arrears at the time of his death in 1646,[56] and he, considering his status, was in a better position than most to ensure its payment. In 1636 David McQuorne of Alloway, near Ayr, had 'neither manse, glebe, nor competant allowance', and the position had not changed by 1643 - when he was given leave to seek better provision elsewhere.[57] There was a substantial difference between the stipend of the ministers of Edinburgh (£1333 or £111 sterling) and that of McQuorne (£344 or £29 sterling) in 1636, and the former were more likely to be paid.[58]

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54. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, pp.161,169; Makey, *op.cit.*, p.116; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.206, 230; *Fasti*, III, p.7.

55. Alexander Henderson, *The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1641, p.32. *Cf.*, Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, p.144.

56. *ERBE*, 1642-1655, p.178.

57. *Fasti*, III, p.1.

58. Stipends for Edinburgh stood at £333 (Scots) in 1596, and they appear to have been raised progressively in 1605, 1614, 1616, and 1635, until by the latter date they had reached £1333; *ERBE*, 1604-26, pp.8, 10, 117, 139, 223, 230, 262; and 1626-41, pp.xl-xlvi. The stipend quoted for McQuorne's parish at Ayr is based on the average figure for the area, and may have been much smaller. Stipends for smaller outlying benefices were commonly as low as £60 (£5 sterling) in 1600, and although many were augmented under legislation of 1606 and 1617, such parishes probably remained below the average. Under legislation passed by the Scottish parliament in 1633 (*APS.*, V, pp.35-39) some stipends were again raised, but only nineteen (out of a possible 110) further

Thus even if the living standards of many ministers had improved by 1630, it is equally clear that the experience was not universal. At the latter date neither Robert Roche nor James Thomson of Fife possessed a manse in which to accumulate 'moveables', or - in the former instance - a glebe for the purposes of keeping stock animals,[59] and similar instances are recorded across the country. In addition the value of the minister's stipend, which normally included a substantial victual component (especially in the rural parishes), was falling during the 1630s. It has been shown, for instance, that the price of barley dropped by some 12% during the decade, recovering only very slowly during the 1640s: and that inflation, although 'negligable' in the first decade of the seventeenth century, was once again beginning to erode the cash element of a minister's income by 1630.[60]

It is in any case highly likely that many stipends remained substantially below 'average' levels for any given period. For example, in 1601 the stipend for the Fife parish of Largo was approximately £61[61] (or £5 sterling), and there is no evidence that it was ever augmented. Largo's incumbent - John Auchenleck - probably brought up his three sons on this and the fruits of his glebe. The eldest son, Andrew, graduated (MA) from St Andrew's in 1615 and entered assistant to his father soon after, and from then until his father's death in 1619 the stipend supported both men. Andrew's two younger brothers were apprenticed to

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augmentations are recorded in the Glasgow/Ayr districts, and there is no evidence to suggest that Alloway was affected. If an augmentation for McQuorne's stipend is assumed the equivalent figures would be £111 and £45 sterling respectively, but on existing evidence this is unlikely. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, pp.157-158, 163; Makey, *op.cit.*, pp.111, 118.

59. Roche was minister of Inverkeithing, Fife, and was granted a glebe soon after. Neither minister managed to acquire a manse. The wife of James Thomson of Kilmany - also in Fife - appears to have possessed a house, which was the minister's residence for forty-one years. The two men were not alone in this, four parishes in the area had no glebe in 1630, and at least two others no manse; *Fasti*, V, pp.42, 161.

60. S.G.Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting*; Edinburgh, 1960, p.110; Makey, *op.cit.*, p.122.

61. *Ibid.*, p.157.

Edinburgh tradesmen, in 1616 and 1619 respectively.[62] None of this could have been achieved without a struggle, schooling was expensive, and tradesmen generally demanded a 'dowry'. Grateful parishioners might have helped - by 1620 the Auchenlecks had already served the parish for thirty years - but faithful service was no guarantee of assistance. Patrick Sibbald, minister of Penicuik (near Dalkeith) in 1637, later bitterly recalled that he:

> had livit thir fourteen years, or therby, amongst a people who had thought his gospel preaching not worth a horse and two cows grasse, and his children wer al for the scoll, and he could not get ether maintenance for himself or anything to be an help to their education [and] for thir three years bypast he had receavit no thing...[63]

Sibbald begged leave to 'transport' to a parish in Cupar, but died before discovering whether or not the grass was any greener in Fife. Such evidence raises a question-mark over the generalisation that by 1640 'the ordinary rural minister...had money to spare in a society usually short of cash', and that 'minister's children would have their education paid for by their congregations'.[64] Alexander Balnevis, minister of Tibbermore near Perth, was not unmindful of the needs of his parishioners and maintained 'ane schoole...at his awin kirk upon his awin charges' for three years, but nevertheless 'got na assistance'. The tiny parish could not support minister or school, and despite Balnevis' efforts he was forced to beg the presbytery to allow him to become non-resident as he had:

> neither grass nor elding belonging to his glebe, nor faill, nor dewet, and that he cannot mak residence thair till he provyde for baith...[65]

To add to his problems the harassed minister now had 'four bairns at the schule in this town', and could 'not sustene the burding to

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62. *Fasti*, IV, p.218.
63. *Fasti*, I, p.344.
64. Lynch, 'Calvinism', pp.252-253.
65. *Fasti*, II, p.254-255.

burde them'.[66] Balnevis lived to demit in favour of his son in 1640, and died the following year - hardly a victim of his own conspicuous consumption.

Even where a 'competent allowance' was allotted, and laying aside the difficulties of collecting it, the award was not always as generous as it seemed. In 1618 the stipend for William Row's parish of Forgandenny (near Perth) was set at £335 (£28 sterling),[67] but in effect this had to support two ministers from 1624, the date at which Row's son was ordained assistant. Row senior died in 1634. Of the twenty-one incumbents within the presbytery of Perth in 1641, eight (38%) of the ministers inherited the benefice from their father or (in one case) grandfather. Five of these acted as official assistants for varying periods, and the other three probably unofficially.[68] In this way stipends often supported more than one minister in a parish. Thus when Andrew Auchenleck - as mentioned above - succeeded his father in the benefice of Largo in Fife his experience was not untypical. Neither is the term 'succession' inappropriate, for by 1637 twenty-two (31%) out of a total of seventy possible placements in Fife had come to be regarded almost as the 'property' of particular families: for example the parish of Ceres was occupied by three generations of the family of Buchanan of Drummakill from 1578 to 1641, whilst John Colden served Kinross for forty-seven years until his son inherited in 1641.[69] Other areas of Scotland demonstrate a similar tendency: of the sixty-eight parishes in Glasgow and its

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66. *Ibid.*.
67. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, p. 163.
68. *Fasti*, IV, pp. 193-256. After graduation from university prospective ministers were often employed as schoolmasters, or tutors to local gentry. William Row (Jnr.) was master of the 'song-school' in Perth in 1620 (*Fasti*, IV, 209) having gained his MA in the same year. If no work was available the son became a burden on the father until admitted, and the gap between graduation and admission was commonly three to five years, and often much longer.
69. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 1-245.

surrounding districts, twenty-four (35%) incumbents in 1637 inherited the benefice from a father or other relative.[70]

The reasons for the retention of a particular benefice within the family are not hard to find, as the fate of many a minister was to die in distressed circumstances. Patrick Rynd, minister of Dron near Perth [1605,] died in 1641 'verie poore; and in his own time, for povertie wes forced to sell his bookes': and arguably his wife's estate was worse, she being 'for povertie turned ane gangrell poore woman', who had to eke out a living selling 'smallwares'.[71] Some ministers turned to sympathetic relatives; David Mayne ministered at Dalziel near Hamilton for fifty-two years until 'being becum unable to preach through old age, [he] disponit lang befor his decease, all his bookes, goods, [and] geir', and went to live with his daughter.[72] Given the obvious dangers of old age it became common for ministers to ensure the appointment of at least one of their sons (or sons-in-law) as 'assistant' in the parish, and then to demit the office in his favour, thus at one and the same time ensuring both their own security and the beneficiary's future employment. In this way William Bennent assisted his father in the parish of Monimail, Fife, for thirteen years until the latter demitted office in 1639, and then son succeeded father as minister. Of the twenty-two parishes of Fife which were retained in the family, twelve of the holders (or prospective holders) adopted this tactic,[73] whilst the other ten either assisted their fathers 'unofficially' or translated to the benefice soon after the

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70. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 130-483; excluding the presbyteries of Irvine and Ayr, which although under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Glasgow, are geographically distinct, and are dealt with separately.

71. John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1588 to August 1637*, Edinburgh, 1842. p.456. Patrick was the son of William Rynd, minister of Kinnoull in 1568, who demitted office in Patrick's favour in 1599; *Fasti*, IV, pp.201-202.

72. *Fasti*, III, p.248; Mayne was minister at Dalziel from 1607 to 1659.

73. Presb. of Kinross: Laurence Mercer - Fossoway; John Colden - Kinross. Presb. of Kirkcaldy: John Chalmers - Kirkcaldy; Andrew Lamont - Scoonie Presb. of Cupar: William Scott - Cupar; James Thompson - Kilmany; Andrew Bennet - Monimail; James Wedderburn - Moonzie. Presb. of St Andrews: Daniel Wilkie - Abercrombie; David Mearns - Carnbee; Andrew Auchenleck - Largo; George Gledstaines - St Andrews. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 1-245.

incumbent's death. In some cases contracts were drawn up as legal safeguards: when the aged John Ker of Prestonpans, near Edinburgh, demitted in his son's favour in 1642 he retained 'right of regress' in case his 'assistant' - Robert Ker - pre-deceased him:[74] and at Dalserf, near Hamilton, James Hamilton entered into a contract with his relative Claud, under which the incumbent (James) resigned the benefice, but retained the 'Deanery'.[75] Such arrangements were not always so formal, nor were they necessarily new to the 1630s. William Rynd of Kinnoull employed his son Robert as assistant from 1574, and demitted office in favour of his second son Patrick in 1599. An agreement then appears to have been struck almost immediately between Patrick and his younger brother William, whereby the latter was allowed to succeed to the benefice sometime before 1602. In return, Patrick was appointed to the nearby parish of Dron, and shortly afterward received 'a gift of £68-17s-9d from the thirds of the parsonage of Kinnoull'. Thus the minister's office *was* regarded as heritable property, and it is certainly not true that the latter concept was 'something inherently denied to clergymen'.[76] Ministers could not be divorced from this 'fundamental law' (i.e. the 'property structure') of Scottish society, if only because of the need to guarantee security for themselves and their families.

Many ministers undoubtedly did experience an increase in living standards by the 1630s. But it also appears probable that for a large number this can have represented little more than a modest rise. Few ministers appear to have been *truly* wealthy, the evidence of their testaments pointing more to the continuing

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74. *Ibid.*, I, pp.388-389.
75. *Ibid.*, III, p.245. James Hamilton was Dean of Glasgow, and a member of the court of High Commission; see Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.59.
76. A.Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of JamesVI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture*, Edinburgh, 1979, p.87. Robert Rynd had previously been appointed to Longforgan, thus leaving the way open for Patrick to succeed. Prior to his own appointment, William had been tutor to John, Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander, and was unable to escape being tainted by his former association with these two peers. He was forced to resign the benefice in 1602. A fourth brother, Colin, was minister of Auchtergarven; *Fasti*, IV, pp.201-202, 218.

problem of unpaid stipend, than to genuine prosperity. A more accurate picture is probably given using figures based on an assessment of ministers' moveables, and whilst this indicator demonstrates a gradual rise from 1600, the argument for a 'doubling' of living standards remains open to considerable doubt. Indeed, in relative terms the minister in the 1630s probably viewed his lot as largely unchanged since the turn of the century, the value of his moveables having altered little when compared to the elusive, but well-publicised, 'rise' in minimum stipend. In the event, most stipends probably remained at 1617 levels[77] (if indeed they had been raised in that year), the difficulties of collection were still apparent, and many ministers shared stipends in order to ensure both their own and their sons' future security. For some the 'lake of sufficient provision' complained of in 1596 was a continuing problem. The ideal kirk of Alexander Henderson's *Government and Order* in 1641 was therefore not quite the kirk of which he had assumed leadership in 1638. If there was a concerted attempt to purchase the conformity of the 'ordinary' rural minister after 1603, it could hardly be hailed as an unqualified success, and had provided insufficient compensation for nagging consciences by 1637.

II

Of course, few ministers would have possessed nagging consciences if, as is generally accepted by modern commentators, it was true that most ministers approved of the new polity of 'bishop-in-presbytery' instituted by the assembly of 1610.[78] In 1614 William Cowper (bishop of Galloway) argued that episcopacy and presbytery had simply been 'united' at the latter venue, which had made no changes to kirk polity other than those necessary to

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77. As Foster states, '[n]o comprehensive settlement was intended or achieved by the 1617 commission', and the legislation of 1633 required a revaluation of teinds before augmentations could take place. The work was far from complete by 1637. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, pp.163-168. The difficulties of generalisation are further compounded by the paucity of surviving records.
78. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, esp. Ch. 5; Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.

make its courts 'serve for the greater edification of the church'.[79] Presbyteries, he claimed, had undergone benign alteration to suit episcopacy, but had not been suppressed. Modern research into the presbytery of 1596-1638 has tended to confirm Cowper's assertions, and found that after 1610 the presbytery

> continued to function, to increase in number and effectiveness, and to be vigorous and vital agents in the pastoral and disciplinary work of the Church...[80]

It has been suggested that the survival of presbyteries was largely due to the popularity of the new system, for 'if George Gledstanes wrote at all reliably, most ministers approved' of the 'hybrid' polity of 1610.[81] Yet in March 1611, just a few months after the introduction of episcopacy, David Hume of Godscroft was of the opinion that

> [n]ot the tenth man lykes of it, either for the forme or [the] convoy it is brought in with. Everie man loaths the craft and fraud in it..[82]

Could 'honest harts', asked Hume, bear with episcopacy when 'conscience and knowledge repyne at it'?[83]

In fact, as Hume opined, all was far from quiet after 1610. It has been argued that the 'first presbyterian retort' to Cowper's *Dikaiologie* did not appear until 1618.[84] This chronology of events is somewhat convenient, since it coincides with the upsurge of dissent over the 'Five Articles', which (or so it is argued) was a dispute concerning doctrine, and not kirk polity. Thus the notion of discontinuity between the latter controversy and the

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79. W.Cowper, *The bishop of Galloway his dikaiologie contayning a defence of his apologie*, London, 1614, p.13.
80. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, p.110.
81. Quoted in Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.
82. David Hume of Godscroft, 'The Twelth Letter', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.148.
83. *Ibid.*.
84. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.137.

establishment of episcopacy in 1610 is preserved.[85] But, unlike Cowper, modern historians appear unaware of the existence of an unpublished reply by Calderwood - entitled *The confutatioune of ye Dikaiologie* - and written (most probably) in 1614.[86] The work is, in effect (and in common with that of Cowper), an history of the progress of the reformed kirk in Scotland from the Reformation to 1610. In the preface to the *Confutatioun*, Calderwood noted that it was the penning of an 'admonition' by Hume of Godscroft, a 'tripartit antipologie' by 'sum nameles authores', and an earlier 'Confutatioune' of his own,[87] which had prompted the bishop to produce his *Dikaiologie*. Each of these works (so far untraced) must have been written in 1613, since they were all 'answers' to Cowper's *Apologie* of the same date.[88] Calderwood also mentioned that Hume of Godscroft, the author of the abovementioned 'admonition', was preparing a reply to the *Dikaiologie*. Thus

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85. For the classic case, see G.Donaldson, *Scotland, James V - James VII*, Edinburgh, 1965, pp.207-209. Most modern commentators, including David Mullan, adhere to this interpretation.

86. David Calderwood, 'The Confutatioun of ye dikaiologie' [hereafter, Calderwood, 'Confutatioun'], NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto LXXVI, No.2. The work is a volume of papers 'belonging to David Calderwood'. There is no doubt of Calderwood's authorship, as elsewhere (when discussing the assembly of Glasgow) Calderwood noted that the latter was 'neither free, nor full, nor formal assemblie, but null in iself, as I have proven in my anser to Coopers dikaiologie'; David Calderwood, 'Remarks on the High Commission' [hereafter, Calderwood, 'Remarks'], in *Ibid*, No. 6. Chapter Nine of the *Confutatioun* corresponds to this description. In the work Calderwood states that 'we have had no generall assemblie representative thir last fyfteen yeirs' [Calderwood, 'Confutation, f.26r], and on his own definition [*Ibid.*, f.27v-28r] no assembly had been 'representative' since the king had first interfered with the election procedure in 1598, which would date the *Confutatioun* to 1614, or possibly - if the minister discounted 1599 when no assembly met - to 1615.

87. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.13r. He further noted that Cowper 'barnt my confutatioun of his apologie immediatlie after the delyverie of it into his hands'. *Cf* Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.180, which mentions only that 'sundrie answered [Cowper] in writt', but the bishop 'cast some of them in the fire before he looked upon them'. There is no other reference to either *Confutatioun* in the *History*, although the surviving work was clearly used in the compilation of the *History*.

88. William Cowper, *The bishop of Galloway his apologie*, London, 1613. Such disputes were progressive. Cowper's *Apologie* was itself prompted by an anonymous 'lying Libeller' who had impugned his reputation following parliament's ratification of the acts of the Glasgow assembly in 1612; see Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.116. The author[s] may well have also been responsible for the 'tripartit antipologie' mentioned by Calderwood in the *Confutation*.

Cowper's 'vision...of government by bishop-in-presbytery' was far from unchallenged prior to 1618.[89]

For Calderwood, the argument was not about the fact that presbyteries persisted, but rather it concerned whether or not the constitution of the presbytery, as agreed by the general assembly in 1581, had been altered. In the *Confutatioun*, Calderwood also noted that Cowper

> often alledgeth that the presbiteriall government is not abolished, that the episcopall and presbiteriall are united, [and] that the presbiteries [are] ratified, roberated, honourid with the episcopall..[90]

But although the presbytery continued to exist, he argued, its essential powers had been devolved to the episcopate. It was true that under 'act of glasgow' (of 1610) the bishops were to associate themselves with some 'ministers of ye bounds'[91] in order to 'give collatioun' or ordain ministers. But it was nowhere stated whether such ministers should be 'out of one presbiterie, or divers', or whether 'they be more or few, for the least number is not defined'.[92] Likewise, the bishop might delegate the authority of visitation to some 'ministers of ye bounds', but the fact remained that he might also 'visit in the bounds of ye presbiterie without ye presbiterie. He allone without associats!'.[93] It has been argued that bishops often acted with the 'consent' of the presbytery - but

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89. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.
90. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.26v.
91. 'They took these words', said Calderwood later, 'to be equivalent to the name presbyterie, which they behoved to forbeir, for offending forsuith, the kings majestie. But their secrete intent was to steale from the presbyterie all power, and associate onlie so many of the bounds as they pleased, whether they were within the bounds of one presbyterie, or promiscuouslie assumed out of divers presbyteries'; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.103. Clearly, the source of this conclusion was the *Confutatioun*, and the argument that Calderwood's *History* is of little value to the earlier historiographical dispute (being compiled c.1627) is seriously undermined. The ministers 'contribution' to the historiography of the period obviously goes beyond 'the assiduous and careful collection and transmission of original sources', and was not limited to 'gossip and rumour'; see Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.144.
92. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.27r.
93. *Ibid.*.

on what terms? 'Consent', as Calderwood noted, was a relative concept,[94] especially in a situation where the bishop 'himselfe allone is the principall and judge'. Thus the

> presbyters may meit as yit for exercise in doctrine, but that being endid, sensurid, and the nixt exerciser appointit, the present moderatour for doctrine hathe no more pouer except it be by a new deputieship and delegat pouer from the bishop. Quhatsoever farther is done, is done onlie be oversicht [and] permissioun till [the bishops] be sattled in ther possessioun...[95]

For Calderwood, this did not describe a presbytery (as had existed before 1610) where all of the court's members were 'equallie interessed in ye government of ye church'. and therefore, he concluded, the 'presbiterie...is not united with ye bishop'.[96]

Even on Foster's own argument, in 1606 the presbytery lost the power to elect its own moderator, and in 1610 the 'authority to pronounce excommunications' and the responsibility over 'presentations, collations [and] ordinations' were placed in the hands of the bishops.[97] By 1618, the 'archbishop or bishop of a diocese was clearly the dominant member of any synod', and it was synods - not presbyteries - where

> many important disciplinary cases [were] tried...[and] the synod was also the main agent of the church responsible for discipline and order among the ministry...[98]

By the latter date, therefore, presbyterian ministers could be forgiven for thinking that if the presbytery 'continued to function',

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94. Hume of Godscroft made much the same point: 'For as touching the consent of the kirk..With what commissioun? not to vote in these things, or to vote in the contrare. So, not voting, or voting without power; so not [of] the kirk'; Hume of Godscroft, 'Mr David Hume his Elleventh Letter to Mr James Law, Bishope of Glasco', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p. 143.

95. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f27v. Hume of Godscroft made much the same point in 1610, arguing that 'though presbytereis remaine...[they are but] shadowes and shewes of our discipline' because 'paritie, freedom, vicissitude taikin away, or the force therof brokin and restrained, the essence and essential points therof are also altered'; see the 'Letter following to Mr James Law, Bishop of Orkney', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.68.

96. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f27r.

97. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, p. 109.

98. *Ibid.*, p.117.

the gradual extraction of its teeth was almost complete. However much modern historians might (in a similar vein to William Cowper in 1614) present such changes as mere amendments, it seems that the structure of the presbyterian kirk had been drastically altered by the second decade of the seventeenth century.

In fact John Spottiswoode informed James as early as 1610 that the new constitution of the presbytery would leave the court with just

> a bare name, quhiche for the present may please, but in a litle tym sall evanische...[99]

The archbishop also noted that the constitution of the general assembly was to be altered so as to be nearer 'to the form of the Convocation House heir in England'.[100] By 1617 such a plan was close to becoming a reality, with a hand-picked group of ministers meeting at St Giles kirk (Edinburgh) to consider granting James the right to 'make ecclesiasticall lawes'. Calderwood noted:

> I come in be accident to seek some brethren. I hard the byshop of Iles making mention of the convocatioun of the clergie in the tyme of the parliament, both in England and Ireland, quhilk confirmed my fear that I had before...I stoode up and protested that these meetings wer no general assemblies, nor anywayes equivalent to them, and that these meetings sould not resemble the convocatioun hous in England...[101]

In the event, Calderwood's intervention spoiled the plan, and he succeeded in gaining the support of the meeting for a petition which denied the king any power to interfere in matters of

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99. *OL*, I, p.235.
100. John Spottiswood, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, eds M.Russel & M.Napier, Edinburgh, 1847-51, III, p.211; *OL*, II, p.446.
101. David Calderwood, 'A trew Relatioun of my tryall before the High commissioun and my troubles following thereupon' [hereafter, Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun']', in *WodrowMSS*, Qto, LXXVI, No. 1, f.9r. The document was written early in 1618, and an edited version (with additions, alterations and omissions) forms pp.250-283 of volume seven of the minister's *History*.

doctrine.[102] Nevertheless, it remained the case that presbyteries had been emasculated, and, following the near *debacle* of 1618, general assemblies were suspended.

As a consequence, the reconstituted diocesan synod became the sole 'regular court of the church' after 1618. Here too, the question is not one of whether synods were 'interrupted by the revival of episcopacy',[103] but rather concerns the altered constitution. Calderwood commented that they were

> not truelie and verilie of the nature and freedome of our former synods, or of the kynde of councells, as of oecumenicall, nationall, and provinciall, that were in the ancient kirk.. There was [then] noe one man who had a negative voice to dashe the affirmative of all the rest, like a Roman Tribune to say '*veto*'...[104]

Calderwood's argument was that the bishop's power in the diocesan synod was pernicious and absolute, and that this had not been the case prior to 1610. Even Foster had to admit that the minister had a point, noting that the 'judgement seems likely enough', before rather grudgingly adding 'although I have found no evidence to verify it'.[105] He might, however have consulted Hume of Godscroft on the subject, who also asked Law of 'Glasco':

> What weale, then, can there be compted to have threttein men impyring and domineiring over the rest of the brethren....Is this the weale of the kirk? Is this your justice distributive, wherof you wrot, proportioned *ad mensuram meritt*?[106]

The problem for Foster is that the historiography of the period is dominated by the thesis that James had gained an 'episcopal party' in the kirk by 1603, and was merely engaged in mopping-up the 'small number of convinced, doctrinaire Melvillians' who still

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102. A full discussion of the circumstances surrounding the petition of 1617 is undertaken in Chapter VI.
103. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, p. 116.
104. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p. 133.
105. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, p. 116.
106. Hume of Godscroft, 'Twelth Letter', pp. 147-148.

existed in 1606.[107] Consequently, historians have been concerned - just as the bishops were after 1606 - to play down change and its effects. In fact, there is no shortage of legislative milestones with regard to alterations in kirk polity between the act of 1606 which 'acknowledged the king as governor over all persons, estates and causes, both spiritual and temporal, within his realm',[108] and the act of 1617 which proposed that James

> with the advyce of byshops and archbishops, and such a competent number of the ministers as your hienes thought expedient, might make ecclesiasticall lawes...[109]

General assemblies, hand-picked by the king, met in 1606, 1608, 1610, and 1616. Parliament was 'fenced' in 1612 to ratify the decisions of the Glasgow assembly, and in 1617 was due to seal the matter of the royal supremacy, had Calderwood not intervened.[110] James set up the High Commission - by virtue of his prerogative - in 1610, before reconstituting the court with new powers in 1615. 'This commissioun', said Calderwood, 'exalted the aspyring bishops farre above anie prelat that ever was in Scotland', and - in as much that such a court had never before existed in the Scottish kirk - the sentiment was accurate.[111] All of this activity, we are told, was in order to attend to 'details', not 'substance', and the resulting 'system as a whole can be regarded'

> as a mere modification of the system which had operated in the 1590s...[112]

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107. Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, p.207.
108. Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.495.
109. Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.1v. James exiled Calderwood for his part in causing the act to be dropped.
110. See above, n.102.
111. David Calderwood, 'Remarks', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.62-63. This is a heavily truncated version of the author's original manuscript work on the High Commission: see Calderwood, 'Remarks', ff.100r-105v.
112. Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, p.207. For Mullan [*op.cit.*, p.119] the 'bishops could justifiably protest that there were no substantial changes in the polity'.

But as Calderwood pointed out, the fact that presbyteries and synods 'persisted' did not mean that they operated under the same rules.

III

Many ministers agreed with the views of Hume of Godscroft and Calderwood with regard to the alterations in kirk polity, and James' reply was to control their stipends. Much has been made of Benjamin Rudyard's comment to the English parliament in 1628 that the preachers of that country, with stipends of only £5 per year, were much worse off than their Scottish equivalents.[113] Yet as has been pointed out above, many Scottish ministers can have fared little better. The true nature of the dilemma in which presbyterian (and puritan) non-conformists found themselves is epitomised by the case of Robert Wallace of Tranent, who along with Andrew and James Melville had been on trial in London in 1606 for denying the royal supremacy.[114] Confined to his parish for many years, an unrepentant Wallace protested against the introduction of the 'Five Articles' in 1617, before dying 'of grief at the prospect of [further] changes in the church' a few weeks later. He left a widow and four children on the charity of the presbytery, and for whom no other support mechanism existed.[115] Whilst the presbytery might authorise collections amongst the congregation to alleviate immediate distress, no long-term provision for widows and families was provided, and claims on the manse, or the fruits of the glebe, were stoutly resisted. Thus when the widow of George Redpath claimed the right of the stipend for 1629, the presbytery of Duns rejected her claim. Her appeal to the courts was equally unsuccessful, on the grounds that:

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113. Lynch, *Calvinism* p.252, Foster, *Church Before the Covenants*, p.163. *Cf.*, Benjamin Rudyard, *His speech in behalf of the Clergie and parishes*, Oxford, 1628, pp.3-4.
114. For a full account of these events see James Melville, 'The true narration of the Declyneing State of the Kirk of Scotland from 1590-1610' appended to James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville*, ed. Robert Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1842.
115. *Fasti*, I, p.398.

> the late min[ister] having died before the term, no part of the stipend was due for that year, and could not be claimed by his relict and bairns...and that they should seek nothing of crop 1629...[116]

With both church and civil courts fearful of setting a precedent which might prejudice the ability of the community to attract and provide for a new incumbent, the dependants of the former minister were left to survive as best they could. Such a scenario was one of a minister's greatest worries, and was not confined to James' Scottish kingdom. The English puritan preacher Henry Newcome wrote of his 'constant fear' that he 'should die and shall leave nothing for [his] wife and children', and then, Newcome continued, others would be quick to point the finger and say:

> This was his strictness, and this is Puritanism! See what it gets them! What it leaves to wife and children![117]

In 1611, and probably with much the same thought in mind, Andrew Bennet of Monimail had taken the opposite course to that of Robert Wallace. Along with two other members of the presbytery of Cupar, he appeared before the High Commission for protesting against the removal of the presbytery's right to present candidates to benefices. After escaping with an admonishment, Bennet - chastised but not defeated - retired to his parish to bring up his young family of five sons (four of whom became ministers) and three daughters.[118] There is no record of his having caused the authorities any further trouble, but 'conformity' gained in this way left a legacy of bitterness, which played its part in

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116. *Ibid.*, II, pp.1-2. Once again, it is worthy of note that the claims of the minister's 'relict and bairns' were not rejected out of hand, which would have been the case if the 'clergy did not participate in the property structure', and therefore 'also failed to participate in the law in a significant way'; Williamson, *op.cit.*, p.87. In fact, the incoming minister was expected to compensate the deceased's estate for the cost of improvements made to the manse and glebe by the previous incumbent. As in all such cases, the money was often impossible to obtain.

117. R.Parkinson, (Ed.), *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, London, 1852, pp.135-136.

118. There were at least five similar cases to that of Bennet before the High Commission in 1611; see *Fasti*, V, pp.123-175.

undermining the episcopalian regime of successive Stewart monarchs. By 1637 there were three Bennets attending meetings of the presbytery of Cupar, and a fourth followed shortly afterwards - all were supporters of the covenant.[119] Equally importantly, Andrew Bennet's reluctant conformity ensured that the relationship between minister and congregation remained intact. By 1637 a Bennet had served the parishioners of Monimail in unbroken succession since 1585, a total tenure of fifty-two years. Bennet's tussle with the High Commission was not untypical of the experiences of many rural ministers, and bearing in mind the number of sons who followed their fathers into the ministry (as has been mentioned above) the royal policy of forcing ministers to make such choices was - at least in hindsight - a high-risk strategy.

The threat to remove the livelihood of troublesome ministers was accompanied by the policy of admitting only conformists to the lucrative urban parishes. Access was to be restricted to loyal men, such as the king had around him in London, and the origins of such a policy can be traced back to the turn of the century. In 1606, James, incensed at the actions of the Scottish ministry in convening an 'illegal' General Assembly at Aberdeen in the previous year, banished the six 'ringleaders', and severely censured several others who had dared to attend.[120] Determined to avoid a repeat performance, and to ensure royal policy was implemented, the king virtually hand-picked the members of the next three General Assemblies, in 1606, 1608, and 1610.[121] During this crucial period, in which James sought to gain control of the presbyteries and founded the Court of High Commission, at least seven English preachers were active in Scotland, especially at the time of parliament in 1609, and at the General Assembly of 1610. At the latter gathering George Meriton, trusted chaplain to Queen

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119. *Fasti*, V, p. 165.
120. *RPCS*, IX, pp. 163-166.
121. A.R.Macdonald, 'Ecclesiastical Politics in Scotland: 1586-1610,' unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh, 1995, *passim*.

Anne and later Dean of York, spoke of the presbyterians' struggle with their consciences over episcopal inroads into the kirk. Would Scottish ministers submit to the pleadings of 'erroneous conscience', and thereby 'gainsay the godliest, the wisest, the lovingest King, that ever [they] enjoyed?'.[122] The question was rhetorical, the outcome predetermined. Meriton's point was that presbyterians, afflicted as they were with 'fearfulness of minde', could take comfort from the undoubted truth that it was the duty of each subject to obey the king's will.[123]

Following Meriton's lead, Christopher Hampton (later bishop of Armagh) preached a sermon along the same lines, and afterwards claimed to have converted many of his audience. Despite his obvious courting of royal favour, Hampton's statement was not altogether disingenuous, and many ministers did demonstrate their unwillingness - as Meriton had put it - to make 'no conscience of disloyaltie'.[124] In agreeing with Meriton such ministers conceded the issue of the king's superiority over the kirk, which had proved the undoing of Andrew and James Melville, and no doubt this salutory lesson was still fresh in their minds. In 1606 James Montague, Dean of the Chapel Royal at London, had advised the dissident brothers with the use of a simple homily, '*If ye trubill not us, we will trubill not yow*'.[125] The cost of ignoring such advice was imprisonment and exile, and Melville languished in the Tower as an example for all to see.

Many ministers, including Andrew Ramsay, Patrick Galloway, William Struthers, John Hall, Thomas Sydserff, and William Forbes,[126] either accepted Montague's advice, or allowed themselves to be 'convinced' by the arguments of Meriton and

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122. Quoted in Mullan, *op.cit.*, pp.102-103
123. *Ibid.*.
124. *Ibid.*.
125. Melville, 'True narration', reproduced in D.Reid, *The Party-Coloured Mind, Selected prose relating to the conflict between Church and State in Seventeenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1982, p.24, my italics.
126. All later members of the presbytery of Edinburgh. Ramsay was minister of Greyfriars; Struthers, Hall, and Sydserff of St Giles; Forbes of Old Kirk.

Hampton, and conformed thereafter. These were among the men whom James chose to push through his plans for the continuing reform of religion in his capital city of Scotland, and it is largely upon them that the case for a 'new, properous and professional' ministry is based. But whilst all of these men gained wealth or preferment (or both) during their periods of office, they are not representative of the ministers of Edinburgh in 1637. Of the twenty-four ministers of Edinburgh in 1637, only four (17%) had served the presbytery during the reign of James VI & I: overwhelmingly, the 'conforme' contemporaries of Ramsay had died, or been presented to higher office, by 1633. The remaining twenty ministers (83%) could boast an average of only five years' tenancy in their respective parishes, and Edinburgh was the first appointment for twelve (50%) of this group, whilst eight (33%) had been translated to the city from other presbyteries after 1625. Ramsay was one of only two representatives of the 'school of 1610' left amongst the ministers of Edinburgh by 1634,[127] and he - isolated and embittered at being passed over for promotion - promptly joined the dissident ranks.[128]

There was therefore, a 'new' group of ministers in Edinburgh by 1637, but they were not wealthy, or possessed of a high status. Only one of the capital's new ministers in 1637 had inherited a substantial estate, and only three were related to other ministers of the city.[129] That is to say, fully sixteen (67%) of the ministers of the capital had not been in office long enough to acquire either wealth, or the settled trust and respect of their parishioners. The

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127. Galloway, Hall, Struthers, and Forbes were all dead by 1637, and Thomas Sydserff had been promoted to the bishropic of Brechin in 1634, *Fasti*, VII, p.334.

128. *Fasti*, I, pp.1-188; 'Collections on the Life of Mr Andrew Ramsay Min[iste]r of the Gospel at Edinburgh', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Collections, II, f.12r&v.

129. Scott, *Fasti*, I, pp.1-188. John Charteris, minister of Currie, was the son of Henry Charteris, minister of Leith [1620-1628], and the grandson of Henry Charteris, King's Printer. John inherited his father's estate; David Balsillie, minister of Corstorphine was the son-in-law of the non-conformist minister Michael Cranston, minister of Cramond [1590-1631]; Henry Rollock, minister of Trinity, was the nephew of Robert Rollock, minister of Greyfriars [1587-1599]; John Tennant, minister of Calder, was the grandson of John Spottiswood.

efforts of these new men to impress the authorities, and thereby gain preferment, simply made matters worse. Whilst Hall, Struthers, and Ramsay had championed the king's right of supremacy over the kirk, they had paid little more than lip-service to the enforcement of the controversial 'Five Articles' of 1618. Hall indeed had campaigned openly against the Five Articles after 1619,[130] and Struthers - who succeeded to Hall's congregation in 1625 - administered the sacrament to sitting communicants, apparently with the blessing of his Archbishop, John Spottiswoode.[131] Besides this, the 1630s also saw the death of much-loved ministers who had held office since the 1590s, such as James Thomson of Colinton. He was still administering communion to sitting recipients in 1634 - a few months before his death - and in the same year had again defied direct instructions from the bishop to conform.[132] Altogether, thirteen of the twenty appointments made during the reign of Charles I, came between 1630 and 1636. When William Ogston arrived from Aberdeen to minister to James Thomson's still grieving congregation, he immediately insisted that all his new parishioners underwent pre-communion examination kneeling. James Hannay had worn the shoes of Hall and Struthers for only three years when he attempted to read the Prayer Book to the congregation of these two revered ministers at St Giles in 1637. Such actions made many of these new ministers deeply unpopular with their congregations, and, without firm foundations in their parishes, they were contemptuously swept aside by the covenanting regime. Eleven ministers of Edinburgh (all of whom were appointed after 1625,

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130. *RPCS*, XI, pp.14, 66-67, 490, 549; & (2nd series), I, 1625-1627, p.202; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.244, 355-357.

131. Spottiswoode informed James Cathkin, merchant and bookseller of Edinburgh, that he had personally given instructions to the ministers of the capital that they should 'urge no mann to kneele [at communion], bot to give it to everie mann according as he disired to tak it'; James Cathkine, 'A Relation of James Cathkin his imprisonment and examination about printing of the Nullitie of the Perth Assemblie. By Himself' [c.1619], in *BM*, I, p.202.

132. *Fasti*, I, p.2.

and including eight of the thirteen presented after 1630) were deprived by the Glasgow Assembly of 1638.[133]

It might be argued, therefore, that so many of the ministers of Edinburgh were easily displaced precisely *because* the congregations of the city were not in their 'grip'. The ministers of Edinburgh were not altogether a special case in this regard: of the complement of sixteen who served the presbytery of St Andrews in 1637, six (38%) had held the benefice under James VI, and only one could claim to have ministered to his parish longer than Alexander Henderson's twenty-five year term of office at Leuchars. The remaining ten (62%) ministers had held office in their respective parishes for an average of only eight years, and St Andrews was the first appointment for eight of this latter group. Thus 62% of ministers of St Andrews were new (i.e., post-1625 appointments) in comparison to 83% of those of the capital. But three of these new ministers were the sons of the previous incumbent, and a further one was related to his predecessor. This brings the number of ministers of St Andrews who had reasonably long-standing ties to their parishioners to eleven, or 69%. The average number of years in office (calculated on family occupation as opposed to individual) amongst this group is twenty-one, and therefore only five (31%) ministers (as opposed to sixteen in Edinburgh) can be described as wholly new to their parishioners. Four ministers of St Andrews were deprived by the covenanters at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, and three came from this latter group.[134] A similar situation existed in Glasgow, where seven (54%) out of thirteen ministers were post-1625 appointees in 1637, and two of these were the sons-in-law of a former incumbent, leaving five (38%) new ministers - three of whom were deprived in 1638.[135] Lacking close connections, 'new' and 'conforme' ministers were highly vulnerable.

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133. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 1-188.

134. The fourth was Alexander Gledstaines, minister of St Andrews since 1612, and son of the former Archbishop, he was deprived on charges of Arminianism and - presumably for good measure - 'drunkenness'; *Ibid.*, V, p. 232, 1-245.

135. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 372-487.

In 1633 Andrew Ramsay (one of the supposed 'new, prosperous and professional' ministers of the 1630s) was openly courting the patronage of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and had entered:

> into the modish Laudean doctrine [of] England...and intirely departed from our Scriptural dealing in this church since the reformation... [136]

But 'a short time later', after failing in his suit for preferment, and after being 'severly censured' for his conduct by Alexander Henderson and Sir John Carnegie - a prominent local laird - Ramsay:

> went over to the other side and made a vigourous stand against the...Scots Liturgy and the other innovations [imposed by] B[ishop] Laud and many of our Scotch Bishops who chimed in with him... [137]

It is tempting to assume that Ramsay had joined forces with other covenanting ministers out of pique at his failure to gain a bishopric, but this may not have been the sole reason. He had little in common with the new ministers, and with twenty-three years' experience of ministering to his parish, could hardly have failed to note the strength of feeling against the intruders. Andrew Ramsay, admittedly encouraged by Henderson, had probably seen the revolutionary writing on the wall by 1637.

IV

It has been remarked that by 1630 the ministry of the kirk of Scotland had acquired all 'the hallmarks of an hereditary caste'. [138] Such a development is perhaps unsurprising in a society where select groups each jealously guarded the secrets of their particular calling, and thus the job opportunities of their sons, but nevertheless the significance of this trend is deserving of more

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136. 'Collections on the Life of Ramsay', *op.cit.*, f.12r&v.
137. *Ibid.*.
138. Lynch, *Calvinism*, p.252; Makey, *Op.Cit.*, p.96.

attention than it has received to date.[139] Overwhelmingly the sons of ministers either followed their fathers into the ministry, or were to be found in the larger conurbations, apprenticed to the tradesmen of Scotland's major cities. The placement of ministers' sons with urban tradesmen was itself a significant development, as it had the effect of binding together the fate and fortune of rural ministers with that of the 'urban bourgeoisie'.[140]

But of particular importance to the present discussion is the tendency of ministers to ensure that their benefice remained *en famille*. A particular benefice, as has been demonstrated above, was often passed on to kin of the incumbent, usually - although not exclusively - from father to son. If this was not possible (i.e., if the incumbent had more than one son in the ministry, or if higher-level patronage intervened), then the minister's son would commonly (but again not exclusively) be found a parish within the jurisdiction of the presbytery concerned. At the very least a minister expected to be able to use his influence to obtain an appointment for his son(s) within the locality. Besides the twenty-two parishes of Fife which were the subject of direct succession, the occupants of a further eleven parishes in 1637 were the sons or kin of other ministers. Most commonly their patron was (or had been) nearby: thus William Bennet succeeded his father at Monimail in 1626, whilst his brothers - Andrew and James - practised at Creich [1618] and Auchtermuchty [1615] respectively, all three parishes being within the jurisdiction of the presbytery of Cupar. This brought the total of benefices occupied by the sons or kin of ministers to thirty-three, or 47% of possible placements in the Fife catchment area.[141] The situation was similar elsewhere. In total twenty-nine (or 43%) parishes within Glasgow's jurisdiction were also held by the sons or kin of other ministers of the

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139. Makey [*op.cit.*, pp.96-97] notes the development, but talks in terms of only father/son relationships, whereas, as is discussed below, the trend goes beyond these limits.

140. This topic is discussed in more detail in Chapter II.

141. *Fasti*, V, pp.1-245.

presbytery in 1637.[142] Coupled with this practice, is the fact that many ministers of the 1590s were still in office at the time of the revolution, having ministered to their congregations for some forty years or more. Every presbytery could boast its 'Father of the Church' in 1637. David Mearns had been minister at Carnbee (in the presbytery of St Andrews) for forty-eight years at the time of his death in 1639, and was succeeded by his son - who had been acting as Mearns' assistant since 1622.[143]

Such hereditary tendencies meant that family ties and connections often stretched back to and beyond the Reformation of 1560. James Wilkie, born in 1512, had been a regent of the college of St Leonard's at St Andrews University in the 1540s.[144] He was a relative of John Row, the reformer and father of the historian of the same name, who was also a regent at the college during that period. Wilkie was one of those thought qualified 'for minstreing and teaching' by the first General Assembly of the reformed kirk, and became Principal of St Leonard's College in 1570, and minister of the parish in 1578. James Wilkie had at least three brothers: Robert, who became minister of Cupar in 1569;[145] William, who owned lands near Lanark, and sat as a member of the Scottish parliament from 1581 to 1593;[146] and Alexander, maltman and burgess of Edinburgh. As the genealogical tree (overleaf, Tree 1) shows, James Wilkie's own son was a minister, as were several of his nephews and nephews-in-law. Such connections ensured that Robert, son of Robert Wilkie of Cupar and Kilmarnock, was appointed regent of St Leonard's and succeeded to both the Principalship and to the parish on his uncle's death in 1590.[147] James Wilkie's son, John, was presented to the parish of Portmoak (presbytery of Kinross) in 1593: and his son - Harry - was minister

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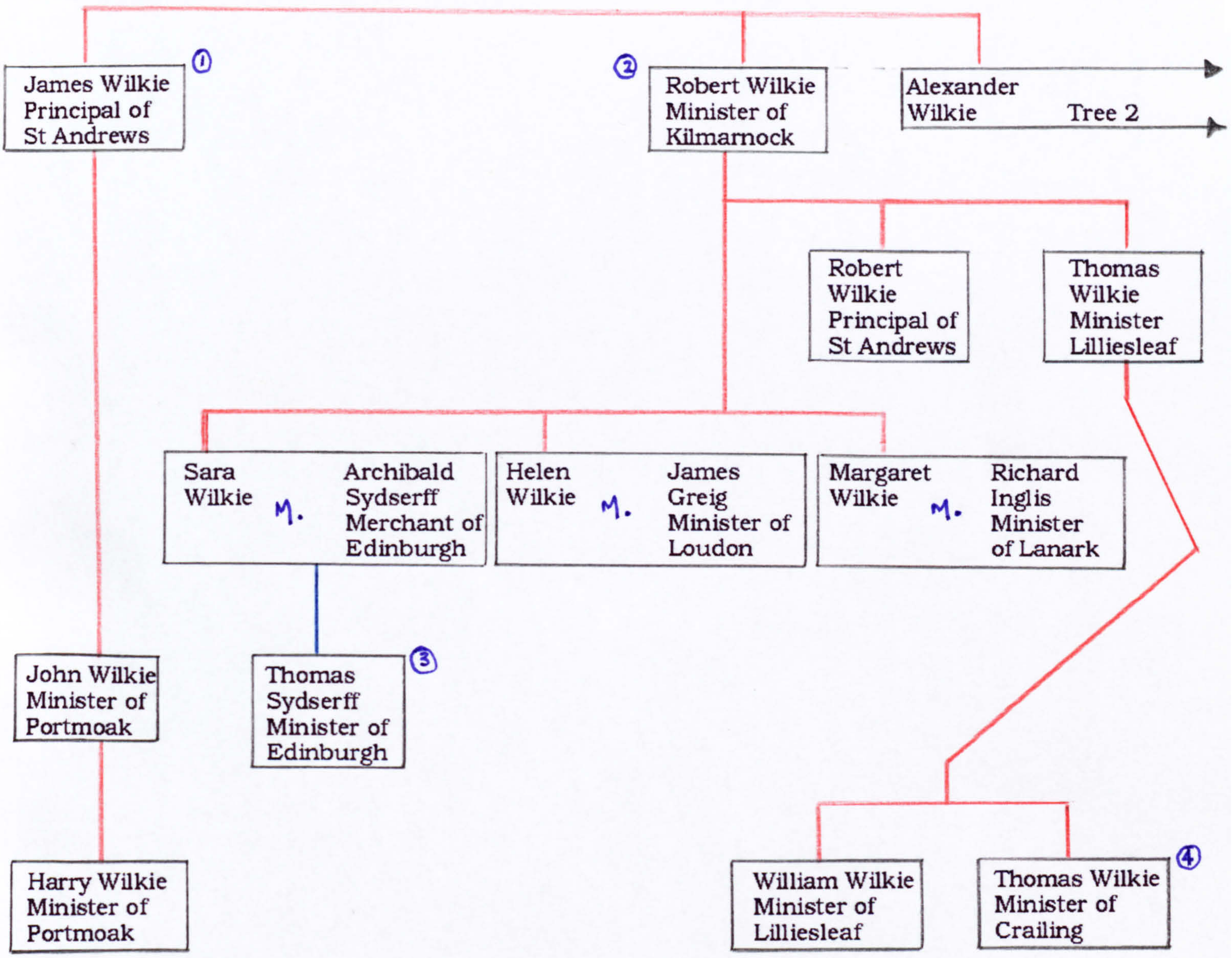
142. *Ibid.*, III, pp.372-487.
143. *Ibid.*, V, p.188.
144. J. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, p.35.
145. *Fasti*, V, p.141; and later minister of Kilmarnock.
146. *Ibid.*, III, p.398.
147. *Ibid.*, VII, p.412.

Tree 1: The Wilkie 'Dynasty' (Fife, West and Borders)



1. Member of assembly 1560.
2. Member of the central council of the kirk, 1596 (see Chapter VI).
3. Bishop of Galloway, 1634.
4. Member of Glasgow Assembly, 1638.

of that parish in 1637, having succeeded on his father's death in 1633.[148] The son of James Wilkie's eldest sister, Thomas Biggar, was presented to Kinghorn-Easter, in the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, in 1566. Biggar's son, also Thomas, was reader and assistant to his father for some years, and was before the High Commission for non-conformity in 1621, when he was described as 'scribe to the [kirk] session'. He died in January 1641 'while registrateing the procedings of the Session in the execution of dyscipline'.[149]

The family dynasty which James Wilkie had helped to establish stretched beyond both the geographical limits of Fife, and the confines of the ministry. As Tree 1 (above) details, Sara Wilkie (daughter of Robert) married Archibald Sydserff, a merchant of Edinburgh. The family already had connections amongst the burgess community of the city, *via* Robert Wilkie's brother, Alexander. In turn (and as illustrated by Tree 2, overleaf), Daniel, Alexander Wilkie's son, was appointed as minister of Abercrombie in the presbytery of St Andrews in 1605. When Daniel died in 1628, his own son - Robert - took over, and was still minister in 1662.[150] But the reciprocal nature of the relationship between the communities of Edinburgh and St Andrews, and that between the vocations of minister and merchant, is also apparent in the dealings of father and son. Daniel Wilkie had four sons: Robert, his successor at Abercrombie; James, who was apprenticed to his grandfather in Edinburgh; and David and Harry who were - again through the influence of their grandfather - apprenticed to William Dick and John Joussie respectively, both merchant burgesses of Edinburgh.[151] William Dick was Edinburgh's richest merchant, whose personal wealth was recorded as a staggering 3,999,000

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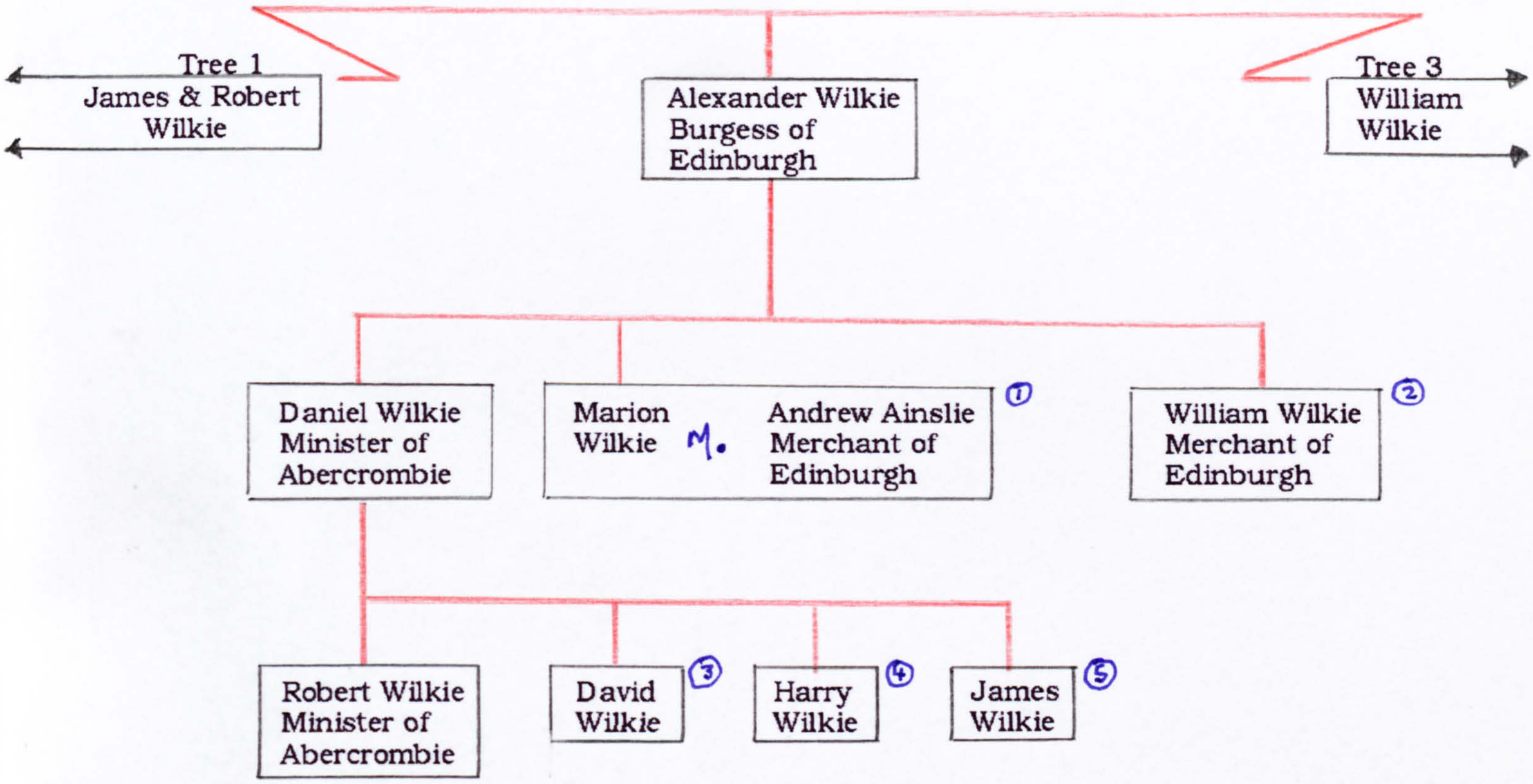
148. *Ibid.*, V, p.74.
149. Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.187; & VII, p.514; *Fasti*, V, p.93.
150. At which date he was confined to his parish for refusing to conform to episcopacy; *Ibid.*, V, p.177-178; Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1721-22, I, p.329.
151. *Fasti*, V, p.177.

Tree 2: the Wilkie 'Dynasty' (Edinburgh merchants).



1. Left £110,000 at death.
2. Left £4,000 at death.
3. Apprentice to William Dick (see pp.52-53).
4. Apprentice to John Joussie (see p.52).
5. Apprentice to Alexander Wilkie (see p.52).

merks in 1642. He was also a prominent non-conformist.[152] In this way the fortunes of both communities and occupations were bound together. Within the ministry itself, the net cast by the Wilkie family also grew wider (see Tree 1, above). The aforementioned Robert Wilkie, brother of James and minister of Kilmarnock, was successful in gaining a placement for his third son at Lilliesleaf, in the presbytery of Selkirk, in 1588. Thomas Wilkie was still minister at that parish in 1638, and demitted in favour of his own son, William, in that year, who in turn was still minister in 1662.[153] The second son of Thomas Wilkie, also Thomas, was presented to the parish of Crailing - in the presbytery of Jedburgh - in 1621, and was a member of the General Assembly of Glasgow in 1638.[154]

William Wilkie, brother of James and a substantial landowner at Lanark, used his influence to gain his son - Robert - a presentation to Douglas, in the presbytery of Lanark, in 1603. Again, as demonstrated by Tree 3 (overleaf), the family quickly established itself in Glasgow and its environs. Robert was translated to Blackfriars in 1621, and at various times between then and 1638 held the positions of Dean, Rector, and Vice-Chancellor of Glasgow University. In turn Robert had five sons (two of whom later became ministers), and three daughters, of whom Margaret married John Bell, who was promptly appointed as assistant to his father-in-law at Blackfriars in 1636.[155] Janet Wilkie married Patrick Sharpe, who was presented to the parish of Govan on Wilkie's influence in 1622. Sharpe translated to Leith in 1639, and in the process returned the favour by making way for Wilkie's son, William. The latter was the 'confidential friend of Dr. [Robert] Balcanquall, Dean of Rochester', and thus had connections in

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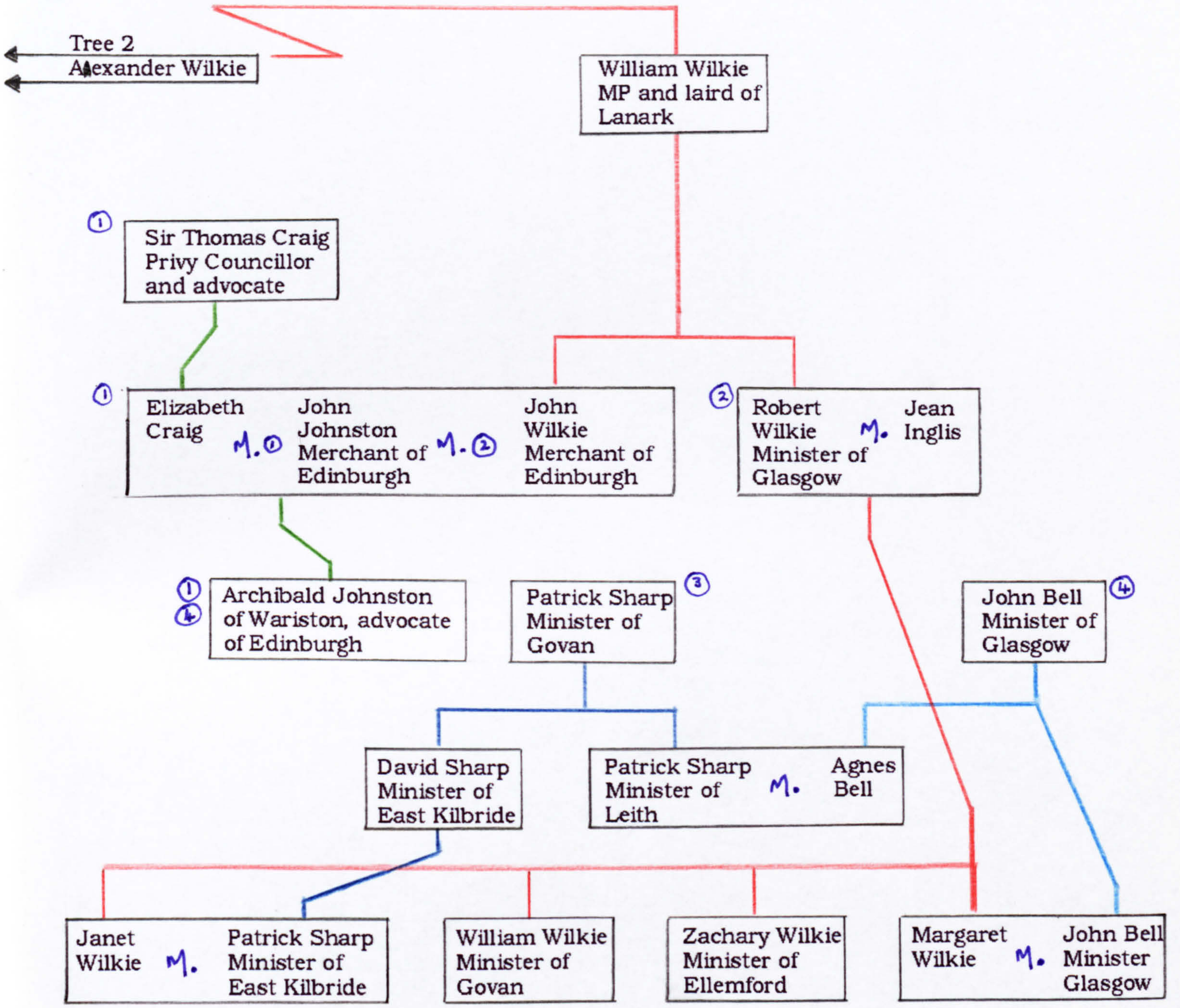
152. J.J.Brown, 'The Social, Political, and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638', unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh, 1986, II, p.459.

153. At which date he was confined to his parish for non-conformity to the newly-established episccopal regime; *Fasti*, II, p.182; Wodrow, *History*, I, p.326.

154. *Fasti*, II, p.107-108.

155. *Ibid.*, III, p.398.

Tree 3: the Wilkie 'Dynasty' (Edinburgh & Glasgow).



1. See also Tree 8 (below).
2. Vice chancellor, Glasgow University.
3. Principal, Glasgow University; voted against 'Five Articles' at Perth Assembly, 1618.
4. Member of Glasgow Assembly, 1638.

London.[156] Contemporaries and friends of Robert Wilkie at the university of Edinburgh were Robert and Zachary Boyd, the former of whom was forced to resign the principalship of the University because of his opposition to the 'Five Articles' of Perth in 1621. Zachary Boyd, minister of The Barony in Glasgow, published at least twenty separate and highly regarded works between 1628 and 1650, and was held in such admiration by Robert Wilkie that he named his son (later minister of Ellemford in the presbytery of Duns) after the author. For his part Boyd left Zachary Wilkie a bequest of 100 merks in his will.[157] William Wilkie's second son, John, was a merchant of Edinburgh and laird of Foulden (Borders). He married Elizabeth Craig (the mother of Johnston of Wariston, whose first husband had died ten years earlier) in 1629, thereby creating a further link between the communities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Also a close friend of Robert Wilkie was John Bell, minister of the Laigh Kirk. Bell was the father of John (husband of Margaret Wilkie) who had been assistant at the Tron parish since 1628, and was appointed Wilkie's assistant in 1636. As Wilkie's son-in-law, he was elected Dean of the University in 1637, and was probably being groomed to take over Wilkie's Blackfriars parish, but died in 1640. John Bell (Snr.) was a member of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and being aged over eighty at the time, was accorded the privilege of making the opening speech at that gathering. Both Robert Wilkie and John Bell vigorously opposed the introduction of the Prayer Book in 1637, and Wilkie often assisted the aged John Bell in the administration of communion at the Laigh Kirk to 'communicants sitting at the tables, contrary to the articles agreed on at Perth'.[158]

The way in which family influence amongst the ministry and their lay kin spread and multiplied ensured that continuity with earlier

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156. *Ibid.*, I, p.396; & III, p.410-411.
157. *Ibid.*, III, p.392; & II, p.27.
158. *Ibid.*, III. p.328.

generations of presbyterian ministers was preserved. The Wilkies, whose 'dynasty' began in St Andrews, were not the only example of the development of such strong inter-community bonds. Andrew Simson, minister of Dalkeith and another of the original reformers of 1560, had seven sons, all of whom were ministers. His grand-children included George Gillespie, the convenanting stalwart and author, and minister of St Giles, Edinburgh, and he had many other sons and grandsons who served in Edinburgh and Stirling, as well as the borders and the south-west of Scotland. The five surviving sons of John Row, a relative and companion of James Wilkie in 1540, all became ministers, one of whom was that most violent opponent of episcopacy, the historian John Row. Row senior's five sons fathered six more ministers, one of whom, William - minister of Forgandenny near Perth - joined his uncle as a member of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638.[159] Such examples raise a question mark over the thesis that the influence of earlier presbyterianism had 'seeped slowly away from Fife and Lothian' by 1637, to leave only small radical band of conventicling covenanters under the charge of Samuel Rutherford in south-west Scotland.[160] It is certainly true that family continuity was no guarantee of ideological continuity, and that instances to the contrary exist. As illustrated by Tree 1 (above), the unpopular and conformist minister of Edinburgh, Thomas Sydserff, was also a member of the Wilkie 'dynasty'. However, when coupled with hardship caused by low stipends and resentment at persecution, ideological continuity was likely to be maintained in many cases. Under such conditions, the tendency of the ministry to create family 'dynasties' contributed significantly towards the maintenance and strengthening of ties with the past.

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159. *Ibid.*, I-V, *passim.*
160. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', p.253.

V

It appears unsafe therefore, to paint a portrait of the 'typical' minister using Alexander Henderson as a model.[161] Little is known of his life as a minister of Leuchars (a rural parish of Fife) before 1637, and he died unmarried in 1647,[162] a rarity amongst his fellow ministers. He also left a testament valued at £23,000 (£1917 sterling), a 'staggering' sum which was ten times greater than the average net assets of a minister in the 1630s, and more valuable than those of Patrick Galloway and William Struthers (both long-time ministers of Edinburgh) earlier noted.[163] In these respects Henderson was *atypical*, and has been better described as 'larger than life',[164] than as 'typical of the rising status of the ministry'.[165]

It seems equally likely that Henderson, whose exact parentage remains largely a matter for conjecture, inherited a small estate from his father, and that such a bequest (coupled with the fact that Henderson was unmarried and therefore had less charge on his income) was the main source of his wealth. In his role as heritor at least, Henderson was not alone. David Dickson, minister of Irvine and leading covenanter, was the son of a wealthy Glasgow merchant, and the heritor of a small estate. At least 10% of the eight hundred and fifty or so serving ministers (excluding assistants) in 1637 possessed or rented land:[166] for example, Robert Bruce, son of Sir John Bruce of Kingscavil, was 'proprietor

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161. Lynch, *Scotland*, p.248, who also suggests that Henderson was 'already well enough paid [in 1637] ...to lend money to lairds in his parish of Leuchars'. There is evidence to suggest that some ministers within the presbytery of St Andrews ('an old and strong centre of the Reformed church') received above average stipends (see Foster, *Church Before the Covenants*, pp.157-158), but even if Henderson was among them this would hardly make him 'typical' of rural ministers as a whole.

162. Lynch, *Scotland*, p.248.

163. Foster, *Church Before the Covenants*, pp.167-168; Makey, *Op.Cit.*, p.116; Lynch, *Scotland*, p.248.

164. Makey, *Op.Cit.*, p.106.

165. Lynch, *Scotland*, p.248.

166. *Fasti*, I-VII, *passim*.

of Pitkeny, Mitchelston, and part of Strathore', and had an income from 'various tenements' which he owned in Dysart; and David Home, of Greenlaw in the presbytery of Duns, owned land locally, whilst his wife was 'life-renter of a third of the West Mains of Chirnside'.[167]

Yet even this select group of ministers, who ostensibly 'lived like lairds', found unity in their opposition to royal policy in Scotland. In their capacity as ministers, Henderson, Dickson, and Home had each fallen foul of the court of High Commission for non-conformity, and as landowners had financial grievances to add to their entrenched antipathy to religious innovation by the 1630s. But a particularly ominous development for Charles I was that ministers who had found no previous quarrel with his regime, were being won over to the dissident cause. The above-mentioned Robert Bruce, minister of Aberdour near Dunfermline, had previously 'sided with episcopacy',[168] but by 1637 Bruce found his dual status, as minister and landowner, under attack. As minister his standard of living was falling;[169] and equally as landowner his income from rents was threatened by renewed inflation.[170] Thus Bruce switched his allegiance to the covenanting party, and in 1638 had no hesitation in signing the covenant.[171] Another 'convert' of the 1630s was Andrew Ramsay, one of the 'conforme' ministers James had earlier intruded upon his troublesome subjects of Edinburgh. Supposedly 'typical' of the 'new' and wealthier 'profession[al]' minister in 1637,[172] Ramsay (the son of a prominent landed proprietor of Fettercairn, near Brechin) had been appointed to the parish of Greyfriars in

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167. *Ibid.*, II, p.25; & V, p.163.
168. *Ibid.*, V, p.2.
169. As has been discussed above, many ministers had seen an overall rise in living standards since 1600. But the previous rate of increase was not maintained during the 1630s, and inflation further eroded the value of minister's stipends. Bruce was very likely (and not entirely unjustifiably) to have felt somewhat aggrieved at his financial position.
170. Makey, *op.cit.*, pp.2-6.
171. *Fasti*, V, p.2.
172. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', p.248.

1614, and by 1620 had gained the equally lucrative professorship of Divinity at Edinburgh University.[173] Again the significant point was that previous supporters of royal policy were joining those already disaffected, as the supply of available, and highly lucrative, bishoprics began to dry up, and the older ministers became isolated by the post-1625 generation.

Ramsay, Bruce, and others like them, earlier despised by such prominent presbyterian dissidents as David Calderwood, proved to be survivors *par excellence* by 1637. For its own part, the non-conformist party, flushed with the success of riot in July, had perforce to welcome the inconsistent consciences of such men back into the fold. The embryonic covenanting regime in Scotland needed its converts and patrons every bit as much as the youthful episcopal polity of James VI & I had done three decades earlier. Ramsay's rediscovery of presbyterian team spirit was of an equal value to Henderson at Glasgow in 1638, as it had originally been to Meriton at the same venue in 1610.

Thus it is not at all certain that the ministry as a whole was either particularly 'prosperous' or entirely 'new' by 1637. The policy of providing increased stipends in return for conformity failed, not least because - as even Foster admits - 'no comprehensive settlement was intended or achieved' by the long-awaited commission of 1617.[174] James thereby purchased the conscience of selected ministers, but not that of the kirk. As a consequence, Charles inherited the problem, and his attempts to impose a *genuinely* comprehensive settlement in 1633 met strong resistance from those who had to pay the bill. At the same time, the presbyterian case that the period 1606 to 1617 saw a concerted drive on the part of the crown to replace the presbytery and the general assembly with reconstituted *diocesan* synods and an

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173. *Fasti*, I, p.70.
174. Foster, *Church before the Covenants*, pp.163-168.

English style 'convocatioun of the clergie' was not entirely unfounded.[175] Changes in the polity of the kirk after 1606 did not settle old grievances, rather - as the following chapters will demonstrate - they prompted further dispute.

It is certainly true that many ministers acquiesced to the new polity after 1610, but that is not to say that they conformed. James' policies caused a great deal of resentment which added to his son's problems in the 1630s. Equally, the ministry - whether it was prosperous or not - was not a class apart from lay society by the latter decade. As the example of the Wilkie 'dynasty' demonstrates, the family were merchants, craftsmen, and landowners at the Reformation and they remained so in 1630s. The new ministry provided the family with room for expansion after 1560, and the opportunity was gratefully accepted. It is true that such circumstances were no guarantee of ideological continuity (although it is a factor which certainly cannot be ruled out), but it did mean that any perceived excesses on the part of the crown were bound to have wide ramifications. The network of family connections, at the very least, meant that one disgruntled section of the family was well-placed to put pressure on another. The failure to provide adequate stipends served only to render the ministry even more dependent on the presbyteries, kirk sessions and congregations of the localities, which was the very system that the crown sought to supplant.

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175. Calderwood, 'Trew relatioun', f9r.

CHAPTER II

Patrons and Professors:

The 'middling sort' and presbyterianism.

> Ye are worse than Turkes or Jewes...I cann never gett a order of thir people of Edinburgh: I forgave them the seventeenth daye: The devill ryve their soules and bodies all in collops, and cast them in hell...
>
> James VI & I, 1619.

In July 1617 the king personally convened a sitting of the court of High Commission at St Andrews with the words:

> When I come first to England, we took this ordour with the puritanes, we depryved them of yair benefices. Bot they lived upon the benevolence of yair followers in the countey wher they taught: bot then we depryved them of thir office, and so they come in to us in numbers, and now they ar the best conforme men that we have. Lett us tak the lik ordour with the puritanes heir... [1]

The king's speech was partly an (albeit implicit) admission that the presbyterian temper in Scotland had not cooled by 1617, but it also represented a recognition of the role which the community as a whole played in resistance to crown policy. In particular, the 'middling sort' of society (a loosely defined social group consisting of the lairds, professions, merchants and tradesmen, representing both rural and urban Scotland)[2] played a major role in the support and proliferation of the presbyterian critique of royal policy. Two major factors contributed to the king's difficulties in respect of the wider community. Firstly, the web of patronage *via* family and marital relationships which connected the 'middling sort' with their ministers[3] meant that the community was extraordinarily receptive to that which it perceived as repression; and secondly, that the 'middling sort' were themselves reluctant to relinquish pre-1610 presbyterian polity and doctrine.

An interesting and illustrative example of patronage at work is provided by David Calderwood's own experience. Although details of Calderwood's immediate family are practically non-existent,[4] it

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1. Calderwood, 'Remarks', ff.105r-105v.
2. The term 'middling sort' is that of Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A new history*, London, 1991, esp. pp.247-262. See also M.Lynch (ed.), *The Early Modern Town in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1987; M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1981; W.Makey, *The Church of the Covenants – Revolution and social change in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1979.
3. See, for example, the case of the Wikie 'dynasty' noted above, pp.51-55.
4. See, T.Thomson, 'Life of David Calderwood', in Calderwood, *History*, VIII, pp.iii-xxxv, which offers few details of the minister's early life. For a recent update, see A.R.MacDonald, 'David Calderwood: the not so hidden years, 1590-1604', *SHR*, LXXIV, No.197, 1995, which concentrates on his university career at Edinburgh.

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is clear from the minister's own accounts that he was deeply attached to the family of Sir John Cranston, laird of Cranston. Sir John was fondly remembered by Calderwood in his *History* as a 'religious and zealous professor' of the reformed faith, and his daughter, 'Dame Sara Cranstoun', as the minister's 'mother, in effect'.[5] The laird had signalled his adherence to the Reformation by signing the 'band' of the nobility in 1560, and was a member of the parliament which approved the *Confession of Faith* in the same year. The family acquired the lands of 'New Cranstoun', near Dalkeith (Edinburgh), in 1553. Sir John's mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of Andrew Johnston of Elphinstone, and the sister-in-law of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn. All three aforementioned lairds were amongst the 'protestant activists' of Lothian and the Borders who laid 'the foundations...for the emergence of reformed congregations' in their localities prior to the Reformation, and - as elders - represented the views of their constituents at the general assembly after 1560.[6] The Cranston family had highly placed connections: Sir John's brother - Thomas[7] - was in the service of John, third earl of Gowrie, whilst the Johnstons enjoyed the patronage of Francis, fifth earl of Bothwell. Both earls were prominent supporters of prebyterianism in Scotland, and their loss to the movement (in 1595 and 1600 respectively) represented a substantial blow to its further progress.[8] Nevertheless, such links were not entirely lost, for Bothwell lived on in exile until 1612, and Sir John's second son - James - later married Elizabeth, the earl's eldest daughter. Sir John Cranston himself was held in high enough regard to be appointed commissioner for the apprehension of 'Jesuits and

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5. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.275. See also , *The Scots Peerage, founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland*, ed. Sir James Balfour, Edinburgh, 1911, II, p.592.

6. J.T.Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp.144-145.

7. Thomas Cranston was executed at Perth in 1600 for his part in the so-called 'Gowrie conspiracy'; see *Scots Peerage, op.cit.*, II, pp.590-591.

8. See K.M.Brown, 'In search of the godly magistrate in Reformation Scotland', *JEH*, 40, 1989, pp.579-580; G.Donaldson, *Scotland, James V - James VII*, Edinburgh, 1965, p.203.

Seminary priests within the bounds of the sheriffdom of Roxburgh' by the assembly of 1589.[9] It can be no coincidence that the presbytery of Dalkeith was one of the first such courts to begin operating in Scotland.

Because so little is known of Calderwood's parentage (beyond the fact that his father, William, owned a tenement and land in Dalkeith),[10] it is impossible to ascertain precisely how and when the bond between the Cranston family and the minister first developed. Most likely, William Calderwood was another of the 'protestant activists' mentioned above. But however such ties developed, they were strong and long-lasting. Sara Cranston and her husband, William Cranston of Morriestoun, owned lands around and about the parish of Crailing, near Jedburgh. William, Captain of the King's Guard under George, earl of Dunbar, was already a powerful man in the first years of the new century. With such connections, Calderwood was assured of a benefice, and - after a brief flirtation with the parishioners of Traquair[11] - he was appointed to the parish kirk of Sara and William Cranston (at Crailing) in 1604.

The best illustration of the strength of the ties between Calderwood and the Cranston family lies in the minister's *Trew Relatioun* of 1618. It is clear from a correlation of this document with the relevant section of the *History* that Calderwood was entrusted with the task of organising resistance to James' proposals of 1617, which would have named the king as supreme head of the kirk.[12] Yet such was his attachment to Sir John, that in the midst of these critical arrangements the minister left Edinburgh to attend 'the burial of the old Laird', who had died around the beginning of

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9. *Scots Peerage*, *op.cit.*, pp.591-592.
10. Calderwood, *History*, VIII, pp.xxi-xxii.
11. MacDonald, 'Hidden Years', pp.71-73.
12. Calderwood, 'Trew relatioun', ff.7r-9r; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.247-256, 279-283.

July.[13] On his return to the city, Calderwood was arraigned before the high commission, and confined until the king's pleasure was known. Despite Sir John's death, the machinery of patronage swung into action, and James, master of Cranston, stood surety for Calderwood and obtained the minister's release on licence. William (now Lord) Cranston persistently hounded the bishops, the privy council, and finally the king with pleas for leniency, until James 'at last repelled my Lord with his elbow'.[14] But still

> at his good night, [Cranston] sought a prorogatioun of the tyme appointed for my departure out of his majesties dominiouns to the last of Apryle, becaus the winter season was not so comodious...His majestie replyed that howbeit I begged it wer no matter, I would ken myself better the nixt tyme, and as for the season of the yeir, gif I drowned on the seas I might thank god that I had escaped a worse death. Yit my lord being importunat for a prorogatioun, his majestie put him off...[15]

When all else failed, Sara Cranston hid Calderwood at Jedburgh for a further two years.[16] In 1637 both Calderwood and the Cranston family were prominent supporters of the covenanting cause.[17]

As has been noted above, the Cranstons and the Humes were related both by marriage and sympathy to the presbyterian cause. In 1608 David Hume of Godscroft - the son of Sir David of Wedderburn - wrote of his belief that it was time for the faithful to stand up once again and be counted. '[W]hoso can thinke that he has not adoe' with the religious policy of the king and his bishops, said Hume, might

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13. Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.1r. The *History* states only that Calderwood had 'gone south to his kirk, but was forced to return immediatlie'; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.257.
14. Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.5v-6r.
15. *Ibid.*, f.6r.
16. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.382.
17. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.281, 379.

> thinke also that he has not adoe to be citicen in that citie, nor houshold man in the hous of God; that man can thinke that the misorders, disturbance, yea overthrow of that hous, tuicheth not him; can be content that the enemie prevaile against it, and turne all things upside doun in it... [18]

To some extent, noted Hume, a revival was already abroad, because 'so great disturbance be comed in this church, [and] so great distractioun of mynde'. For just as there were those who were prepared to remain silent, there were also 'others' who had

> regarde in their mindes, in their thoughts, in their speeches, [who] utter at occasioun and everie way (so farre as to everie one belongeth) doe that [which] may bring help to the turne, or resolution to themselves... [19]

It was not the first time that the patrons and professors of presbyterianism in Scotland had been called forth to do battle. In 1584 they had accompanied their ministers into exile at London.[20] In 1596 the riot at Edinburgh had caused the king to remove his council and session to Linlithgow, and the capital's 'middling sort' had paid heavily for the privilege of their return.[21] In 1606 James was threatening to repeat the action.[22] A hint of just how successful the new policy of removing ministers from 'office' - and thus from their congregations - would be is illustrated by the fact that in 1619 the king could still not 'gett a ordour of thir people of Edinburgh'.[23] A few months before his death in 1624, noted Calderwood, James continued to hold to the belief that the 'wairding of honest men, [and] the noise of the great fines that were to be imposed upon them', together with 'the feare of the removall

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18. 'Mr D. Humes Letter to Mr James Law', in Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.728.
19. *Ibid.*, pp.727-728.
20. On this controversy in general see, A.R.MacDonald, 'The Subscription Crisis and Church State Relations, 1584-1586', *RSCHS*, XXV, 1994.
21. For details of James' punishment of the city, and the fines levied, see *ERBE*, 1589-1603, pp.172-180.
22. In the wake of unrest caused by the trial of six ministers for treason in 1606; see *RPCS*, IX, pp.163-166.
23. James Cathkine, 'A Relation of James Cathkine his imprisonment about printing of the Nullitie of the Perth Assemblie. By Himself. [c.1619]', in *BM*, I, p.203.

of the session', would convince 'all, some few excepted, [to] yeeld'. Furthermore, James believed that 'if Edinburgh yeeldit, that the rest of the countrie would follow'. But, noted Calderwood ominously, the opposition 'was greatter nor [the king] or his informers did apprehend'.[24] In the event 'the Lord disappointed [James] of his intentions', and the king's death defused a potentially explosive situation leaving both sides to fight again in 1637.

Thus the aim of this chapter is threefold: firstly. to establish the identity of some of the 'others' to whom Hume of Godscroft so eloquently referred; secondly, to examine the relationship between the ministry and the wider community (embodied in the phrase 'middling sort') of which, as has been argued above, they were an integral part; and lastly to highlight the practical ways in which the patrons and professors of presbyterianism in Scotland helped to further the cause which Hume and Calderwood espoused.

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24. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.621-622.

I

The source of the James VI & I's continual frustration and anger lay in the close-knit family and business relationships of Scotland's dissident communities, and their attachment to the doctrine of their ministers. Edward and James Cathkine, merchants and booksellers of Edinburgh, were banished from the capital for the crime of sedition in 1584,[25] and fled to London along with the ministers whom they supported, and who had refused to subscribe to the 'Black Acts' of that year. After some two to three years the banished ministers and their supporters were allowed to return, taking advantage of the more favourable religious atmosphere which prevailed until the peace was shattered by the riot at Edinburgh in 1596. Once again the two Cathkine brothers were prosecuted for their support of the troublesome presbyterian ministers of the city.[26] Amongst Edward Cathkine's customers were several prominent dissident ministers of the period,[27] notably James Melville and John Davidson, ministers respectively of Anstruther and Prestonpans. Edward Cathkine died in 1601, leaving his brother James to continue the business, and in February 1619 the latter was cited before the High Commission along with two other Edinburgh booksellers, Richard Lawson and John Mein.[28] The three were jointly charged with failing to attend service on Christmas Day, encouraging others to do likewise, and opening their 'booths' and working at time of sermon. Richard Lawson and James Cathkine were brothers-in-law through marriage to Agnes and Janet Mayne,[29] and Lawson

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25. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, p.200.
26. *ERBE*, 1589-1604, p.172.
27. Will and Testament of Edward Cathkine, March 1601, in *BM*, I, No.VIII, p.229.
28. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.348-349. James Cathkin was a signatory of Calderwood's two 'instrument's of 1617 in support of the minister's attempts to avoid the sentence of exile passed earlier in the year. It claimed that no ship could be found to transport him to the Low Countries; see 'Mr calderwood's instrument', 30 October 1617, NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol. XLIII, f.164r.
29. Will and Testament of Richard Lawson, Sept.1622, in *BM*, III, p.199; Will and Testament of James Cathkine, 1631, in *BM*, I, No.XIII, p.249.

also had longstanding connections with dissident ministers. At the time of John Davidson's death in 1603, the bookseller was in his debt to the tune of £466-13s.-4d. 'conforme to ane obligation'.[30] The third of the accused men, John Mein, was the husband of Barbara Hamilton, one of four sisters who were among the leading matrons of Edinburgh's conventicling community,[31] and who were themselves the daughters of Robert Hamilton, head of another of the city's prominent merchant families, 'out of an old family of that name...the laird of Bardowie'.[32]

Cathkine, Lawson and Mein were admonished and released in 1619, despite the insistence of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, that the court should 'make the persons cited exemples to others'.[33] On the evidence of such sentences it has been suggested that the High Commission was not overly repressive,[34] but Calderwood noted that the 'Lords' present were reluctant to follow Cowper's recommendation and risk civil unrest, especially with the prosecution of several prominent ministers pending.[35] There were at least twelve prosecutions of non-conformist ministers at Edinburgh, Glasgow and St Andrews in 1619,[36] a fact which supports the exiled historian's statement, even if Spottiswood himself thought that accusations of 'domination and

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30. Richard Lawson, Will and Testament, Sept. 1622, in *Ibid.*, III, p. 199. Davidson was minister of Prestonpans.

31. On the activities of Edinburgh's matrons, see Chapter III, *passim.*

32. Robert Blair, *The Life of Mr Robert Blair*, ed. T. McCrie, Edinburgh, 1848, p. 117.

33. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.349.

34. G.Donaldson, *Scotland, James V - James VII*, Edinburgh, 1965, p.210; D.G.Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an idea 1560-1638*, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 130; G.I.McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission 1610-38', *RSCHS*, XV, pt.III, 1965, p.200.

35. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.349.

36. Richard Dickson, St.Cuthberts; William Arthur, St.Cuthberts; David Forrester, N.Leith , (twice, May & Nov.); Alexander Kinnear, Whitsome; John Row, Carnock; Thomas Hogg, Dysart; William Scot, Cupar; Andrew Duncan, Crail; John Carmichael, Kilconquhar; Henry Blyth, Canongate; Patrick Henderson, Reader, St.Giles. *Ibid.*, VII, pp.342-410; *Fasti*, Vols. I to V, *passim*; John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1588 to August 1637*, Edinburgh, 1842. pp.325-326; 'Summons of High Commission to William Arthur and Richard Dickson, March 1619, NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, XLIII, No.88, f.168.

tyranny' were wide of the mark.[37] The often relentless pursuit of dissident ministers by the authorities contributed to the sympathy and support which they received from the lay community. William Livingstone, minister of Lanark, was a consistent opponent of episcopacy, and suffered periods of deprivation and confinement after prosecutions in 1607, 1620, and 1635.[38] The minister kept a 'chamber in Lanerk...[for] conference and prayer', where he and the 'religious gentlemen' of the town often convened to discuss the problems of the time.[39] Similar gatherings took place in Kirkcudbright, and it is worthy of note that at the parliament of 1621 the burgh representatives from Kirkudbright and Lanark voted against the ratification of the 'Five Articles'.[40] Robert Glendinning, minister of Kirkcudbright, was deprived by the High Commission in 1636 - but the widely respected elderly minister continued to preach. His sons Robert, the town clerk, and William, Provost, refused to comply with the consequent order for his imprisonment, and were themselves jailed and deprived from office for refusing to enforce the warrant for their father's apprehension. Some 'other magistrates of the burgh', including George Rutherford - schoolteacher - were also confined and deprived of office.[41] The case quickly attracted the attention of the citizens of Ayr, a town which also had a long history of opposition to the crown. In 1621 representatives of both the lairds and the

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37. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.130.

38. *Fasti*, III, pp.306-7. The first case, in 1607, was by decree of the Privy Council. The Court of High Commission in Scotland was instituted in 1610; Calderwood, 'Remarks', f.100r. For the act of Privy Council see, Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.57-62, *RPCS*, VII, pp.417-420.

39. Livingstone's son John, a staunch covenanter minister, names William Cunningham, John Weir, James Weir, Alexander Tennans, George Mathie, David Mathie and John Chambers, citizens of Lanark and the surrounding districts, as regular attenders at these 'privat meetings'; John Livingstone, 'The Life of Mr John Livingstone minister of the Gospell, and some observations of the Lords dealing towards me dureing my Life, Written for the use of my children: Jan: 1666', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto.XVIII, ff.67-69. It had been common practice to hold such 'privy conventicles' in defiance of the authorities since before the Reformation; see Kirk, *op.cit*, esp. Chapter 1.

40. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.500-501.

41. *Fasti*, II, pp.416, 425; Samuel Rutherford, *Letters of Samuel Rutherford*, ed. A.Bonar, Edinburgh, 1984, pp.145-146; Baillie, *Letters*, I, p.16.

burghs at the parliament refused to ratify the 'Five Articles'.[42] In 1636, when George Rutherford found himself in trouble, his more famous brother Samuel was able to enlist the patronage of William Fullarton, Provost of Ayr, and 'a man of virtue, integrity, and piety'.[43] The Commission responded by prosecuting Fullarton and Alexander Gordon of Earlston,[44] magistrate and friend of Samuel Rutherford, for their involvement. In the face of such tenacity on the part of the Court of High Commission, it seems unlikely that the merchants and magistrates of such communities would have agreed with Spottiswood that the bishops' only crime was 'excessive lenity'.[45]

Such high-profile prosecutions had always attracted a great deal of support for the dissident ministers involved.[46] Despite the obvious risk of incurring the king's displeasure, Thomas Hope, advocate, defended the six ministers charged with treason for attending the 'illegal' Aberdeeen Assembly of 1605. Hope lost the case, but gained a reputation for his skill and integrity, becoming Lord Advocate in 1626.[47] He did much to undermine the authority of Charles I and his collapsing government from 1637, particularly by his refusal to defend episcopacy, but also by his ruling that the 'National Covenant' of 1638 was not unlawful.[48] In

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42. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.500-501.

43. Rutherford, *Letters*, p.145. Samuel Rutherford himself was cited before the High Commission in 1630 and again in 1636, being deprived on the latter occasion; Row, *History*, 396-397; Baillie, *Letters*, I, p.8; Rutherford, *Letters*, pp.52-54, 136-138.

44. Alexander Gordon was 'a man of great spirit...For wisdom, courage, and righteousness, he might have been a magistrate in any part of the earth', *Ibid.*, pp.125-126, 132-133.

45. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.130.

46. See, for example, the king's proclamation forbidding gatherings and prayers for the ministers involved in the 'contemptuous meeting at Aberdeene', posted in 1606; *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, f.133.

47. Hope's 'pleading that day procured him great estimation and manie clients; and his credit has ever growne sensyne'; Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.378. On Hope see D.Stevenson, 'A Lawyer and his Loyalties: Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall', in D.Stevenson, *King or Covenant? voices from the civil war*, Melksham, 1996.

48. James, Marquis of Hamilton, warned Charles in 1638 that Hope, 'King's Advocate', was 'a bad and most wicked instrument' of the covenanters; *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 'Hamilton Mss', London, 1876, I, p.98.

1606 Hope joined a long line of respected advocates for the kirk, taking over from Thomas Craig at the latter date.[49] Craig was the grandfather of Archibald Johnston of Wariston,[50] also advocate for the kirk in 1636, and one of the principal architects of the covenanting revolution in 1637. Wariston's paternal grandfather was John Arnot, merchant burgess and Provost of the city, and together the Arnot and Johnston families used their considerable wealth and influence in the service of the non-conformist community.[51] Sympathetic advocates were occasionally subject to examination because of such involvement,[52] but invariably emerged unscathed, protected by high-level contacts. Socially mobile, the legal community of Edinburgh existed at the top end of the scale of 'middling sort', their path to honours being *via* the College of Justice.[53] Most prominent in resistance to the king's religious policies during the period under survey was the Skene family, who were Lords of Curriehill from 1594, and the Gibsons, Lords of Durie. Both were related, through various marriages, to the Johnston and Arnot families. Yet even the Lords of Session

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49. Thomas Craig [1538-1608] was a personal friend of the king, and declined to act for the accused. On his life see P.F.Tytler, *The Life of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton*, Edinburgh, 1823.

50. Although commonly refered to as 'Johnston of Wariston' he did not actually acquire the property until 1636, at the age of 25; *APS*, IV, pp.448-449; *Registrum Magni Sigili: Regum Scotorum*, ed. J.M.Thomson, Edinburgh (various dates). 1634-1661, p.186.

51. Wariston's grandfather, Archibald Johnston, died in 1619 leaving £11, 000 and property to his widow, Rachel Arnot, a leading Edinburgh matron. James Johnston, Wariston's father, died in 1617 leaving £8,000 and property to his wife, Elizabeth Craig, also a prominent matron. Elizabeth purchased the estate of Wariston for her son in 1636; see n.50 above, and J.J.Brown, 'The Social, Political, and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638', Edinburgh, 1986. II, pp.482, 484.

52. Joseph Millar, advocate, was charged with non-conformity in 1624, but released on the intercession of James Primrose, Clerk to the Privy Council; See below and *RPCS*, XII, p.618. Miller was a signatory of Calderwood's 'instrument' in 1617; see above, n.28, and reference there cited.

53. It was possible to reach the highest echelons of society via this route, the most notable example being Sir Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Melrose, Earl of Haddington, and principal Secretary of State for Scotland at the time of his death in 1637. On this topic see M.Lee, *John Maitland of Thirlestane and the foundations of Stewart despotism in Scotland*, Princeton, 1959; K.M.Brown, 'The Nobility of Jacobean Scotland 1567-1625', in J.Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited*, London, 1991; M.Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1981.

themselves were not immune to prosecution. In 1619 Sir James Skene was summoned to appear before the Privy Council to 'heare and sie himself deprived' for failing to communicate kneeling.[54] Prosecuting the much respected ministers and elders of Scotland's towns did little for the reputation of the machinery of royal authority in Scotland. At the time of James Cathkine's appearance before the court in London in 1619, the bookseller was sixty years old. On the issue of kirk government and doctrine he adhered firmly to the tenets of the Reformation. 'It is ane hard matter', Cathkine frankly informed John Spottiswood in June of that year,

> [for] us to leave the thing that we have bein instructed in, and have continuallie practised this 60 yeir, being warrandit by the word of God; and this ye wold have us embrace [the 'Five Articles'] is without warrand of Gods word...[55]

In common with their ministers, the dissident community of Edinburgh blamed those - such as Spottiswood - who supported and imposed crown policy, and thus held the bishops responsible both for the introduction of ceremonies which (at least in their opinion) lacked divine warrant, and for the arbitrary nature in which these changes were enforced. But as far as kneeling at communion was concerned, Spottiswood told Cathkine in 1619,

> I made no scruple in it how sone I did see the forme of it...Doctor Lindsay hes printed a book, read it and it will resolve you...[56]

Cathkine did not think the matter indifferent, neither did he agree with Lindsay on the subject, 'seeing [he had] heard so mekle [much] in the contrarie'. The bookseller thought it better to be banished than to go against his conscience on the issue. In any case, said Cathkine, in an appeal against arbitrary authority, such

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54. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.383. On Skene, and his connections to the resistance movement, see also Chapter III.
55. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, p.212.
56. *Ibid.*. The book to which Spottiswood refered was David Lindsay's *The Reasons of a Pastors resolution, touching the communion*, London, 1619. Lindsay was minister of Dunfermline, and soon to be Bishop of Brechin.

changes were unlawful without the approval of the kirk session. At this point - according to Cathkine - the king interrupted in a fit of rage, shouting 'farts on you and your kirk session both...See, thir people will kneel to me, and will not kneel to God'. The bookseller replied, 'I will not kneel, for satisfieing my owin conscience'. Ceremony, for Cathkine, lacked the 'warrand of Gods word', and was therefore of human institution, and so unlawful.[57]

The question of kneeling was not the only point at issue, since James claimed that Cathkine was a 'recusant' for not attending kirk on Christmas Day, an accusation which the bookseller indignantly denied, citing an Act of Parliament 'made in the 90 yeare of God...against all holie dayes, and especiallie against Yule and Pasche'.[58] The 'middling sort' were no less inclined to throw James' own words and actions back in his face than were the ministers.[59] Later Johnston of Wariston was to remind Charles I of his father's inconstancy,

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57. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, pp.202-206. Scriptural confirmation on kneeling was problematic for both sides in the dispute. Presbyterians had claimed for many years that such ceremonies were 'will-worship', [i.e., of human institution] because they were not authorised in scripture, whilst supporters of the king regarded them as indifferent for the same reason. When pressed on the point their opponents usually quoted *I Corinthians*, 'How is it brethren? every one of you hath...an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying....Let all things be done decently and in order' [14: 26, 40]. 'Indifferent' ceremonies were imposed on these grounds, since 'order' was the king's reponsibility, and the king's will was authorisation enough. See, for example, Thomas Morton, *A Defence of the Innocencie of the Three Ceremonies of the Church of England*, London, 1618, p.19; Sermon of James Law before the Provincial Synod of Glasgow, 1620, in Blair, *Life*, p.37. On the basic positions of both sides see J.F.New, *Anglican and Puritan - The basis of their Opposition*, Stanford, 1964; K.L.Sprunger, 'Ames, Ramus, and the method of Puritan Theology', *Harvard Theological Review*, LIX, 1966; P.Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, London, 1967.

58. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, pp.202-206.

59. Presbyterians were expert at this tactic, employing it throughout the period; 'at Hamptoune court [in 1604]...his majestie contested that if we live amongst idolators, we aught not then to communicate with their rites and ceremonies', [?David Calderwood], 'Twelve general arguments proving that the ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel are unlawfull [c.1637]', NLS, Wodrow MSS, 8vo.XXVII, No.4, ff.27r.

> King James in a generall assemblie halden the yeare 1590 publicklie gave god thanks, that he was borne a [believer] in the most pure church in the whol Earth and most sinceare, sincerer than the Inglish; for (said he) ther Liturgies is ane ill said Masse in Inglishe...for ther they observe pasch, yule, Whitsonday, but by q[uha]t authoritie said the king?...[60]

It was a question which James, and later Charles, could only answer by appeal to absolute authority as head of church and state, a position which satisfied neither English nor Scottish presbyterians.

James circumvented the argument over his failure to observe due process in his dealings with the kirk by adopting a policy of intruding conformist ministers - such as William Forbes, Patrick Galloway,[61] William Struthers, and Andrew Ramsay - on Edinburgh's kirks, and ensuring that the moderators of the kirk session of Edinburgh were chosen from this group. At the same time he ordered that no non-conformist should be allowed to hold the lay kirk offices of elder and deacon. The names of Cathkine and Lawson were struck off the 'leit' for the election to the kirk session of December 1620. They were not alone. Also removed were 'foure doctors of medicene', including one John Jollie, who used his professional visits to tend to the soul as well as the body: as did John Hamilton, an apothecary, who was also removed from the 'leit'.[62] As medical consultations involved the need for other members of the family and close friends to be present,[63] they were

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60. Archibald Johnston, 'Reflections', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, 8vo.XXVII, ff.35r-37v.

61. Galloway, interestingly, was Moderator of the Assembly at Edinburgh in 1590, at which the king had denigrated ceremony. Dissident presbyterians never forgave him for his lapse into conformity.

62. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.580-583. The other three doctors were named as Arnot, Kinkede, and Sibbet. Cathkine's wife, Janet, was a patient of 'Doctour John Jollie', and owed the physician 'XX merks for his advice and counsall.' Her husband was in Hamilton's debt for the apothecary's professional services in the sum of £30. James Cathkine, Will and Testament, Sept. 1631, in *BM*, No.XIII, p.249; Janet Mayne, Will and Testament, April 1639, in *BM*, No.XIV, p.253.

63. Helen Dingwall, "General practice' in Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh: Evidence from the Burgh Court', *Social History of Medicine* , 6, I, 1993, [pp.125-142], has noted the number of cases which required medical suits, either over disputed payment or alleged negligence, because of the high risk involved in any

often merely an excuse for conventicles, where gossip or more serious news was passed on.

The king's policy of excluding dissident ministers from Edinburgh kirks prompted Cathkine to submit a petition to the kirk session in 1623 'seing there is no libertie or friedome in leiting or choosing of ministers', but his instrument was refused by the moderator of the session, Patrick Galloway.[64] Amongst those who signed Cathkine's protestation were Lawrence Henderson,[65] stationer, whose brother Patrick was 'reider in the greit kirk of Edinburgh [St Giles]', and was cited before the High Commission along with Cathkine, Lawson, and Mein in 1619. Other signatories were John Dickson, Flesher, John Hamilton, apothecary, and John Mein.[66]

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kind of treatment: hence the need for 'witnesses', to protect the interests of both doctor and patient. The visit of the doctor, surgeon, or apothecary was therefore a good pretext for conventicles. On Dingwall's figures each of these 'doctors' and apothecaries would have had a 'general practice' of about 1500 to 2000 patients [*Ibid.*, pp.126-127]. Hamilton was an important figure in the dissident community of Edinburgh, and disseminated news well beyond Edinburgh (see also Chapter III). Jollie performed the same service until his death in 1638. 'About four hours at night that learned, zealous, solid, painful, divino-medicus Doctor Jollie depairted to...aeternal glorie'. He had subscribed the National Covenant the previous day; Wariston, *Diary*, p.346. For more general comment on the medical profession, see David Hamilton, *The Healers - A History of medicine in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1981; Lucinda Beier, *Sufferers and Healers - The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England*, London, 1987.

64. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.583.

65. Henderson was a town councillor, and burgess and guildbrother of the city; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, p.238. He left £12,000 in his will; Brown, 'Edinburgh merchant Elite', II, p.474.

66. Calderwood, VII, pp.348-349, 583. A glimpse into the close connections of the Edinburgh dissident community is provided by the will of Richard Lawson, who at the time of his death in 1622 owed £16-16s. to 'Laurence Henderson for paper'; £100 'of borrowit money' to John Dickson; and £100 to John Hamilton 'apothecar...for drogis and medicaments': Richard Lawson, Will and Testament, in *BM*, III, p.199. Furthermore, Patrick Henderson was master of the song school of Edinburgh. The school was the venue for the 'mutainis meiting' which resulted in Calderwood's appearance before the High Commission in 1617, and Patrick was also implicated in those proceedings. He was burgess and guildbrother of the city by right of his brother in 1629. The family were prominent lay members of the kirk, and another brother, Samuel, was clerk to the kirk session. A fourth member of the family, Thomas Henderson, was 'advocat for the ministeris' and acted in their defence before the High Commission of 1617; Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', ff 1r, 3v; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, p.245; *ERBE*, 1604-1626, pp.xxviii, 50, 77; *RPCS*, X, p.303.

The intrusion of conformist ministers into Edinburgh's kirks merely caused further problems for James, for whilst a conformist such as William Struthers could regard kneeling at communion as an indifferent ceremony,[67] in other respects his calvinist doctrine was impeccable. Struthers' sermons were highly popular, even amongst the dissident community. This was not the case with William Forbes and Andrew Ramsey, whose sermons and beliefs were widely perceived as tending towards Arminianism.[68] In 1624 John Fleming publicly accused Forbes, the conformist minister of St Giles, of preaching 'contrarie to the doctrine which wee have beene taught...that wee and the papists may bee easilie reconciled in manie points'.[69] The Fleming family were also enthusiastic members of the dissident community. John Fleming's brother was Bartholomew, husband of Marion Hamilton, and brother-in-law of John Mein. The couple's daughter, Janet, was to become the wife of John Livingstone, covenanting minister and staunch opponent of the king's religious policies,[70] and son of William Livingstone of Lanark. Through such contacts word of Forbes' offending sermon was quickly spread throughout Edinburgh and beyond.

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67. Struthers remained popular because although he did not scruple at serving communion to those kneeling, he also allowed sitting communicants. Whilst staunch presbyterians might avoid these 'mixed' affairs, others did not. In particular the practice of 'mixed' sittings went some way to solving the problem of communicants resorting to kirks other than their own. Spottiswood informed Cathkine that he had instructed the ministers of Edinburgh 'that they sould urge no man to kneel, bot to give it to everie mann according as he disired to tak it'. This tactic, by taking 'indifference' to its logical conclusion, threatened to restore the peace. It might have worked had not James insisted on blanket observance of the article on kneeling, and ministers like Galloway been 'offendit at others that satt' and insisted on strict enforcement, thus completely alienating moderate opinion; Cathkine, *op.cit.*, pp.209-214.

68. On Forbes see also Chapter VI. Ramsay sypathised with the opinions of Daniel Tilenus, *Paraenesis ad Scotos, Genevensis disciplinae zelotas*, St Andrews, 1620, which was published in Scotland with the king's approval, adding to the controversy over the 'Five Articles'. Tilenus was an unashamed supporter of the doctrine of Arminius. By 1633 Ramsay seemed 'too much to go into the modish Laudean doctrine in England,' and was censured for his beliefs by Alexander Henderson., minister of Leuchars. He recanted and joined the covenanters in 1637. See above, p.49.

69. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.596-597. Fleming was a town councillor, who left £46,866 at his death; Brown, 'Edinburgh Merchant Elite', II, p.466.

70. Marion Hamilton was a prominent Edinburgh matron. On her activities and those of John Livingstone, see Chapter III.

The question of William Forbes' unsound doctrinal position caused considerable unrest in the capital, a situation which completely disrupted the king's plans to have the Easter communion observed kneeling, and an angry James ordered the arrest of those he considered responsible. These were John Dickson, John Hamilton, John Fleming, John Meine, Joseph Millar, Andrew Simson, and William Rig.[71] The six accused were brought before the Privy Council in March 1624,[72] to face charges of convening an illegal meeting, questioning the doctrine of their ministers, and failing to observe the 'Five Articles'. None of those charged denied pressing for communion to be held after the 'old maner', or leading by example in the matter, but all disputed the remainder of the indictment. John Dickson answered the first part of the charge by appeal to tradition. It was, he said, 'laudable custom' to hold such a meeting once a year, in order 'that all known eyelasts [rifts] in the congregation be taken away'.[73] William Rig confirmed the general view, adding that a public meeting prior to the communion in Edinburgh 'hath beene observed in the kirk ever since the Reformation'.[74] All of the men thought the doctrine of Forbes 'flatt contrarie' to the teaching of the kirk, Rig quoting the words of 'John the apostle...not to beleeve everie spirit'[75] to prove his point. John Hamilton did not deny either criticising the doctrine of Forbes, or inflaming public opinion against the minister. The

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71. John Fleming was also indicted but absented himself from the city. Joseph Millar was an advocate, and Andrew Simson was 'water bailie' of Leith, and a merchant and town councillor. Simson was a burgess and guildbrother of the city, and 'treasurer' of the kirk; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, p.481; *ERBE*, 1604-1626, pp.167, 208, 237. Also instructed to be 'catachised' for their 'ignorance' in criticising the sermon of Forbes were James Name and John Smith, both merchants and town councillors. John Inglis, skinner, was also involved; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.596-599. On Rig, see below. James Cathkine, who also called for communion to be celebrated sitting 'efter Christ's institution', was not prosecuted, but the bookseller had powerful connections; see below.

72. *RPCS*, XII, p.618-620.

73. 'Johne Dicksons Deposition', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.602-603.

74. 'W. Rigs Deposition', in *Ibid*., p.601-602.

75. 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone into the world'; 1 John, IV, i.

offending sermon, he opined, in recommending the 'easie reconciling of the controversies betwixt us and the papists', smelt

> of too great partiallitie to papists, and papistrie...when papists are dayly abounding amongst us...Gods people cannot be vehementlie enough inflammed to the hatred of that spirituall Egypt and whoorish Babylone...[76]

If Hamilton's words appeared to smack suspiciously of the seditious - and soon to be familiar - views of Samuel Rutherford, it was perhaps because Rutherford was currently Regent at Edinburgh University, and engaged to the apothecary's sister Euphan.[77] All of the accused were eloquent, well versed in the scriptures, and steeped in the presbyterian traditions of the 1580s. When accused by Thomas Lamb, Bishop of Galloway, of creating a 'schisme and separation' by his actions, John Hamilton replied '*non est schismaticus qui schisma patitur, sed qui schisma facit*', proving both his eloquence, and his knowledge of the long held presbyterian stance on the issue.[78] William Rig could no doubt have also made the point. His wife, Catherine, was the daughter of John Row,[79] one of the 'six Johns' who compiled the *First Book of Discipline* in 1560. Spottiswood, whose father was also one of the 'six Johns', thought Rig 'a man puffed up with a conceit of his own abilities',[80] and the merchant remained a thorn in the side of the Archbishop throughout the 1630s. Rig himself had been imprisoned for his part in the riot of 1596,[81] and in James' own words had long assisted:

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76. 'J.Hamiltouns Deposition', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.604-605.
77. Rutherford, to his enduring shame, was forced to resign the post in 1625, after having 'fallin in furnicatioun [before marriage] with Euphame Hamilton, and hes committit ane grit scandal in the colledge'. They were later married, but Euphan died c.1631; *ERBE*, 1604-1626, p.296; Rutherford, *Letters*, pp. 80-81.
78. Hamilton's riposte was the standard answer, 'for if we be branded with the coat of schism for justlie denying conformitie to some ceremonies in the churches qherin we live, myst we be content to join with them that use them?...much moir are thay schismaticks', [?David Calderwood], 'Twelve general arguments', f.26v. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.616, italics in the original.
79. *Fasti*, IV, p.229.
80. John Spottiswood, *The History of the Church of Scotland - 1655*, London, 1972, p.545.
81. *ERBE*, 1589-1604, p.173.

> the refractorie ministers in all their disobedience, [sparing] not to countenance them in all their publict doings...[82]

In recognition of Rig's seditious role over the years, he was fined £50,000, imprisoned in Blackness pending payment, and deprived of the office of baillie. John Dickson was deprived of his office of elder of the kirk, and confined in the Tollbooth with John Hamilton, the latter also being fined £20,000.[83] Andrew Simson was deprived of his office of deacon, and John Mein warded in Elgin.[84] The six men could have been forgiven for thinking that the court of the Privy Council which sentenced them in 1624 was little different from the court of High Commission, and its justice no less repressive. Although the High Commission, so far as is known, prosecuted no cases related to the issue of non-conformity in 1624, the Privy Council pursued at least twelve, including those noted above and those of six ministers.[85] The judges who sentenced Rig and his co-defendants were drawn from the list of those chosen by the king to preside over cases brought before the High Commission, and included the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishop of Dunblane.[86] Such a high-profile trial and the exemplary nature of the sentences, could only have served to heighten the perception of religious persecution amongst the presbyterian faithful.

II

A key aspect of crown policy in Scotland between 1584 and 1640 was the prevention of the spread of 'seditious' doctrine and

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82. Letter James to Privy Council, May, 1620; NLS, *Wodrow MSS.*, Fol.LXVI, No.8, ff.14r&v.

83. Such fines were rarely ever paid, and the cases of Rig and Hamilton were no exception. But nevertheless such harsh penalties added to the general air of repression, as did rumours that Spottiswood was 'gaping for [Rig's] fyne, or some great bribe'; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.619.

84. *Ibid.*, pp.607-611.

85. John Ker, minister of Saltpreston; Robert Boyd of Trochrig, former principal of Glasgow University; Thomas Hogg, minister of Dysart; Richard Dickson, of St.Cuthberts; John Murray of Leith; George Dunbar of Ayr; .Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.614; *Fasti*, I, pp.26, 49

86. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.384-387.

propaganda against the religious policies of the king and his government. This might include the banning of specific works, such as those of George Buchanan in 1584,[87] or the repression of the errant presbyterian ministers who were often the authors of such literature. In 1612 James had been sufficiently concerned about the amount and availability of non-conformist material in circulation to issue a proclamation forbidding the printing of unlicensed books and pamphlets in Scotland.[88] But a third main thrust of what was to be a long running campaign by successive Stewart monarchs to control the press, was directed at those who avoided the regulation by taking advantage of continental printers. Strict regulation and harsh penalties at home meant that the Low Countries, in particular, quickly became the source of most presbyterian printed literature in Scotland,[89] a fact of which the king was only too aware. Thus in 1615 James felt it necessary to issue another proclamation ordering that:

> nane send ony bookis, wryttings, or pamphlettis, of quhatsumever subject, to be published and prented beyond the sea, except the same haif bene first approved by the archbischoppis of Sanctandrois and Glasgow, and by his Majesties Secretaire of estate...[90]

Initially, at least, the ban seems to have been effective. The historiographical battle over the origins of episcopacy, which began with Hume of Godscroft and James Law in 1608, was in full flow by 1614.[91] William Cowper's *Dikaiologie* of 1614 had claimed that

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87. On censorship during this period see J.Goodare, 'Parliament and Society in Scotland, 1560-1603', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989, esp. Chapter 7.

88. 'Proclamation anent Prenting of Bookis. Jul. 2, 1612' in John Lee, *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland. Containing Remarks on the Complaint of His Majesty's Printers against the Marquis of Huntley and Others*, Edinburgh, 1824, Appendix, p.29.

89. On this see K.Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower - English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands 1600-1640*, London, 1994; and K.Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism - A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden, 1982.

90. Lee, *op.cit.*, Appendix, pp.30-31.

91. On the progress of this debate see Mullan, *op.cit.*, esp. Chapters 7 and 8; A.Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of JamesVI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture*, Edinburgh,

'all the dayes of John Knoxe' there was 'no governement, but Episcopall', and had attracted 'sundrie' replies.[92] These included an 'admonition' by Hume, and Calderwood's *Confutatioun*, which were not printed because 'the presse was not patent to them as to him'.[93] It is true that the 'first presbyterian retort' to be *printed* did not appear until 1618.[94] Nevertheless, the controversy (and especially claims that Glasgow assembly and its conclusions were unlawful)[95] worried James and his bishops enough to empower the court of High Commission in 1615 to punish any who wrote or preached

> against the present established order of the kirk or estate, against anie of the conclusions of the bypast Generall Assemblie holden at Glasco...[96]

In order to respond to this official onslaught, presbyterian ministers turned to their lay supporters for help, and under cover of their lawful continental trade, merchants smuggled - or caused to be smuggled - illicit manuscripts out of the country, and the finished product back in. The task was accomplished using either their own contacts, or those of the ministers, such as John Welsh in France, and Robert Durie and John Forbes in Holland.[97] Two of Forbes' works reached Scotland in 1616, both printed at Middleburg, *A Letter first Written*, and his views on the *Doctrine of Justification*.[98] As James' own policies had done much to contribute to the availability of prominent presbyterian

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1979, esp. Chapter 4. Neither author appears to be aware, however, of the existence of Calderwood's *Confutatioun*.

92. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.180; Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.13r; Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.129.

93. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.180.

94. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.137.

95. See Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', ff.27v-28v.

96. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.208-209.

97. From 1606 in Scotland James exiled several ministers, whilst others left the country for a more congenial religious atmosphere, or in order to find work. In France and Holland they joined forces with similarly placed English exiles and expatriates.

98. John Forbes, *A Letter first Written and sent by Jo Forbes, for resolving this question: how a Christian man may discerne the Testimonie of Gods spirit*, Middleburg, 1616; *A treatise tending to cleare the Doctrine of Justification*, Middleburg, 1616.

sympathisers overseas, such activity considerably added to his frustration at being unable to stem the flow of dissident works. Illicit material bound for Scotland was commonly landed at Burntisland or Leith, but also arrived via the North of England - through Newcastle[99] - or from the port of London.

Examples of these clandestine activities are rare, but David Calderwood could not resist noting that as John Spottiswood set out for London in 1619, the Archbishop had to pass close by a 'great quantity' of the presbyterian historian's own seditious pamphlet *Perth Assemblie*[100] lying 'in the fatt' on the harbourside at Burntisland. Calderwood recorded that:

> the bishop of St.Androes...saw the fattes, but tooke no notice of them, because they were lying in the shore, among other fattes brought out of France... [101]

The tract had been shipped from Holland unbound and packed into wine vats. Such books were often shipped 'as if they had been a mercantile consignment of French wines or strong waters',[102] and were bound once safely ashore. Amongst those who assisted in this process was 'Johne Hamleton, a religious merchant of Edenboroughe', who had 'transported the most part of [Calderwood's works] to Scotland this last yeare [1621]'.[103] Hamilton, the aforementioned apothecary and brother-in-law to Samuel Rutherford, was later prosecuted for non-observance of the 'Five Articles',[104] and was a partner with John Fleming and Lawrence Henderson in their overseas trading ventures.[105]

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99. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p.154.
100. David Calderwood, *Perth Assemblie. Containing I T he Proceedings thereof II The Proofe of the Nullitie thereof*,, Leiden, 1619.
101. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.380-381.
102. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p.160.
103. *Letters and State Papers of the Reign of James VI*, Edinburgh, 1838, No.CCXV, p.387.
104. See above, n.76-78.
105. John Hamilton and his brother - Alexander - imported wine; *ERBE*, 1604-1626, pp.139-140. Alexander was a signatory of the first of Calderwood's two 'instuments' of 1617; see NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol. XLIII, f.163r. See also, Brown, 'Edinburgh Merchant Elite', II, pp.473-474.

Not only was Spottiswood one of those responsible for licensing the printing of books in Scotland, but he was travelling to London to examine James Cathkine, who was under suspicion of causing the printing of the work, and of harbouring its author.[106] Incensed at both the citizens of Edinburgh, and at the continuing supply of non-conformist literature, James' response was to give the High Commission power to prosecute those who wrote, sold or spread 'abroade of anie libells, pamphlets or books, sett out against the Assemblie of Perth' of 1618,[107] at which the infamous 'Five Articles' had been passed. As well as detaining the booksellers Cathkine, James Lawson, and Samuel Hart at London,[108] the king simultaneously ordered that the houses of Cathkine, Richard Lawson and Andrew Hart[109] at Edinburgh be searched for all 'writts, books, and pamphletts' of a seditious nature.[110] James' suspicions that all of these men were variously involved in importing, binding, and distributing Calderwood's offensive pamphlet, were quite probably correct - all of them were supporters of the dissident minister. Hart and Cathkine were signatories of Calderwood's 'instrument' in 1617, a sworn testimony which attempted to delay the king's sentence of exile, passed on the minister in the latter year.[111] Under examination at London Cathkine did not deny sheltering Calderwood at his house, an admission which so angered the king that he screamed at the unfortunate bookseller, 'Traitour, Theef, how durst thou resave my rebell?', before placing him in close confinement.[112] In the event all of the men held in London were released, Spottiswood

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106. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, *passim*..
107. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.383-384.
108. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, p.214.
109. Also a merchant, printer and bookseller, and the father of Samuel, who was detained with Cathkine at London. Hart was a burgess of Edinburgh [1587], who specialised in importing books. In 1614 he applied for the sole rights to import books into Scotland, but the Privy Council refused to grant such a privilege; *RPCS*, X, p.252; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgessess*, p.238. Hart owned land in Perthshire, and left £19,000 at his death; Brown, 'Edinburgh Merchant Elite', II, p.474.
110. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.382-383.
111. See above, n.28, and reference there cited.
112. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, p.205.

himself interceding with the king on their behalf.[113] The author and printer of *Perth Assemblie* remained undiscovered, and the searches of the Privy Council in Edinburgh revealed no copies of that or any other offending tract, or of the king's 'rebell' himself. Calderwood, in hiding at Cathkine's house, had fled hurriedly, and left 'five or six Perth Assemblies lying above the bed-cloths [which] were not perceived'.[114] This account - from an admittedly partial source - is plausible: James Primrose, citizen of Edinburgh and Clerk to the Privy Council, was Richard Lawson's 'luiffing son [in-law]';[115] and Andrew Hart's daughter Elizabeth, was the wife of John Douglas, one of the Council's 'macers', whose task it was to perform the search.[116] It is hardly surprising that it was less than thorough.

The king appears to have seriously underestimated the strength of feeling in Scotland, and both his tactics and his various attempts at censorship had little effect. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the presbyterian ministers and laymen, whom the king disliked so intensely, controlled the propaganda war against religious innovation from Edinburgh. Although Calderwood's *Perth Assembly* of 1619 was not printed in the capital, it was certainly written there, and this by a minister supposedly exiled almost two years earlier.[117] The work was probably compiled under James Cathkine's roof, where Calderwood had been 'all this

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113. *Ibid.*, p.214. Calderwood states that Spottiswood interceded for Cathkine 'that he might be more acceptable himself to the people'; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.383. There is some truth in this. Spottiswood had displayed a conciliatory attitude towards Cathkine, which was motivated by concern over the political ramifications of the enforcement of the 'Five Articles'; see above n. 46. For a discussion of the bishop's attitudes towards the articles, see Chapter VI, pp.254-255.

114. Calderwood, *History*, pp.382-383.

115. Will and Testament of Richard Lawson, Sept. 1622, in *BM*, III, p.199. Primrose was made burgess and guildbrother of the city 'gratis' in 1606; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, p.405.

116. Will and Testament of Janet Kene [relict of Andrew Hart], April 1642, in *BM*, I, p.259.

117. A n earlier version may have been in circulation in 1618; see David Calderwood, 'The Nullitie of the Perth Assembly', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto. LII, No.2. Part of this pamphlet is reproduced in the *History* [VII, pp.333-334]. Its place of printing is unknown.

yeir...writing'.[118] The minister produced at least ten more printed works between 1619 and 1625, a prodigious effort. All were available in Edinburgh within weeks of being printed, and - if the king himself was correct - were sold from the booths of Cathkine, Lawson, Hart, and Mein. James Cathkine admitted that 'syndrie' came to his booth to enquire after the *Perth Assembly*, but denied both stocking that particular item, or knowing the identity of the callers.[119] Nevertheless, amongst the customers of Cathkine and his brother, Edward, were many non-conformist ministers, who together formed a wide catchment area: including Edinburgh and the surrounding districts; Glasgow; Stirling; the district of Fife; the South-west; and the Borders.[120] Although books were an expensive - perhaps even a luxury - item and therefore beyond the means of many, it appears that this particular problem may have been partially avoided by a system of deferred payment, as all of those dissident ministers noted here owed the Cathkine family varying sums of money. Andrew Hart was also a staunch supporter of the non-conformist community, who had been arrested and imprisoned for his part in the riot of 1596. On his release from prison in 1597, Hart stood surety for the troublesome minister of Leith - James Muirhead - in the sum of £1000, 'that he shall remain in the burgh of Edinburgh or the Canongate till freed by his Majestie'.[121] Hart could also count several dissident ministers amongst his customers, and again the geographical net was cast wide, including Edinburgh and districts; Glasgow; the

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118. Cathkine, *op.cit.*, p.211.
119. *Ibid.*, pp.203-204.
120. *Edinburgh and districts* - John Davidson, Prestonpans; Charles Lumsden, Duddingston; Adam Colt, Inveresk; William Knox, Dalkeith; Peter Hewat, Greyfriars; Henry Blyth, Canongate; George Grier, Haddington; William Arthur, St.Cuthberts; *Glasgow* - John Howieson, Cambuslang; *Stirling* - Alexander Hume, Logie; *Fife* - David Barclay, Dairsie; John Carmichael, Kilconquhar; William Watson, Burntisland; *South-west* - John McClellan, Kirkudbright; *Borders* - David Home, Greenlaw; John Weymes, Duns. See Edward Cathkine, Will and Testament, 1601; James Cathkine, Will and Testament, 1631; Janet Mayne, Will and Testament, 1640; in *BM.*, I, pp.229-231, 250-251, 254.
121. *RPCS*, V, pp.355, 359.

South-west; and the Borders.[122] Books smuggled into Edinburgh, from either the continent or London, could thus be purchased by the ministers and taken back to their parishes, to be incorporated into sermons, or read out at private meetings of the faithful.

It is also the case that some books or pamphlets were distributed free. Thomas Brewer, the printer of the *Perth Assemblie* at Leiden, had made it his mission in life to produce works against the bishops.[123] Being a man of substantial means, Brewer's self-appointed task was also self-financed. Andrew Hart, amongst others, probably arranged the carriage of such works - he regularly imported books in the course of his trade - and he was also a wealthy man.[124] In 1620 'William Circadie, laird of Grange' doubtless took advantage of these or similar channels in order to disperse

> about fourscore coppies of a booke which he himself had compiled against the entrie and usurpation of bishops, and the conclusions of [the] Perth Assemblie...[125]

The work was brought to the attention of Thomas Hamilton (earl of Melrose and president of the court of session), but no further action was taken because the laird was 'allied to the president'.[126] Thus some non-conformist literature was given away, but even so circulation of the printed book or pamphlet was bound to be restricted by limited availability. The problem of circulation was

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122. *Edinburgh and districts* - Charles Lumsden, Duddingston; James Thomson, Hailes; John Knox, Melrose; James Muirhead, Leith; John Durie, St.Giles; Patrick Henderson, reader, St.Giles; *Glasgow* - Andrew Melville, Principal of Glasgow University; David Barclay, Kilwinning; John Hay, Renfrew; *South-west* - John Welsh, Ayr; Robert Glendinning, Kirkudbright; *Borders* - Abraham Simson, Norham; John Weymes, Duns; Janet Mitchelhill, Will and Testament, 1606; Andrew Hart, Will and Testament, 1622, in *BM.*, I, pp.239-240, 243-244.

123. See 'Mr Brewers information of his cause', BL, *Sloane MSS*, 1467, ff.135-138. See also Chapter IV, pp.154-155, and references there cited.

124. Lee, *op.cit.*, pp.51-52; Andrew Hart, Will and Testament, 1622, in *BM.*, I, p.241.

125. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.443. No copy of the work appears to have survived.

126. *Ibid.*.

overcome in two ways. Firstly, books and pamphlets might be copied by hand and either these, or the copy, passed on. The minister of Ochiltree (Ayr), John Fergushill, possessed hand-written extracts from both John Michaelson's[127] *Lawfulness of Kneeling* of 1620, and of several anti-ceremony pamphlets.[128] Calderwood himself adopted the same tactic. His papers contain extracts 'out of Sir James Semple upon Sacriledge', and from the English 'puritan' Hugh Broughton's *Ecclesiastes*.[129] Secondly, some hand-written material was simply passed around in manuscript form. This applied especially to letters of prominent 'martyrs', such as the testament of John Welsh and John Forbes 'after condemnation at Linlithgow' in 1606, or to the final thoughts of much respected elderly members of the kirk, such as Alexander Hume's *Admonitions...by a deing brother* of 1609.[130] Proof of the effects of 'backslyding' were also of especial value, such as the 'letter of the grief of a minister for kneeling'.[131] Such testaments could have extraordinary power if read out at conventicles, especially on top of the effects of fasting and constant prayer.[132]

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127. John Michaelson was minister of Burntisland from 1616, following the ejection from the parish of the troublesome William Watson, under James' determination to have only 'conforme' ministers; *Fasti*, V, p.81.

128. John Michaelson, *The Lawfulness of Kneeling, in the Sacrament*, St Andrews, 1620. For example, 'Ane argument for kneeling in the act of receiving the sacrame[n]tal eleme[n]ts as breadt and wyn'; 'Reasones against kneeling in the act of receaving'; NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.LXXXIV, Nos,35, 38, ff.363-364, 382-386.

129. James Semple, *Sacrilege Sacredly Handled. That is, according to Scripture onely*, [?], 1619. The work was a refutation of Tilenus, *op.cit.*. Hugh Broughton, *A Comment upon Coheleth or Ecclesiastes for PRINCE HENRI*, Amsterdam, 1605. 'Extracts out of Sir James Semple upon Sacriledge'; 'Extracts out of Broughton on Eccleisasties'; NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto.LXXVI, Nos. 8, 9.

130. 'Letter of Welsh and Forbes after condemnation at Linlithgow', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, No.16, ff.52-63. 'Some astute admonitions to the ministrie of Scotland by a dying brother', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.LXXXIV, No.10, ff.28-30. 'Ane Afold Admonition to the ministrie of Scotland by a Deing Brother', reproduced in *The Poems of Alexander Hume (?1557-1609)*, ed. A.Lawson, Edinburgh, 1902. The original MS is with Hume's papers, NLS, *Advocates MSS*, 19.3..

131. [Anon.] 'Letter of the grief of a min[ister] for kneeling', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.LXXXIV, No.32, f.356.

132. See below, Chapter III.

Even the events of the riot at Edinburgh in 1637 were related in hand-written form, probably to ensure immediate publicity.[133]

These hand written pamphlets also formed part of the attempt to discredit the institutions of royal power in Scotland and England, such as the High Commission. Calderwood wrote a *Trew Relatioun* of his own appearance, and when Richard Dickson and William Arthur were cited in 1619 several 'well-affected' citizens of Edinburgh accompanied them, and a narrative was soon produced. James Cathkine penned a *Relation* of his examination in London in 1619, and Samuel Rutherford kept his parishioners well informed of the troubles of the English puritan martyr Henry Burton in the 1630s. Neither did the sufferings of Burton's compatriots, William Prynne and John Bastwick, before the Star Chamber in 1637 go unrecorded.[134] The constant flow of both past and present presbyterian theory and repression kept the non-conformist movement firmly in the public eye, and together with the close knit nature of the Edinburgh community, proved an effective barrier to kingly authority. Up to the time of his death James was still raging against 'sundrie seditious persons':

> who had written certane pamphletts and books tending to treason and sedition against the king, which were printed in the Low Countries...[135]

With yet another proclamation, James insisted that no ship be allowed to dock without first being searched, but the import of

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133. 'A breefe description of the tumult which fell out upon the Lords day the [23] Julie 1637 through the occasion of a black popish and superstitious Book which was then wickedlie introduced and violentlie urged on our Churches of Edinburgh' [poss. David Aikenhead], NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.135, ff.264-265.

134. See, Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun'; 'The manor of the proceiding of the Hie commissioune against Mr. W Arthour [and] Mr [Richard] dickeson ministours of the Waist kirk of Edr [and] St Cuthbert kirk', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto.LXXXIV, No.10, ff.28-30; Cathkine, *op.cit.*; Rutherford, *Letters*, pp.65-66; 'The 3 gentilmen sufered on fryday the last of june 1637', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto.XXV, No.2, f.6-7.

135. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.629.

forbidden books and pamphlets continued unabated.[136] Once more Calderwood noted that a consignment of his own books[137] escaped discovery, being 'brought out of the ship a day or two before it was searched'.[138] Again this is unsurprising: bearing in mind Calderwood's connections within Edinburgh, foreknowledge of the search was almost inevitable. It is probable that the minister himself accompanied this consignment, ending some five years of exile by slipping quietly back into the country late in 1624, and back into hiding at Edinburgh. Other presbyterian ministers had also annoyed the king, particularly William Scot, minister of Cupar, with his *Course of Conformitie* in 1622; and William Ames, an English presbyterian exile in Holland, with his *Reply* to Morton in 1622, and again in 1623.[139] Ames' work was hugely popular in Scotland, although it must be said that many attributed the work to Calderwood.[140] James continued to pursue those he considered responsible for the trade in such works up to the time of his death in 1625, but with little real success. The king's wrath was directed especially against William Rig, whom he regarded as 'the cheefe ringleader of the Nonconformitanes', and of contributing largely to the printing of books which 'crossed the course of conformitie.'[141] James also suspected the involvement of Cathkine, Lawson, Hart, and Mein, his problem being only temporarily relieved when Hart died in 1621, and Lawson in 1622. James Lawson followed in his father's footsteps, and Hart's wife -

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136. Of particular note here was William Scot's *The Course of Conformitie, as it hath proceeded, is concluded, should be refused.* Amsterdam, 1622. The work particularly incensed James, who held Calderwood responsible. Scot was minister of Cupar, in Fife.

137. David Calderwood, *A Dispute upon Communicating at our confused communions*, Amsterdam, 1624; *An Epistle of a Christian Brother, the present corruptions in the ministrations of the Lords Supper*, Amsterdam, 1624; *An Exhortation of the Particular Kirks in Scotland to their sister kirk in Edinburgh*, Amsterdam, 1624.

138. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.629.

139. William Ames, *A Reply to Dr Mortons Generall Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies*, Amsterdam, 1622; *A Reply to Dr Mortons Particular Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies*, Amsterdam, 1623.

140. See for instance Calderwood, *History*, VIII, p.xxxvi.

141. *Ibid.*, VII, pp.618-619.

Janet Kene - ran her husband's business[142] and lent her support to Edinburgh's conventicling community, until her own death in 1642.[143]

At the outset of his reign, Charles I had no more success than his father in curtailing the trade in - and the circulation of - seditious literature, and probably much less idea of who was responsible. In 1628 he attempted to stop it at source, writing to the 'Synod of the English and Scottish clergy in the Netherlands', requesting that they 'keep a watchful eye upon those who write books of pamphlets derogatory to the church or state'.[144] Illicit printing in the Netherlands continued, as did the circulation of handwritten documents at home. In particular the Parliament of 1633 in Scotland generated protestations both from presbyterian ministers, and from 'the Lords and other Commissioners',[145] which were passed around to justify the opposition to the king's policies. In 1631 the controversy over ceremony was continuing to attract attention, with the appearance of an *Answer* to William Ames' earlier attack on Morton, written by the English conformist minister John Burgess.[146] The work might have gone unnoticed had not Charles been pressing for the imposition of the Prayer Book, and keen on installing the trappings of 'papistry' in the Chapel Royal at Edinburgh in the same year.[147] As it was, Burgess provoked *A Fresh Suit* against ceremonies from William

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142. Andrew Hart, Will and Testament, Dec.1621; Janet Kene, Will and Testament, May 1642; in *BM*, I, Nos. XI, XVI, pp.237, 257; Richard Lawson, Will and Testament, Sept. 1622, in *Ibid.*, III, p.199.

143. See Chapter III, pp.104-105.

144. Letter of Charles I to the Synod...in the Netherlands, May 1628, in W.Stevens, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, Edinburgh, 1833, pp.262-263.

145. See Hogg, 'Greivances and Petitions'; 'The humble Supplication of the Lords, and other Commissioners of the Late Parliament'; NLS. *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No. 127. For further copies, see *Ibid.*, No.125; Qto. LXXXVI, No. 14; 8vo. XXVII, No.1.

146. John Burgess, *An Answer Rejoined to that much Applauded Pamphlet A Reply to Dr Mortons Generall Defence of Three nocent Ceremonies*, London, 1631.

147. Rutherford, *Letters*, pp.60-61.

Ames,[148] which appeared just as the king was imposing his will on the members of the Scottish parliament in 1633. Ames' friendship with John Forbes ensured that the work added to the general discontent in the aftermath of the Parliament.[149]

The re-commencement of the printing of non-conformist literature at Edinburgh can be identified at around this date. John Writtone produced a copy of John Craig's *Catechism* in 1632, a work containing an appended copy of the *Confession of Faith* of 1581.[150] Also printed by Writtone was an abridged version of James Melville's *Black Bastel*,[151] probably edited by Calderwood. Writtone was the brother-in-law of Andrew Hart, through his marriage to Margaret,[152] sister of Janet Kene, printer and conventicling matron. Calderwood had negotiated with the English puritan minister John Paget to procure the printing of Rutherford's *Exercitationes* in 1636, and was doing the same for his own *Re-examination*,[153] but it is possible that both Calderwood's works of the same year were printed in Scotland.[154] If so, this was in some measure due to the success of William Laud - Archbishop of Canterbury - in curtailing the activities of

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148. William Ames, *A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in Gods Worship. Or a Triplication unto*, Amsterdam, 1633.

149. On the parliament and its aftermath see A.I.MacInnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-1641*, Edinburgh, 1991.

150. John Craig, *A Shorte Summe of the Whole Catechisme, wherin the question is proponed and answered in a few wordes*, Edinburgh, 1632, first published in 1584.

151. James Melville, *The black bastel, or, a lamentation in name of the kirk of Sscotland* [sic], Edinburgh, 1634.

152. John Wreittoun, Will and Testament, Feb.1640, in *BM*, I, No.XV, p.255.

153. Letters John Paget to David Calderwood, June 1636, and April 1637, NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLII, Nos.107-8, ff.253-254. Samuel Rutherford, *Exercitationes Apologetica Divinia Gratia*, Amsterdam, 1636.

154. David Calderwood, *A Re-examination of the Five Articles enacted at Perth anno 1618*, [Edinburgh?], 1636; *The Re-examination of two of the articles abridged: to wit, of the communicants gesture in the act of receiving, and the observation of festivall dayes*, [Edinburgh?], 1636. In both cases the name and place of the printer are not given, although Paget had indicated to Calderwood that John Canne, printer of Amsterdam, might be suitable. Bearing in mind Writtone's activities, and the problems in Holland, it is likely that the books were secretly printed at Edinburgh.

presbyterian/ puritan dissidents in Holland from c. 1633:[155] but even this was partly fortuitous, the death of the English puritan William Ames in that year, and of the Scotsman John Forbes in 1634, removing two of the stalwarts of presbyterianism in Holland. Ironically it seems that success in Holland for Laud and Charles I only contributed to their problems in Scotland, as printers such as Writtone began to fill the void created by the silencing of the Dutch presses. Charles I clearly faced many problems in the 1630s, as the presbyterian propaganda and resistance machines were by now well oiled, and operating confidently within the borders of Scotland.

III

As has been suggested above, non-conformist literature was undoubtedly circulated through the booksellers of Edinburgh, and their connections with dissident ministers. But this was not the only way in which books, pamphlets, and manuscript works might reach a wider audience. Samuel Rutherford's contact with Edinburgh was via John Hamilton, where the apothecary's patients included James Cathkine and Richard Lawson. Hamilton also made regular visits to his sister and brother-in-law at Rutherford's Anwoth parish.[156] In 1633 Rutherford was in possession of a copy of the 'Greivancies' of the ministers to be presented to the forthcoming Parliament, 'the contents thereof [he was] desired to communicate to such professers in these parts as I know love the beauty of Zion'.[157] Information from Edinburgh was passed on by Rutherford to Marion McNaught at Ayr, 'a woman extensively known and held in honour by the most eminent christians'. This well-connected and pious woman had contacts of her own in Edinburgh, where her sister 'laboured mightily for the cause', and her brother John McNaught was a merchant and

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155. See K.L. Sprunger, 'Archbishop Laud's Campaign Against Puritanism at the Hague', *Church History*, 45, No.4, 1976.
156. Rutherford, *Letters*, p.49.
157. *Ibid.*, pp.92-93.

baillie of the city.[158] In 1631 Rutherford informed her that he had received disquieting news from Edinburgh:

> the English service, and the organs, and King James' Psalms are to be imposed upon our kirk...Sir William Alexander...is to come down with his princes warrant...I am desired to acquaint the best affected about me with that storm...[159]

Rutherford asked her to inform her husband, William Fullarton, provost of Ayr, and the minister would also have passed on his information through his brother George, schoolmaster and magistrate of Kirkcudbright.[160] John Fergushill's parish of Ochiltree was only a few miles from Ayr, offering a clue as to how he obtained his library of forbidden pamphlets,[161] and he was the son of David Fergushill, a former Provost of Ayr. James Inglis, brother of John Inglis, skinner at Edinburgh, was minister at Dailly,[162] also close to the town of Ayr. Robert Glendinning, minister of Kirkcudbright, must have been kept well informed,[163] and through him the town council. Together, Samuel Rutherford and John Fergushill kept the dissident communities in the South-west of Scotland well acquainted with developments in London and Edinburgh.

That Rutherford should know the contents of the king's letter of 1631, before either Sir William Alexander - or the letter itself - had

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158. *Ibid*, pp.119-120; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.448-449. McNaught was a 'water bailie' of Leith and a town councillor. He was burgess and guildbrother of the city; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, p.333; *ERBE*, 1604-1626, p.167. McNaught was also a signatory of the first of Calderwood's two 'instruments' of 1617; see above, n.105, and reference there cited.

159. Rutherford, *Letters*, pp.60-61. The services and decoration of the Chapel Royal at Edinburgh were a constant source of friction between the presbyterians and both James and Charles, see NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol. LXVI for several letters on the subject. Calderwood possessed many pamphlets against 'King James' Psalm Book'; some of which are reprinted in *BM*, vol II. On the 'violent opposition' to the imposition of the Psalm Book, see D.Irvine, *The History of Scottish Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1861, Chapter 3.

160. *Fasti*, II, p.425. George Rutherford became minister of Tongland in 1640.

161. See above, p.87.

162. James Inglis was summoned by the High Commission for non-conformity, and his brother John was before the Privy Council at Edinburgh, also for non-conformity, in the same year. *Fasti*, III, p.29; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.436; *RPCS*, XII, pp.249-250.

163. See above, pp.69-70; *Fasti*, III, p.61.

reached Edinburgh is remarkable, but Edinburgh's 'middling sort' were represented in London. Charles Mowat 'waited on the Earle of Buchan, at Edinburgh and London', and attended conventicles at the Scottish capital. He was the brother of Roger Mowat, a trusted presbyterian advocate, and associate of Johnston of Wariston. The deprived minister John Livingstone, son-in-law of John Mein, was also one of the principal contacts between the dissident ministers and laymen of Edinburgh and their counterparts in London.[164] It is known that a meeting in June attended by ten prominent non-conformist ministers was held to discuss preparations for riot in 1637,[165] but prior to this Livingstone had been at several meetings in London, probably informing the London puritans of developments in Scotland, and *vice-versa*. Certainly on his return in February 1637 he adopted a circuitous route back to Edinburgh, travelling via Irvine, Doune, Loudon, and Lanark: and ominously - in the light of future events - 'being at some private meetings every day'.[166] Eleazor Borthwick, close friend and confidant of James, third Marquis of Hamilton,[167] travelled regularly on official business between the two capitals, and was active in the non-conformist communities of both. He was, in the words of James Guthrie, covenanting minister of Lauder, 'a man well travelled and fit for such work',[168] who was also a close friend of Johnston of Wariston. Thus the movement of books, letters, and gossip between the two capitals

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164. *SB*, I, p.346; Johnston, *Diary*, p.282. Amongst those Livingstone had meetings with in London during the 1630s were Alexander Leighton; see also Chapters III and IV, and references there cited.

165. See J.M.Henderson, 'An Advertisement about the Service Book -1637', in *SHR.*, XXIII, 1926. Those present were Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars in Fife; James Bruce of Kingsbairns in Fife; John Murray of Strathmiglo in Fife; John Douglas of Culross in Fife; Robert Murray of Methven near Perth; David Dickson of Irvine near Glasgow; John Ker, of Prestonpans near Edinburgh; John Fergushill of Ochiltree near Ayr; Robert Murray, not yet holding a ministry in Scotland, but who had been Chaplain in the army of Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden; David Calderwood, deprived and hiding in Edinburgh.

166. Livingstone, *Life*, ff.76, 81.

167. On the relationship between Hamilton and Borthwick see J.Scally, 'The Political Career of James, Third Marquis and First Duke of Hamilton (1606-1649) to 1643', unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge, 1993.

168. Johnston, *Diary*, I, p.346-347.

was facilitated, and the contacts made were invaluable once revolution began in 1637.

Many of Edinburgh's prominent merchant families were connected to dissident ministers through marriage, and this furnished contacts between Edinburgh and other districts. John Dickson's daughter, Janet, was married to Hew Kerr, minister of Lyne (Peebles). Hew's father, John, was said to have been 'powerful in the ministry', but he was 'agit, weak and seiklie' in 1627, and demitted in favour of his son. Hew took over in the same year, and was a member of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638.[169] John Dickson was the brother of Richard Dickson, minister of St Cuthberts, Edinburgh, who was deprived by the High Commission in 1619. Thus the two brothers experienced the bishops' wrath in the same year.[170] William Hume, minister of Kirkinner near Wigtown, was married to Barbara, daughter of John Mein. He was killed at Newcastle in 1644.[171] Janet, eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, married John Livingstone, the deprived minister of Killinchy, County Down. After being deprived in Ireland, Livingstone preached clandestinely at Kilmarnock, whilst being sheltered by Christian Hamilton, Lady Boyd; at Lanark, in the employ of his father, the minister William Livingstone - a member of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638; and at Cumbernauld, as Chaplain to the Countess of Wigtown.[172] Fleming's second daughter, Marion, married John McClellan, also deprived and excomunicated in Ireland. He too preached secretly in Scotland from 1632, assisting the minister David Dickson at Irvine. McClellan became minister of Kirkudbright in 1638, and was a member of the Glasgow Assembly in the same year.[173] Barbara, daughter of John Johnston, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, married John Ker, minister of Prestonpans. He was confined to

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169. *Fasti*, I, p.50.
170. See above, p.88.
171. *Fasti*, II, p.364.
172. Livingstone, 'Life', ff 69, 76, 81; *Fasti*, III, 306-307.
173. *Fasti*, III, p.98, & II, p.417.

his parish for non-conformity in 1625. Ker was one of the twelve ministers who met to discuss preparations for riot in June 1637.[174] John Row, minister of Carnock in Fife, was the nephew of William Rig, and appeared before the High Commission for non-conformity on two occasions, in 1619 and 1621. He was also a member of the General Assembly of Glasgow in 1638.[175] John Hall, non-conformist minister of St.Giles at Edinburgh, was married to Margaret Arnot, neice of John Arnot, Provost of Edinburgh. Hall was banished to Montrose in 1619, for failing to adhere to the 'Five Articles'.[176] The intermarriages of the families of 'middling men' and their presbyterian ministers therefore produced further important contacts in the geographical areas of Edinburgh, Glasgow, the South-west, and Fife, but it is also worthy of note that their interests were well represented at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638.

A final comment on the various elements of the distributive network available to presbyterian activists can be added. When Nathan Inglis, the non-conformist minister of Craigie near Ayr, died in 1612 his son was taken in by John Inglis, skinner of Edinburgh, as an apprentice.[177] On his death John Inglis also gave an apprenticeship to the son of Andrew Balfour, minister of Kirknewton at Edinburgh, who was imprisoned in 1617 for non-conformity.[178] The son of Alexander Writtone, minister of Kilwinning near Glasgow, was apprenticed to Andrew Hart, although his own uncle, John Writtone, was also a printer. It is likely that Hart, by far the more wealthy of the two, was better placed than his brother-in-law to accommodate the young man.[179] Michael Cranston, minister of Cramond near Edinburgh, placed one of his sons with Walter Scott, merchant, and the other with

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174. *Ibid.*, I, p.388; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.614. See also above, n. 165.
175. *Fasti*, V, p.7.
176. *Ibid.*, I, p.50-51; *RPCS*, XI, p.549.
177. Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.443; *Fasti*, III, p.22.
178. *Ibid.*, I, p.30.
179. *Ibid.*, III, p.116.

Andrew Lauder, bookbinder,[180] probably because the family's presbyterian sympathies, and the religious climate of 1603-1607, held out little hope of either of them gaining a ministry. James Elphinston, glazier of Edinburgh, may have pulled some obvious strings to get his son, later an enthusiastic covenanting minister, a place as tutor to the Lady Elphinston, wife of John, second Lord Balmerino in 1627.[181] Thus a further strand can be added to the web of communication through which dissident 'middling-men' might distribute their illicit wares of presbyterian doctrine and propaganda.

The elaborate web of of family and marital relationships described above provided a ready made network for the dissemination of information on the king's current policies, and for the circulation of dissident books and pamphlets, and all against a backdrop of a repressive regime. Certainly it has been argued that such repression was light when compared to the harsh sentences imposed under Richard Bancroft or William Laud in England. But nevertheless it is the *perception* of repression which is important for the Scottish experience. In the blackest of days, as exiles boarded boats in 1606, or when refusal to conform to the 'Five Articles' resulted in the 'wairding of honest men' and the imposition of 'great fines', those perceptions appeared real indeed.[182] Under such circumstances, the ministers rallied their troops using previous experience as a guide, and strengthening the faith with a direct appeal to the purity of the Reformation. In 1620 John Spottiswood abused that 'worthie and religious gentleman, Mr Patrick Wardlaw, Laird of Torrie, in the face of the synode' for refusing to receive communion kneeling, and 'bade him goe hang himselfe'. But Wardlaw continued to practise his religion as he had done for the previous sixty years, leaving Calderwood to note that the archbishop 'has this word of hanging

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180. *Ibid.*, I, p.10.
181. *Ibid.*, III, p.314.
182. Calderwood, *History, VII*, p.621.

frequent in his mouth, both in private and public'.[183] The propaganda value of such snippets of gossip was immense.

When censorship began to bite, the 'middling sort' responded by providing the channels through which the presbyterian critique of royal policy could continue to pour onto the streets of Edinburgh. They also helped to ensure that it reached a wider audience, and the movement's master propagandists - such as David Calderwood and William Scot - were not slow to take advantage of the network which the patrons and professors of presbyterianism in Scotland provided. It would have required a much more sophisticated machinery of state than either James or his son possessed to combat successfully the presbyterian underground movement to which these men contributed their wealth and contacts. By 1637 the alliance of ministers and the patrons and professors of presbyterianism amongst the 'middling sort' had welded itself into a cohesive force of which Charles appeared only vaguely aware. There remains, however, a further strand of resistance and thought amongst the 'middling sort' as yet unaddressed. The 'godly' matron also perfomed an important role in the organisation and furthering of the presbyterian cause, and it this latter phenomenon which is discussed in the next chapter.

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183. *Ibid.*, VII, pp.442-443.

CHAPTER III

Piety and Politics:

The role and influence of the godly matron.

I have not much hope that this Draught will be either received or approved; but I expect rather that it shall meet with disdain and contempt. However I am not ashamed of laying downe this meane and simple way to breed youth in...we must not so walke (for I hope we have not so learned Christ) as to conforme or comply with the world, what ever good might seeme plausibly to arise out of such a conformity or compliance...and hinder more serious, profitable, and comfortable employments...

Dorothy Durie, *Of the Education of Girls*, c.1645.

Following the Reformation of 1560, the Scottish kirk formally 'vomited forth' the 'vain noysum food of superstitious rites' to which it had hitherto been subject,[1] and in doing so spurned the comfort of the icons and trappings which were the outward signs of the old faith. Instead, calvinism stressed the need to test the surety of salvation against an inner trial of conscience, an introspective process which was the only way in which the individual could confirm his or her election. Whether or not any particular individual was indeed one of the chosen was a secret known only to God, who had buried the answer deep within the soul of each of us. Since the resolution of the issue was only knowable to God and the person concerned, calvinist ministers could offer their parishioners little comfort to help them overcome doubt. As Robert Bruce, minister at Edinburgh, told an attentive audience in 1590, God gave each individual a 'terrible' task:

> He has left it within thee to be ane verye torture and
> a burrior to thy selfe, and sa to put thy awin
> sentence in execution upon thy selfe...[2]

There were no easy options. Yet even if a tortuous search of the soul did result in the conviction that one had been chosen, there remained the constant duty to keep sin at bay. Relief - the banishment of doubt - was only obtainable after a further quest for the 'godly' life. If, for example, one was 'idel and negligent', and careless of the 'Lord's work...chiefly in that vocation wherunto every one is called', then the peace of mind which was the natural accompaniment to the assurance of grace would be denied.[3] Under such circumstances the choice of a correct vocation - or 'calling' - was of great importance. Bruce, for instance, recorded his own intense struggle over the issue, noting that 'before I throw myself once again into such torment...I would choose to walk

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1. Johnston, *Diary*, p.270.
2. *Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce, minister of Edinburgh*, ed.W.Cunningham, Edinburgh, 1843, p.120.
3. *Ibid.*, p.390.

through a fire of brimstone'.[4] The choice of vocation having been made, it was then necessary to go about one's earthly task in a 'christian' manner. As has been discussed above,[5] a 'Godly' carriage in one's vocation was the final confirmation of election, for although a

> man doeth not good workes to be justified: [he] is justified to bring out good workes...to confirme [his] election, calling, justification, and life...[6]

Safe in the knowledge of the grace of God, it then became the duty of the elect individual to project both the image of 'godliness', and, through the example of his own 'good workes', inform others of its fruits. This was a task which presbyterian ministers and laymen took seriously, expending much ink on the subject, in order that future generations might follow in the path of the righteous.[7] Thus calvinism, as expounded by ministers such as Bruce and Rollock, required sincere believers to undergo an intensive examination of their innermost fears, motives, and desires, in order that they might discover the certainty of personal election.[8] The process generated highly emotional forces within each individual, which built up over the often lengthy period of self-examination, to be eventually released and channelled into the chosen vocation. The latter part of this dual process became an essential safety-valve to the former. For men the transition from the first stage to the second was problematic only in terms of the

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4. J.Howie, *The Scots Worthies*, Edinburgh, 1775, p.143.
5. See Chapter I, p.20, and references there cited.
6. Robert Rollock, *Five and Twentie Lectures*, Edinburgh, 1619, p.98.
7. See, for instance, Archibald Johnston, 'Memento Quamdiu Vivas', in Johnston, *Diary*, pp.1-247; Alexander Hume, 'Ane Briefe Treatise of Conscience', in A.Lawson (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Hume (?1557-1609)*, Edinburgh, 1902, appendix A.
8. The agony and sense of isolation of the circumstances under which the decision was made is also graphically illustrated in personal records left by the minister John Livingstone and the advocate Johnston of Wariston. Livingstone retired to 'a cave at Jer[v]iswood', finally choosing the ministry rather than a career in medicine; and Wariston frequented the 'allayes' and ' barnes' of his grandmother's [Rachel Arnot's] Edinburgh property, until deciding for the law as opposed to the ministry. On Wariston see also below, Chapter V. On Livingstone, see R.G.Philip, 'The Life and Preaching of John Livingstone 1603-1672', *RSCHS*, VI, pt.II.

'correctness' of the choices involved, and was largely a matter of which particular vocation best served God's purposes.

For women, however, no such clearly defined pressure release mechanism existed. Whilst they were subject to the same agonising inner struggle in their search for the assurance of grace,[9] the vocational outlets - and therefore the 'fruites' of justification - were not so easily obtainable. Yet the stress which calvinism placed on individual responsibility forced women, no less than men,[10] to seek the solace and knowledge of the scriptures, a process which the ministers of the Reformation encouraged, but which their opponents regarded as dangerous to social stability. 'What folie is it', asked John Hamilton, an exiled Scottish catholic living in France,

> that wemen, who cannot sew, cairde, nor spin, without they lerne the same of uther skilful wemen, suld usurp to reid and interpret the bible...[11]

To John Knox such a course was unavoidable. He could not allay the doubts and fears of his mother-in-law, Mrs Bowes, who was unsure of her place amongst the chosen. Only God knew the answer to that particular conundrum, and all the advice that the great reformer could give was that she should search her soul for the answer.[12] Knox himself had presided over the abolition of the comfort of mediation, leaving men and women at the mercy of their conscience. But the introspection which calvinism and the ministers of the Reformation encouraged, had a liberating effect on

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9. See Elizabeth Melville, *Ane Godly Dreame, compylit in Scottish meter be M.M. Gentilwoman in Culross, at the requeist of her freindes*, Edinburgh, 1603, reproduced in Lawson, *op.cit.*, appendix D.

10. Presbyterians, no less than any other group in seventeenth-century society, believed in class and gender differentation on earth. But souls were equal in the sight of God, and this made women subject to the same processes and pressures as men as far as the assurance of salvation was concerned; see J.Morgan, *Godly Learning - Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640*, Cambridge, 1986, p.23.

11. John Hamilton, *A Ruel to know True Religion*, [?], 1600, p.94.

12. G.Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the development of capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707*, Oxford, 1980, p.61.

the lives of many women, as the struggle with their consciences produced a wider search for knowledge.[13]

Rachel Arnot, the grandmother of Johnston of Wariston, not only consulted the scriptures to confirm the dictates of her conscience, but also turned to the work of the most respected contemporary authority on the subject, Lewis Bayly's *Practise of Piety*.[14] Her library at the 'Sheens' in Edinburgh, also contained copies of William Perkins' *Of the Calling of the Ministrie* [1605], and *A Treatise of the Vocations and Callings of Men* [1603].[15] Rachel sheltered Robert Bruce 'in her house for some years',[16] after he had been deprived by James VI over his opposition towards the king's promotion of an episcopal kirk polity from 1596. In return for her patronage Bruce acted as the family's 'chaplain', and preached at many of the conventicles held in Rachel's home, thus reinforcing the beliefs of his patron, and of all those who attended the illegal gatherings. Bruce was a lifelong friend of John Welsh, one of six ministers exiled by James in 1606,[17] and it was probably Bruce who obtained a copy of the forbidden and much sought after *Sermons* of Welsh, also held in Rachel's library.[18] Rachel Arnot

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13. There is a regrettable lack of literature which deals with the experiences of Scottish women during the period of this study. On this topic in general see, for example, M.Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: the reading and writing experiences of the humblest seventeenth-century spiritual autobiographers', in *Social History*, 4, 1979; A.Porterfield,, *Female Piety in Puritan New England, the Emergence of Religious Humanism*, Oxford, 1992; *Her Own Life: Autobiographical writings by seventeenth-century Englishwomen*, eds. Elspeth Graham *et al.*, London, 1989; *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth Century Women's Verse*, eds. Germaine Greer *et al.*, London, 1988.

14. Lewis Bayly, *The Practise of Piety, directing a Christian how to walk that he may please God*, London, 1631.

15. Wariston later consulted all three of these authors to assist his own decisions over a 'calling', Johnston, *Diary*, p.134.

16. Gilbert Burnet, *History of his own time*, London, 1838, p.31.

17. For organising and attending the 'illegal' General Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1605.

18. Johnston, *Diary*, p.168. Handwritten copies of Welsh's *Sermons* were in great demand during the period, there being 'several sermons in the hands of many' which were circulated by and amongst the faithful, John Welsh, *Popery Anatomized*, [?], 1612, prefatory note. The *Sermons* themselves do not appear to have been printed until the eighteenth century; see for instance, W.Guthrie, *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons: to which are added some sacramental discourses by Mr J.Livingstone and Mr J.Welsh*, Glasgow, 1779; and *A Collection of Funeral Sermons*, Edinburgh, 1744.

was a woman of considerable means,[19] which she used to further opposition to the king's policies, becoming 'for many years the chief support of the [presbyterian] party' in Edinburgh.[20] In this way she was able to come to terms with her conscience, and obtain the 'fruites' of justification by becoming one of the kirk's 'godly matrons'. For Rachel, and many other such women, the organisation and perpetuation of presbyterian opposition became a vocation, and political empowerment a reality.

Other women forced their way more openly into a male-dominated world. Elizabeth Melville[21] became a much respected author, whose 'compositiones so copious, so pregnant, so spiritual' inspired women of her own and later generations.[22] Her most influential work, the epic poem *Ane Godly Dreame*, first appeared in 1603, and had been reprinted no fewer than eight times by 1692.[23] Many others, like Christian Hamilton, Lady Boyd, might have kept diaries which have not survived.[24] The widow of Andrew Hart, Janet Kene, took over her husband's printing business after his death in 1621, continuing production until her own demise in 1639. Janet was confident enough to oppose the appointment of Robert Young as King's Printer in 1632, although her action was ultimately unsuccessful.[25] Hart had produced an

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19. Besides her house at 'Sheens' [Sciennes] in Edinburgh, Rachel owned property at Restalrig, and Dunglass, Berwickshire. In 1619 her estate was valued at £2000 per year. *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, IV, pp.448-449; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1593-1608, p.759; Johnston, *Diary*, I, Introduction; J.Geddie, 'Sculptered Stones of Old Edinburgh - The Dean Group', in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Edinburgh, 1912. V, pp. 105-106.

20. Burnet, *op.cit.*, I, p.31.

21. Elizabeth was the daughter of Sir James Melville of Halhill. For her influence on Johnston of Wariston, see below, Chapter V, pp. 188-190.

22. Alexander Hume, 'Hymnes, or Sacred Songs, wherein the right use of Poesie may be Espied', Edinburgh [1599], preface, reproduced in Lawson, *op.cit.*.

23. D.Irvine, *The History of Scottish Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1861, pp.482-483.

24. According to the dissident covenanting minister John Livingstone, 'Lady Boyd a rare patron of Christianity, grave, diligent, and prudent' kept a diary, but it appears to have been lost; John Livingstone, 'Some of the Professors in the Church of Scotland of my acquaintance who were eminent for grace and gifts', *Wodrow MSS*, Qto.XVIII, f 166.

25. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Forlegn Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, Oxford, 1968, p. 129.

edition of Elizabeth Melville's *Godly Dreame* in 1620,[26] and Janet's press was responsible for the printing of William Struthers' *A Resolution for Death*,[27] which was essential reading for all those seeking to reconcile conscience and calling. Struthers, in common with most calvinists, struggled with the problem for many years, but the book was a direct consequence of the issues raised in the final two decades of his life. Thus conformity to the king's will over religious policy and the visitation of a fatal disease combined to revive doubts about the surety of his own salvation. A copy of Struthers' work rested on the shelves of Rachel Arnot's library, to be consulted by her many visitors - amongst whom was Elizabeth Melville[28] - as 'ane word of consolation to [the] afflicted saule, and a word of direction to [the] irresolved mynd'.[29]

Bearing in mind the limited vocational opportunities available to most seventeenth-century women, it was perhaps inevitable that much of the energy generated by a deeply introspective examination of the 'irresolved mynd' would be released into the home. Wives and mothers influenced by exposure to the preaching and written works of men such as Bruce, Rollock, and Welsh found a calling in the instruction of their menfolk and children preparatory to their conversion. Prayer meetings, or conventicles, were deliberately organised by 'godly' matrons to put pressure on waverers, whose senses were assaulted by the sermons of dissenting ministers and the chanting of 'hymnes', such as Elizabeth Melville's *Godly Dreame*, or Alexander Hume's

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26. Irvine, *op.cit.*, p.483.
27. William Struthers, *A Resolution for death, written under sentence of death, in the time of a painfull disease, and now published for their comfort who studie to approve themselves to God, and to assure all who live the life of the righteous that they shall die the death of the righteous*, Edinburgh, 1628.
28. She was one of those who convened to protest against the passage of the 'Five Articles of Perth' at Rachel's house in 1621. John Livingstone recorded that 'I heard the Lady Culross [Elizabeth Melville] tell that at the Parliament 1621...[she] went out to the Sheins, near Edinburgh'; Livingstone, 'Professors of my acquaintance', f.167.
29. Johnston, *Diary*, p.22.

Sacred Songs.[30] Accompanied by group prayer, and deliberate abstinence from food which could last for as long as '8 or 10 dayes', such meetings seldom failed to produce the desired result. As a child Johnston of Wariston looked on as his father was confirmed in the faith 'after ane hot nights combat betwixt hoope and despaire', to the 'wonderful contentment' of those present, who had convened at the behest of his mother, Elspa Craig.[31] The experience taught Wariston to 'rely and look only unto God' for answers to his own spiritual and earthly problems.[32] In turn, the matrons' belief in their cause was strengthened by 'miraculous' results, such as the example of Jean Stewart, who at the tender age of eight was able to lecture her uncle - Sir Alexander Hay - over his neglect of the sabbath. 'Lord eimie', said she:

> ye ryse al the weak [sic] soone for to winne gold,
> I think ye sould ryse far sooner on Sunday for to
> winne Gods word...[33]

God's use of such 'weak, silly, and contemptible instruments' to further his work impressed male believers, who, as Rollock had forecast, became

> edified by their onlooking...Yea more edified by one worke
> than by a thousand words: And not onlie are men edified,
> but therby God is glorified...[34]

Nevertheless, much difficulty was experienced in coming to terms with the increasingly obvious involvement of women in political and religious matters. John Durie, a lifelong advocate of European religious unity,[35] delayed several years before finally marrying Dorothy Moore in 1645, because of the 'silly weakenes and want of capacity which doth appeare in most of the feamale

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30. D.Laing, *Various Pieces of Fugitive Scottish Poetry: principally of the seventeenth century*, Edinburgh, 1823, p.93; Alexander Hume, 'Conversion of eight learned persons', *Advocates MSS*, 19.3.6.
31. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.56, 170.
32. *Ibid.*, p.3.
33. *Ibid.*,, pp.60-61.
34. Rollock, *Five and Twentie Lectures*, p.98.
35. On Durie's life and work see below, Chapter IV.

kinde'.[36] Yet her thoughts on the *Education of Girls*,[37] based on the experience of her own strictly calvinist upbringing, forced Durie to admit - somewhat grudgingly - that she possessed:

> abillityes to doe [God] spirituall service and to be more heelpeful in some things towards the advancement of the kingedome of his sonn than even men themselves...[38]

The very idea threatened to turn the world upside down. This unpalatable fact had been no less apparent to ministerial and lay contemporaries of Durie for some years, who had surmounted the obstacle by attributing a mystical quality to the movement's 'godly' matrons. In times of dire threat to Scotland's ancient kirk, God might choose to move in mysterious ways, and men could only look on in awe at such wonders. This highly selective interpretation of events and actions concerning the 'weaker sex', allowed men to view the ever increasing political and religious empowerment of their womenfolk during the period as a temporary means to a specifically related end, and therefore not as a threat to the natural order of seventeenth-century society. Catherine Erskine, wife of Thomas Hamilton (Lord Binning and eldest son and heir to the first earl of Haddington), entertained the deprived minister John Livingstone at her home during the 1630s, and attended clandestine meetings of presbyterian dissidents in Edinburgh.[39] Yet Hamilton perceived his wife's actions as somehow involuntary. Her rebellious nature was due to the effects of the mysterious workings of God on her conscience, and was certainly not the result of any freedom of thought, which might have been nurtured by the political and religious upheavals of the time. In the home, she remained a prisoner to her husband's essential conservatism and aesthetic preferences. The extent to which Catherine was frustrated by the paradoxical nature of her plight was revealed in a touching conversation with

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36. Letter Durie to Lady Ranelagh, 1645; in G.H.Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius - Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers*, London, 1947, p.247.
37. See *Of the Education of Girls. By D.D.*, reproduced in *Ibid.*, p.120.
38. *Ibid.*, p.247.
39. Livingstone, 'Life', f.74.

Livingstone at Haddington: 'At that time', related the minister, 'much of her neck and shoulders being bare, she said':

> It is a wonder yt you or any honest man should look on me or stay in my company, for I am drest rather like a whore than like a civil woman: and the truth is I must be either thus drest, or my Lord will not suffer me in the house...[40]

'[A]nd while she thus said', Livingstone recalls, 'the tears did not drop, but ran down, so as she was fain to take no notice of them'.[41]

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that presbyterian women should bring their frustration to bear on that which they perceived to be the root cause of the problem, the imposition of an episcopal polity on the kirk by James VI. Not only did the situation threaten the soul with a return to 'papism', but also with a regression to the lax morality of the pre-Reformation status quo.[42] In practice, James' policies imprisoned and exiled the matrons' ministers and menfolk, prohibited their prayer meetings, and tampered with kirk services. Most important of all, the matrons - in common with their ministers and husbands - were forced to choose between king and conscience. As a result, resistance became a vocation, and a focus for the pent-up energy of thousands of hours of agonised soul-searching. Women became a force to be reckoned with, even if the complacency of successive Stewart monarchs failed to recognise the fact.

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40. Livingstone, 'Professors of my acquaintance', f. 166.
41. *Ibid.*.
42. On the pre-Reformation church in Scotland, and its perceived moral laxity, see G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, Cambridge, 1960; D. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland, The history of an Idea - 1560-1638*, Edinburgh, 1986.

I

The riot at Edinburgh in December1596 convinced the king of the need to exert royal control over his troublesome presbyterian ministers. James moved immediately to deal with the problem of conventicles,[43] demonstrating his abhorrence of any gathering of the disaffected at which the seeds of sedition might be sown. Thus, in 1597, an act 'for stopping slanderous and seditious preaching' was ratified by the Privy Council, together with an order forbidding visiting and resident ministers from living together within the 'circuit of ane close', from which base he accused them of making 'convocations and conspiracies' in the capital. These particular dwellings, roundabout the town's Tolbooth, were confiscated by the crown, and ministers ordered thereafter to live in 'separate houses'.[44] In describing these and other like proceedings, the king was apt to use such terms as 'mutainis meiting' and 'contemptuous conventicle' interchangeably, and as applicable to any gathering which convened 'to the high contempt of Us and our Authoritie', be it the 'illegal' Aberdeen General Assembly of 1605, or simply a gathering of the faithful for prayer.[45] The members of his Privy Council in Scotland, however, proved increasingly unenthusiastic about James's hard-line attitude,

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43. Conventicling in Scotland was by no means a new phenomenon. For a discussion of their incidence prior to the Reformation, see J.T.Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, Chapter 1. Nevertheless there are few detailed studies on conventicling, and much historiography of the first half of the seventeenth century deals inadequately with the subject. Gordon Donaldson, for example, defined conventicles as '[u]nauthorised meetings for worship, especially in the Restoration period', thus dismissing at one and the same time the political nature of the beast, and the importance of conventicles to the religious debate prior to 1640. See G.Donaldson and R.S.Morpeth, *A Dictionary of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, 1977, p.46. The most authoritative, and specifically related, work on the subject remains David Stevenson, 'Conventicles in the Kirk, 1618-37, The Emergence of a Radical Party', *RSCHS*, XVIII, 1973.; but see also A.I.MacInnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, Edinburgh, 1991, pp.55-58.

44. *RPCS*, VII, p.357; *APS*, IV, p.107.

45. See the proclamation issued in 1606 by James, condemning the Aberdeen Assembly of 1605, and forbidding prayer meetings in support of those who attended; *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.67, f.133r. David Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.1r.

prosecuting six of the organisers of the Aberdeen Assembly, but refusing point-blank to pursue the case against the other ministers involved.[46] A decade later, in 1616, Alexander Seton, (first earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, and a Catholic), declared that it was not the council's part to interfere in kirk matters at all, fearing in case the council should be perceived as 'the bishops hangmen'.[47] In 1624 Seton's successor as Chancellor, Sir George Hay, added a legal definition to the controversy over the issue, describing a conventicle simply as 'a private meeting of men and women to a private religious exercise', which was unlawful only if held 'in time of public sermon'; thus allowing the meetings to proceed more or less unhindered.[48]

The reason for the Privy Council's reluctance to adopt a hard-line stance over the issue of conventicles is not hard to find. The greatest conventicle keeper in Edinburgh from 1600 was the aforementioned Rachel Arnot, daughter of Sir John Arnot of Birswick, a Privy Councillor, sometime Treasurer Depute, Provost of Edinburgh, and a 'speciall favourite' of the king himself.[49] As has already been noted, Rachel was 'for many years the chief support of the [presbyterian] party', and her house at the 'Sheens' in Edinburgh, became a focus for presbyterian resistance.[50]

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46. *RPCS*, IX, pp. 163-166. For a contemporary account of the proceedings from a presbyterian viewpoint see John Forbes, *Certaine Records touching the Esate of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation of Religion therin, till the Parliament holden at Perth: Anno 1606*, Edinburgh, 1846.

47. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p. 450. Part of the reason for Seton's disquiet may have been his Catholicism, causing him to be fearful of a backlash. James tended to follow every move against presbyterian dissidents with a re-assertion of his determination to rid the country of 'Jesuits, Semenarie Priests, and excommunicate Papists' as he did in 1606, see proclamation 'By the King', *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.68, f.134r.

48. Stevenson, *op.cit.*, pp. 102-103.

49. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p. 158.

50. The 'Sheens' [Sciennes] was a nunnery until the Reformation, and was owned by the city of Edinburgh. This use becoming redundant, part of the land and buildings appear to have been leased to the Arnots, although the main building was being used as an isolation hospital for victims of the plague in 1626. The property eventually passed to the Johnston family, and the fact that conventicles were kept there is mentioned in several contemporary sources. See, for instance, Livingstone, 'Professors of my acquaintance', f.167; James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Kirk of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678*, Edinburgh, 1817, p. 16.

Rachel married Archibald Johnstone senior [c.1580], a wealthy merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and the family rapidly became acquainted with the most eminent amongst Edinburgh's merchant and legal communities. These connections were expanded and reinforced as Rachel's offspring married. James Johnstone, Rachel's son and the father of Johnston of Wariston, wed Elspa Craig, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, the eminent lawyer, author, and close confidant of the king. Besides being present at conventicles held at the 'Sheens', Elspa and her sister, Bethia Craig, presided over illicit meetings of ministers and presbyterian sympathisers which took place in their own homes.[51] Bethia was married to Alexander Gibson, Lord Durie, one of Edinburgh's foremost lawyers, a convinced presbyterian, and a fervent opponent of episcopacy.[52] Rachel Arnot's daughter, Janet Johnston, wed Sir James Skene, Lord President of the Court of Session, and a Privy Councillor. According to John Spottiswood, archbishop of St. Andrews from 1615, 'all the bishop's were much obliged' to the Skene family,[53] and thus the network of patronage available to the Johnstons spilled over into the internal workings of episcopal authority. None of these women, or the conventicles they conducted, ever became the subject of anything more than a cursory investigation, despite the fact that in 1611 the High Commission in Scotland (according to George Gladstaines, then archbishop of St. Andrews) was aware that 'the auld melvillian bruide' was still active in Edinburgh.[54]

Thus Rachel Arnot was not alone in holding conventicles, or - as it happens - in sheltering recalcitrant presbyterian ministers from the king's rage. As mentioned above, David Calderwood spent many months 'lurking...in a secrete chamber appointed for him' at the house of Lady Sarah Cranston. A close friend of Rachel Arnot,

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51. See above, p.106.
52. Later, under the covenanting regime, Lord President of the Court of Session.
53. John Spottiswood, *The History of the Church of Scotland - 1655*, London, 1972, p.545.
54. Letter Gladstaines to [?], 1611, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.LXIX, No.13, f.18.

Lady Sarah was 'in manie ways steadable' to the minister.[55] Her husband, William, Lord Cranston, was Lieutenant of the Borders, a Privy Councillor, and the patron of Calderwood's Crailing parish.[56] Anna Livingstone, wife of Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton, acted as patron to David Dickson, minister of Irvine, and also supported Robert Boyd after he was sacked as principal of Edinburgh University in 1622 for refusing to conform to the 'Five Articles'.[57] Relief - of a sort - for the disgraced Boyd came from a surprising source. He was a relative of the dowager Countess of Abercorn, a notorious Catholic. Her patronage gained him the ministry of Paisley, but he died shortly afterwards in 1626.[58]

Christian Hamilton, Lady Boyd, harboured the dissident minister John Livingstone at the 'Dean of Kilmarnock' after his deprivation by the Irish bishops in 1634, and encouraged him to preside over conventicles held there.[59] Livingstone also preached at clandestine meetings at Lanark, Cumbernauld and Edinburgh, much to the chagrin of the authorities, who were constantly thwarted in their attempts to silence him. Just how impotent the state apparatus could be in the face of such patronage is illustrated by a gathering of the faithful to celebrate Livingstone's marriage to Margaret Fleming[60] in 1635. The event took place at Edinburgh's West Kirk, with Lady Boyd and John Fleming, sixth earl of Wigtown, in attendance.[61] Margaret Livingstone,[62] the

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55. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.382.
56. 'Lists of Parishes in Scotland whereof [the following] subjects are Patrons', *Wodrow MSS*, Oct.XLVII, f.105r.
57. Robert Blair, *The Life of Mr Robert Blair*, ed. T. McCrie, Edinburgh, 1848, p. 19
58. H.M.Reid, *The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow, 1545-1654*, Glasgow, 1917, pp. 164-169.
59. Livingstone, 'Life', f.75. Lanark was Livingstone's birthplace, and remained the home of the family.
60. She was related to the earl of Wigtown's family, and her 'uncle', John Fleming', merchant of Edinburgh, was present at the wedding. Both he and Margaret were related to Margaret Fleming, Lady Robertland, the wife of Sir David Cunningham of Robertland. All three Flemings were involved in the Edinburgh conventicling circuit.
61. *SB*, I, p.152.
62. Margaret Livingstone was the daughter of Alexander, first earl of Linlithgow, the minister was distantly related to that family. Both Margaret, and her sister, Anna, countess of Eglinton, were keen to maintain this link; probably to

earl's wife, was related to the minister, and his mother, Lilias Graham, had been one of the kirk's staunchest matrons until her death c.1610.[63] When Spottiswood (by now Chancellor, and thus head of both the secular and ecclesiastical arms of kingly authority in Scotland) heard of the wedding, he sent 'macers to apprehend' the minister, but apparently made little fuss when they returned empty-handed, supposedly unable to locate the gathering.[64]

Protected by such high-level patronage, rebellious ministers were able to turn their attention to the main task at hand, largely untroubled by the posturing of the authorities. When James himself chaired the Court of High Commission proceedings against David Calderwood in 1617, the deprivation and exile of the minister became inevitable.[65] The response of the matrons of Edinburgh was to organise public subscription, to which both Rachel Arnot and Sarah Cranston contributed, in order to ensure

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dissociate themselves from the problems caused by their mother, Helenor Hay, a 'profest and obstinate papist', who was eventually excommunicated by the kirk. See, R.Menzies-Ferguson, 'Presbytery and Popery in the 16th Century', *SHR*, III, 1906, pp.20-26. Livingstone had been 'chaplain' to the Wigtowns until 1630, and was eventually able to claim a victory which the kirk had been trying to achieve since the 1590s; 'I got letters from the Countess of Wigtown...that I would come thither to be present with her mother, the Countes of Lithgow who was a dying, and had been all her days a papist, but some while before had quit it', Livingstone, 'Life', f.65r, 69r.

63. Lilias Graham was a great comfort to John Welsh, minister of Ayr, at the time of his conviction for treason, and his subsequent banishment in 1606: see letter John Welsh to Lady Fleming, 'Blackness, Jan.16, 1606', NLS,*Wodrow MSS*, Qto.XVIII, No.5; letter John Welsh to Countess of Wigtown, 1606, NLS, *Advocates MSS*, 29.2.8., f.188.

64. *SB*, I, p.152.

65. Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', *passim*; 'Mr David Calderwoods Summonds, 6 June 1617', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol. XLIII, No.85, f.165. It is worthy of note that Calderwood's original plan of action was to deny the legality of the court on the grounds that he was cited in the province of Glasgow, but ordered to appear in the province of St Andrews. The anomaly arose because the letters patent of 1610 ordered the erection of two separate courts with distinct jurisdictions, and 'in the yeir 1615 thir two courts wer joyned in one...[but in 1617] the new erection of this one court is not as yit proclaimed. And yaifror justly may any person cited in the province of the one archbyshop refuse to compeir...gif the other archbyshop sitt yair as judge'. Without public proclamation the new *single* court, Calderwood argued, was not lawful. But as the minister could not deny that the king was head of *both* the courts, he was forced to abandon this line of defence; see Calderwood, 'Remarks', ff.100v-101r. The minister's *History* does not recount this objection to the court's legality, and in the absence of any official record, it is impossible to calculate the extent to which the factor might have affected the working of the court.

that Calderwood could continue his opposition from Holland. Both Lord Cranston and John Spottiswood were aware that the king had gained nothing more than a pyrrhic victory. Cranston informed the monarch bluntly, and in prophetic terms, that if Calderwood was interdicted from preaching and exiled 'he will doe more hurt by his writings than all he is worth'. Whilst Spottiswood's rather petulant reference to Calderwood as 'that knave who is now loupen over the sea with his purse weill filled by the wives of Edinburgh', spoke volumes.[66] The money funded a flood of books and pamphlets from Calderwood's pen, which were openly on sale throughout the controversy over the imposition of the 'Five Articles' of Perth from 1617 to 1621, and beyond. Contacts which the minister made during his period of exile were used to print his and other non-conformist ministers' work until the successful revolutionaries themselves took over the task in 1639.[67] Also amongst 'the wives of Edinburgh' who helped to fill Calderwood's purse were the Hamilton sisters.[68] All four were married to prominent non-conformists: Beatrix was the wife of Robert Blair;[69] Marion was married to the merchant Bartholomew Fleming; Bessie was the wife of Richard Dickson, minister of Edinburgh's West Kirk; and Barbara was the wife of the bookseller, John Mein.[70] The four 'godly women' held conventicles which were intended to raise funds and assistance for just such contingencies as Calderwood's exile, and to support their own menfolk who were constantly in conflict with the authorities.[71] Richard Dickson, the husband of Bessie, was deprived by the High Commission in 1620 both for preaching 'publicklie' at clandestine gatherings, and for administering communion

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66. *RPCS*, XI, p.lxvi.
67. But see above, Chapter II, pp.91-92.
68. 'Thir four sisters...were out of an old family of that name, viz., the laird of Bardowie', Blair, *Life*, p.117.
69. Beatrix died in 1630, *Ibid.*.
70. On Mein see also above, Chapter II. On Bartholomew Fleming see below.
71. Stevenson, *op.cit.*, pp.99, 102; *RPCS*, XIII, pp.503-504

> with na appeirance of ony kneilling to the contempt
> [of the] ministrie and of the general assemblie [of 1618]...[72]

John Meine distributed Calderwood's pamphlet, the 'Nullity of the Perth Assembly' from his Edinburgh 'booth', along with other similar literature.[73] It was at conventicles such as those organised by the four Hamilton sisters that their menfolk were encouraged - or cajoled - into contributing heavily to the task of sending manuscripts abroad for printing, and arranging the re-importation of the finished product. Amongst those who attended were William Rig, James Cathkine, and Andrew Hart. Rig was a highly respected and wealthy merchant, who besides being a close freind of John and Barbara Mein, was also often at 'private meetings' with Elizabeth Melville and John Livingstone.[74] John Mein remarked that Rig, despite a reputation for guarding his purse

> spent more on pious uses then all my estate is worth,
> and mine will be toward 8 or 9000 merks by year...[75]

Meetings also took place at Rig's own 'chambers on the north side of the higher close' which he built in partnership with Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate, at a joint cost of 2,000 merks in 1625.[76]

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72. Summons of the High Commission to William Arthur and Richard Dickson, NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.86, f.168.

73. It was no secret that Mein distributed illicit books and pamphlets; see Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.363.

74. *SB*, I, pp.343-344.

75. *Ibid.*, p.344. Before the Privy Council in 1624 Mein is described as a 'poor man' but he - like Rig - was evidently being prudent with the truth. At his death in 1649 his estate was valued at £2,600; Helen Dingwall, 'The Importance of Social Factors in Determining the Composition of the Town Councils in Edinburgh 1550-1650', *SHR*, LXV, I, 1986, pp.17-33; *RPCS*, XIII, pp.503-504. Rig owned lands in Stirlingshire and Fife, and collected over £1000 p.a. in rents from his Edinburgh properties; see J.J.Brown, 'The Social, Political, and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638', Edinburgh, 1986, II, p.517.

76. *History of the University of Edinburgh: From 1580 to 1646, by Thomas Crauford, A.M., Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the Colledge of Edinburgh in 1646*, Edinburgh, 1808, pp.99-100. Rig and Hope built a block of four chambers, occupying two each.

If Elizabeth Melville's 'godliness' inspired Rig to support the matron's efforts on behalf of the kirk, it also had a profound effect on other ministers and laymen of her acquaintance. The fact that Livingstone was constantly harried by the authorities was, she told the minister, a test of his strength of character:

> ye must be hewin and hamerd down, and drest, and prepaired before ye be a LEWING STON fitt for his building...[77]

Elizabeth also attended conventicles at the 'Sheens' in the company of Rachel Arnot, Janet Johnston, and Christian Hamilton, together with the dissident ministers Robert Bruce and David Dickson.[78] For supporting these activities, Rig, Cathkine and Mein were hauled before the Privy Council in 1620 to be charged with 'following deprived and silenced ministers'. The king himself demanded that an example be made of the three men, who were fined and warded.[79] But within a few weeks the fines were remitted, and the terms of ward relaxed, despite the king's letter. Two of the Council members who reviewed the sentences were Sir James Skene, husband of Janet Johnston, and the earl of Melrose, Christian Hamilton's father.[80] Well might Elizabeth Melville have written to William Rig during his short spell of imprisonment in Blackness Castle, telling him not to despair, for the 'darknes of Blacknes is not the Blacknes of darknes'.[81] Neither was it the first time that Melrose had intervened in such matters. George Grier, minister of Haddington, had spoken against the 'Five Articles' at the General Assembly in 1618, much to the annoyance of its moderater, John Spottiswood. When Grier continued to administer communion sitting, the archbishop brought the weight of the High Commission to bear, and Grier was threatened with deprivation. At the intercession of Melrose, who was also the

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77. Letter Melville to Livingstone, 1631, in *SB*, I, p.363.
78. *Ibid.*, pp.306-307.
79. Letter James VI to Privy Council, 1620, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.93, f 177.
80. *RPCS*, XII, pp.249-250; William Fraser, *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, Edinburgh, 1889, I, p.157.
81. *SB*, I, p.341-342.

patron of the parish of Haddington, the bishops backed down, and although Grier remained steadfast in his refusal to adminster to kneeling communicants, he was not troubled again.[82]

James Cathkine and Bartholomew Fleming, in their capacity as merchants and booksellers, travelled regularly between Edinburgh and London. On one journey, as described in the previous chapter, Cathkine was arrested by the king's agents in London,[83] but released on the intercession of Spottiswood. Fleming died in London in 1634, after being 'cut for the stone', and was buried on English soil 'hard by John Welsh', whose grave had become a site of pilgrimage for Scottish presbyterians.[84] The material gained on such trips, together with the current news from England, was then used to fire the faith and anger of the faithful. Alexander Leighton's infamous *An Appeal to the Parliament, Or, Sion's Plea to the Prelacie* appeared on the streets of Edinburgh in 1629,[85] and news of his capture and savage treatment at the hands of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, came hard on its heels.[86] Ironically, it was probably Leighton's son, Robert, who unwittingly informed on his father. From his school at Edinburgh, the young man wrote to his mother (at 'the top of pudle hill, near Blackfriars gate, over against the kings wardrobe'), informing her that he had

> received a letter from my father, which...perspicuously made manifest unto me the danger that he would in all likelihood incurr of the booke which he hath bin printing...He hath sent some of the bookes hither, which are like to bring those that medled with them in some danger...[87]

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82. Summons of the High Commission to George Grier, Jan. 17 1620, NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.90, f.172; 'Patrons and Parishes', f.108r; *Fasti*, I, p.374.
83. See above, pp.72-73.
84. Livingstone, 'Life', f.77.
85. On Alexander Leighton, see Chapter IV.
86. John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1588 to August 1637*, Edinburgh, 1842, p.364.
87. Reproduced in D.Butler, *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, London, 1903, pp.59-60.

The letter was intercepted by Laud,[88] and was taken as proof positive that Robert's father had written the offending work. Leighton was whipped in procession from the Fleet prison in London to the pillory at Cheapside, and in the company of two other unfortunate miscreants, lost an ear, had his nose slit, and was branded on the cheek. News of the saintly carriage of his wife throughout the whole gruesome affair inspired the matrons of Edinburgh. She was reported to have delighted in his punishment for Christ's cause, proudly leading his painful progress, and proclaiming to the crowd that

> as Christ was crucified between two thieves, so is my husband [suffering] between two knaves...[89]

In order that the point might be hammered home, Robert Bruce, his own aged face lined with thirty years of suffering for the kirk,[90] appeared in Edinburgh to offer a testament to his fellow countryman's faith. He delivered an impassioned eulogy calculated to spur the matrons, ministers, and laymen of the city to greater efforts for the cause. Bruce, his face 'foull with weeping', informed his audience that he 'had heard that day of Doctor Lighton's censure at London', before adding, 'but my grief [is]'

> not for Doctor Lighton but for [my]self: for if I had been faithfull I might have got the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ as well as he: but he hath got the crown from us all...[91]

A new generation of covenanting dissidents was thus born of the experiences of its pious forefathers and 'godly' matrons. John Livingstone, Robert Blair, and David Dickson were just three of the 'new recruits' who were much affected by the example of their womenfolk, or by that of the sufferings of Bruce and Leighton. Amongst those from whom these new men 'got at severall tymes

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88. *CSPD*, 1629-31, p.353.
89. Butler, *op.cit.*, p.41.
90. Bruce died a few months later, in 1631.
91. *SB*, I, pp.306-307.

supply of money [were] the Lady Boyd, the Countes of Wigtoun...and the Countes of Eglinton',[92] each a representative of noble houses whose power-base lay in south-western Scotland. The contributions of the matrons paid for Livingstone to make pilgrimages to Welsh's grave, and he 'was often' at conventicles held by Alexander Leighton in London in 1634. It was Leighton who 'dissuaded' Livingstone from emigrating to 'New England', encouraging the minister to continue the struggle at home, in the confidence that soon both men 'would see the dounfal of the Byshops in Scotland'.[93]

Leighton and his wife were 'great conventicle keepers', an extremely dangerous business in London. Sir William Noy, the English Attorney General, defined conventicles in quite the opposite terms to Sir George Hay, describing them as

> not meetings as of friendes once or twice by chance,
> but upon sett purpose and this upon their own aucthority...[94]

Such was a state of affairs which he regarded as deserving the highest of penalties. Despite the obvious perils, the experience which Livingstone gained at meetings with Leighton served him well, and he returned as a covenanting agent in 1637. On one such occasion he escaped capture by a hair's breadth, as a meeting with English sympathisers was interrupted by an agent of James, third marquis of Hamilton, who was at that time present at court. Hamilton had sent his man to warn the minister of the imminent arrival of the king's guard.[95] That convenanting tentacles should be able to reach and protect Livingstone in London is unsurprising when one considers that Hamilton's mother was Anna Cunningham, wife of the second marquis, and a fervent presbyterian matron. After the death of her husband, she continued to exercise considerable power in Scotland, and to

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92. Livingstone, 'Life', f.76.
93. *Ibid.*.
94. 'Speech of Sir William Noy', in I.M.Calder, *Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England, 1625-1633*, London, 1957, pp.77, 121.
95. Livingstone, 'Life', f.81.

influence her son's actions.[96] Anna instigated conventicles to extend her patronage to the faithful,[97] and, after the commencement of revolution, she personally vowed to shoot her son should he land on Scottish soil at the head of the king's troops.[98]

The flurry of activity which marked Livingstone's visit to London in 1637 was indicative of attempts by presbyterian ministers and their sympathisers to exploit political and religious disquiet in both England and Scotland.[99] Leighton's *Appeal* to the English Parliament of 1628 had the tacit consent of many sympathisers in London, some of whom might even have contributed to the costs of its publication. Charles' prorogation of the Commons simply added to their fears. By linking a grasping episcopacy with the loss of constitutional process, Leighton assured himself of their continuing support, to add to that of his long-standing friends within the puritan communities of London.[100] When he and Livingstone met in 1634, the covenanting minister gained valuable experience for the Scottish cause. Such an apprenticeship was, as has already been pointed out, paid for with money raised by the kirk's matrons and their fund-raising activities.

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96. On the 'tough stance' which Anna adopted with her son over religious matters, see James Scally, 'The Political Career of James, Third Marquis and First Duke of Hamilton (1606-1649) to 1643', unpublished PhD. thesis, Cambridge, 1993, p.99.

97. Walter Makey, *The Church of the Covenants 1637-1651*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp.72-73.

98. Her threat soon became common knowledge, even in England, and Hamilton apparently took his mother to be as good as her word. See *CSPD*, 1639, pp.282, 331.

99. For various interpretations of the nature of political and religious unrest in England prior to 1637 see J.Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution*, London, 1993; C.Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, Oxford, 1990; J.P.Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England 1603-1640*, London, 1986; J.Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641*, Oxford, 1992; K.Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, London, 1992.

100. On Leighton's *Appeal* and his connections within the Blackfriars community in London, see Chapter IV.

II

In Scotland Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth, agreed with the sentiments of Leighton's *Appeal*, writing to Jane Campbell, Lady Kenmure, in June 1630 that the bishops:

> have drawn our king upon hard and dangerous conclusions against such as are termed Puritans, for the rooting of them out. Our prelates (the Lord takes the keys of His house from these bastard porters) assure us that, for such as will not conforme, there is nothing but imprisonement and deprivatione... [101]

Rutherford was not above repeating such words from the pulpit, and he soon found himself summoned before the High Commission, a 'profligate person of this parish' having informed Spottiswood of the contents of his sermon. However, on this occasion the combined efforts of Lady Jane and Lady Luck intervened. Spottiswood could not attend because 'sea and winds refused to give [him] passage', and a letter from 'Mr Alexander Colville (for respect to your Ladyship)' led to the charge being dropped.[102] Bigger guns had to be brought to bear when Alexander Gordon of Earlston, a friend of Rutherford and a man of 'wisdom, courage, and righteousness'[103] angered Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, for opposing his nominee to the vacant parish of Kirkudbright. Gordon was fined 500 merks by the High Commission, and banished to Montrose. But after the intercession of Lady Jane's brother Archibald, Lord Lorne (and later eighth Earl of Argyle), the Privy Council set the sentence of banishment aside.[104] The matter did not end there, as Sydserff insisted that the fine be paid. Rutherford wrote to Marion McNaught - wife of William Fullerton, provost of Kirkudbright - to

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101. Letter Rutherford to Lady Kenmure, June 1630, in Rutherford, *Letters*, XI, pp.52-54. In similar terms to Leighton, Rutherford blamed the bishops for misleading the king.
102. *Ibid.*.
103. *SB*, I, p.344.
104. As patron of the parish Lorne insisted that Gordon had acted under his direction, when Sydserf persisted with the action, Lorne appealed successfully to the Privy Council. Rutherford, *Letters*, pp. 132-133.

'encourage' her husband to intervene as the 'head magistrate' of the town.[105] He did so, but the latter battle was eventually lost.

Marion McNaught was a close confidante of Rutherford and Lady Jane Campbell, and was immediately informed of any important news. Even word received from London was remarkably up-to-date: 'there is a letter procured from the King by Mr John Maxwell', wrote Rutherford in November 1629, 'to urge conformity [and] to give the communion at Christmas in Edinburgh'.[106] Just a few weeks before John Maxwell, minister of Edinburgh, and later Bishop of Ross, had met William Laud in the English capital and advised the primate that he was:

> clear of opinion, that if his Majestie would have a liturgy settled there [in Scotland], it were best to take the English liturgy without any variation, that so the same service-book might be established in all of his Majesties dominions...[107]

Just as Rutherford could rely on the godly matrons to spread word abroad of the bishops' latest machinations as regards the kirk, he also had confidence in their ability to influence events at the forthcoming coronation parliament in Scotland. 'I hear this day', wrote Rutherford to Marion in May 1633, '[that] your town is to choose a commissioner for the Parliament':

> let it not be said that Kirkudbright...hath sent a man to be their mouth that will speak against Christ...intreat your husband to take it upon him..[108]

The minister also wrote to Lady Jane Campbell, pleading with her to 'stir up your husband to lay hold upon the covenant, and to do good'.[108a] Yet despite the efforts of both minister and matron,

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105. Letter Rutherford to Marion McNaught, July 1635, in Rutherford, *Letters*, LII, pp.125-126.
106. Letter Rutherford to Marion McNaught, Nov.1629, in *Ibid.*, VI, pp.44-46.
107. Quoted in H.R.Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud 1573-1645*, London, 1962, p.136.
108. Letter Rutherford to Marion McNaught, May [1633], in Rutherford, *Letters*, XXXVI, p.99. Livingstone noted that 'private meetings' often took place at Kirkcudbright; Livinstone, 'Life', f68.
108a. Letter Rutherford to Lady Kenmure, April 1633, in Rutherford, *Letters*, XXVIII, pp.87-89.

Kenmure could not be brought to oppose the ecclesiastical enactments of the crown openly, even though he believed that the 'Five Articles' were 'superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian, and come from hell'. On his deathbed, in the presence of Marion McNaught and Lady Jane's young chaplain George Gillespie,[109] Kenmure much regretted his conduct, and condemned the 'key-cold' attitude of his fellow nobility to the reformed religion.[110] Some opposition did materalise however, notably from those whom Johnston of Wariston later described as the 'pryme foor noblemen' of the covenanting revolution, 'Rothes, Lindsay, Balmerino, Laudin'.[111] The wife of John Leslie, sixth earl of Rothes was Anna Erskine, one of the seventh earl of Mar's troublesome presbyterian daughters.[112] The mother of John Lindsay, first earl of Lindsay, was Christian Hamilton. John Campbell, first earl of Loudon had performed many 'favours' for Rutherford, and befriended the minister's brother in 1636, when he was also 'suffering for the same cause'.[113] Rutherford had no doubt hoped that the combined efforts of the matrons would be able to exploit Kenmure's opposition to the crown's latest assault on the kirk, in much the same way as Christian Hamilton had done in 1621. At conventicles in Edinburgh, she and Robert Bruce had prevailed upon her cousin Robert Boyd to resign the office of Principal of Glasgow University. Both matron and minister were aware that Boyd's conscience was in turmoil over conformity to the 'Five

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109. Gillespie was vehemently anti-episcopalian, and was later the author of the highly regarded *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies Obtruded Upon the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1637.

110. MacInnes, *op.cit.*, p.150.

111. Johnston, *Diary*, p.282. All four suffered for their opposition at the parliament, Rothes was 'demoted' - by having his right to bear the sceptre withdrawn; the earldoms of Lindsay and Loudon were revoked; and Balmerino found himself on trial for treason. For the controversy surrounding the 1633 parliament see MacInnes, *op.cit.*, esp. Chapter 4; K.M.Brown, *Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715*, pp.98-110. For the grievances of the opposition see 'The humble supplication of the Lords, and other Commissioners of the Late Parliament', *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.127, f.250r&v.

112. See below, pp.130.

113. Letter Rutherford to Lord Loudon, March 1637, in Rutherford, *Letters*, CXVI, pp.235-237.

Articles'.[114] James VI, who had made a personal grant of the office to Boyd, was much embarrassed by the Principal's stand on the issue, and his resignation was a considerable propaganda coup for the presbyterians. Both Bruce and Boyd were called to task over the 'privat meetings and conventicles within Edinburgh' which they had attended between 1621and 1623. But despite the king's anger over Boyd's action, and the fact that Bruce had broken the conditions of his ward, the matter was quietly dropped. Once again, it was Thomas Hamilton, earl of Melrose, who wrote to the king recommending leniency in Boyd's case.[115]

The reaction from 'some of the worthiest of the ministry in this kingdom' at their failure to defeat Charles' ecclesiastical legislation of 1633 was to maintain the pressure. Immediately, Rutherford called for a series of conventicles, in order that the faithful could 'cry to God with humiliation and fasting'.[116] Here, said Rutherford,

> Atheism, idolatry, profanity, and vanity, should be confessed; our kings heart recommended to God; and God intreated that he would stir up the nobles and the people to turn from their evil ways...[117]

The minister informed Lady Jane of the decision, and asked her to 'impart it to my Lord your husband...[and] Mr G[eorge] G[illespie]'.[118] These instructions from the 'worthiest of the ministry', which emanated from secret meetings held in Edinburgh, marked an increase in conventicling activity from 1634, which reached a peak in 1637. In the latter year the minister John Livingstone reported 'being at some private meetings every day', at Irvine, Doune, Loudon, Lanark and Edinburgh.[119] Conventicles at Irvine, the parish of David Dickson, were organised

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114. Reid, *op.cit.*, p.146.
115. *RPCS*, XII, pp.572-4.
116. Letter Rutherford to Lady Kenmure, Jan. 1634, in Rutherford, *Letters*, XXXI, pp.92-93.
117. *Ibid.*.
118. *Ibid.*.
119. Livingstone, 'Life', f81

and attended by Anna Livingstone, countess of Eglinton, and Elizabeth Melville, whilst those at Lanark fell under the auspices of Livingstone's mother Agnes, 'a rare patern of piety and meeknes'. Her house had been the resort of 'sundrie gracious christians' for some years, and meetings were held 'in a chamber in Lanark where we used to spend some time in conference and prayer'. Those present from time to time included several local 'religious Gentlemen', as well as the ministers Robert Bruce and Robert Blair, and the matrons Margaret Fleming (countess of Wigtown,) Beatrix Hamilton, and once again Elizabeth Melville. Livingstone also attended 'privat meetings' at Kirkcudbright, and thus could exchange news and views with Marion McNaught.[120]

Meanwhile, Marion McNaught harried the bishop of Galloway with requests for Rutherford to be translated to Kirkudbright, which plea Sydserff stoutly resisted.[121] It was almost inevitable that all this activity would attract unwanted attention, and at the end of 1634, Rutherford apprehensively informed Lady Jane that 'some of my papers, anent the corruptions of the time, are come to the kings hand'. In 1635 Rutherford learnt that he was to be called 'in question at the Synod for treasonable doctrine', an action in which Marion McNaught had become implicated. The minister told her to 'fear not for my papers; I shall despatch them, but ye will be examined for them'.[122] Events came to a head in 1636 with the appearance of Rutherford's *Exercitationes Apologetica Divinia Gratia* which had been printed in Amsterdam with the assistance of David Calderwood.[123] It seems likely that Marion McNaught, as Rutherford feared, was herself hauled before the High Commission in 1636. There is no extant record of this

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120. *Ibid.*, ff.65-81; Livingstone, 'Professors of my acquaintance', ff.166-167.
121. Rutherford appears to have been aware that Marion's enthusiasm was likely to get them both into trouble; see Letter Rutherford to Marion McNaught, April 1634, in *Ibid.*, XLIII, pp.111-112.
122. Same to the Same, July 1635, in *Ibid.*, LII, pp.125-126; and [undated] LV, pp.128-129.
123. See Letter John Paget to David Calderwood, Amsterdam, 16 June 1636, NLS,*Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLII, No.108, f.254.

sitting of the court, but in 1638 Johnston of Wariston noted that the bishops did not scruple at calling

> befor them the subjects from the remotest part of the kingdome, and in the midst of winter, as they did of late when some honest men and women in kirk and burgh wer summoned at the instance of the bishop of galloway, to compeir at Edinburgh in the moneth of december 1636...[124]

There is no record of what punishment - if any - was meted out to the 'women' concerned, but this time even the intercession of Argyle - at the behest of Lady Jane[125] - could not save Rutherford. He was sentenced to 'internal exile' at Aberdeen.

Yet even in that ungodly place Rutherford managed to find 'a honest mans house',[126] recording that, 'I find folks here kind to me; but in the night, and under their breath'. He also noted that, 'my Lady Merschal is very kind to me, and her son also'.[127] Lady Marischal was Margaret Erskine, daughter of John Erskine, seventh earl of Mar, and her son William Keith, was the seventh earl of Marichal. In 1638 Johnston of Wariston and the covenanting minister, Andrew Cant, attended a private meeting at which the earl was induced to sign the covenant. He had previously been reluctant to append his signature, but a combination of his mother's pious tears and the 'exceiding great pouer' of Cant's preaching proved irresistible.[128] Cant was the minister of Pitsligo, a parish under the patronage of Jean Keith, sister of William. She was a 'rank puritan', and also supported Rutherford through his time of exile in Aberdeen.[129] Elizabeth Melville wrote to comfort Rutherford in his time of trial, a service she had performed for John Welsh and William Rig in their hour of

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124. David Calderwood, & Archibald Johnston, 'The Lawles and exhorbitant power of the high commission', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto. LXXVI, No.7a, 1638.
125. Letter Rutherford to Lady Kenmure, July 1636, in Rutherford, *Letters*, LXI, pp.136-138.
126. Letter Rutherford to Robert Gordon, Sept. 1636, in *Ibid.*, LXVI, pp.144-145.
127. Letter Rutherford to Lady Kenmure, June 1637, in *Ibid.*, CCVI, pp.405-407, & Nov. 1636, LXIX, pp.148-150.
128. Johnston, *Diary*, p.273.
129. A.Bonar, 'Sketch of Samuel Rutherford', in Rutherford, *Letters*, p.14.

need.[130] Thus Rutherford was protected from the worst effects of his exile by the matrons of the kirk whose own 'parish' knew no bounds, and he - in common with many other dissident presbyterian ministers - was never effectively silenced.

III

Prophecy also played its part in affairs. In 1634, Robert Blair was moved by the words of the demented prophetess Eupham McCullen, when she condemned his fine clothes and 'bulkie ruff as reminiscent of the attire of his episcopalian counterparts. He gave her 'ane dollar' to ease his conscience. But Eupham denied the minister his penitential salve, as she promptly spent the money on 'baps and sybows',[131] and distributed them to passers by as he looked on.[132] Such examples greatly aided the resolve of the faithful, and were especially valuable at 'open air' conventicles and public fairs, where they often effected conversion.[133] Elizabeth Melville's epic poem, *Ane Godly Dream*, set out the reasons behind her own conversion, and set an example to others:

> I loathit my lyfe, I could not eit nor drink,
> I micht not speik nor luik to nane that leifit,
> Bot musit alone and divers things did think.
>
> The wretchit warld did sa molest my mynde,
> I thocht upon this fals and Iron age.
> And how our harts war sa to vice inclynde,
> That Sathan seimit maist feirfullie to rage...[134]

The poem was chanted, in the form of a lament, at large open-air gatherings such as the 'communion at Shots' in 1630. Elizabeth

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130. See 'A Sonnet sent to Blackness: To Mr John Welsh by ye Lady Culross', *Wodrow MSS*, Qto.XXIX, No.4, f.4; *SB*, I, pp.341-342; Rutherford, *Letters*, July 1636, LXII, pp.139-140.
131. 'bread and onions'.
132. *SB*, I, p.340.
133. On this topic in general see, L.E.Schmidt, *Holy Fairs - Scottish communions and American Revivals in the early modern period*, Princeton, 1989.
134. The poem is reproduced in Lawson, *Poems of Alexander Hume*, Appendix D, at p.185.

was regarded with such reverence and awe by the crowds, that even when she retired to her room to pray, a sizeable crowd - including William Rig - forced its way into her bedroom to watch. Alexander Hume, minister of Logie Kirk, near Stirling, 'doubted not but [her poetry] was a gift of God', and it was Elizabeth's piety and example which gave Livingstone the courage to preach with such effect to the assembled congregation.[135]

Open-air meetings were also a prominent feature of the so-called 'Stewarton sickness' of the 1620s. Two of the matrons who administered to the 'sick' of Stewarton during the latter decade were Elizabeth Melville and Anna Livingstone. The two women persuaded Robert Blair, Robert Bruce, and Robert Boyd to preach before 'the daft people of Stewarton', and even arranged 'outings' to the parish of Irvine in order that they might benefit from the much admired sermons of David Dickson. The young Blair blessed 'the Lord that ever I was acquainted with that people', and for the fact that it was through these meetings that his life-long friendship with David Dickson began. The meetings continued until 'the power of religion was spread over that part of the country', and the congregation had 'attained to [the] sweet peace and strong consolation' of the ancient church. Extra authority was given to the gatherings by the attendance of Anna's husband, Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton, whom Anna cajoled into sparing 'his hunting and hawking some days to confer with some of them'. 'His Lordship', reported Blair, was very much impressed, and remarked 'at the wisdom they manifested in their speech'.[136]

The earl of Eglinton was not alone in being impressed either by the words of the ignorant, or by those of the women who took it upon themselves to bring such religious 'sickness' to the attention of others. In 1637 Johnston of Wariston gave room and board to a 'poore damoseil', Margaret Mitchelson, who quickly became a prophetess of some repute. She was capable of 'heavenly

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135. Livingstone, 'Life', f.70; Hume, *Hymnes , or Sacred Songs*, preface.
136. Blair, *Life*, pp.19-20; *SB*, I, p.347.

raptures' which could last as long as thirteen hours, during which she would expound on such topical subjects as the 'bishops, [the] neu covenant...[and] dissemblers of the peace of zion'. Johnston wheeled her out at critical moments to strengthen the resolve of the covenanting leadership, and her audiences included Lord Lorne, and the earls of Rothes and Balmerino. There were also many others, including 'som doubtsome of before', who became 'strongly confirmed and incouraged to had hand to this great work of God' by Mitchelson's words.[137] No doubt such events were stage-managed for contemporary audiences and thereafter embellished for posterity. But if prophecy was the presbyterians' 'armour',[138] then propaganda was one of their most effective weapons. By 1637 the former gave covenanting Scotsmen the faith to press on with the revolution in the face of the king's threats, and the latter provided the historical justification of the need to re-affirm Scotland's covenant with God. Women wielded both with a dexterity equal to that of their menfolk.

IV

There is little doubt that the riots of 1637 in Edinburgh were pre-arranged, or that sympathisers in both Edinburgh and London were aware of of what was being planned. The faithful had long been prepared for the arrival of the English Liturgy in Scotland. Samuel Rutherford had ensured that the 'best affected' of south-western Scotland were well acquainted with that particular 'storm'.[139] In the first months of 1637 advanced preparations were made at a conventicle held at the house of Nicolas Balfour, in the Edinburgh's 'Cowgate'.[140] Those present included Bethia (the wife of Alexander Gibson, Lord Durie) and Elspa Craig (the mother of Johnston of Wariston), and Catherine Erskine (Lady Binning).

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137. Johnston, Diary, pp.385, 393, 406-407.
138. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p. 1.
139. See above, pp.93, 122, and references there cited.
140. Mark Napier, *Memoirs of the Duke of Montrose*, Edinburgh, 1856, I, p. 130.

Also reputedly present were John Stewart, first earl of Traquair and Treasurer from 1636, and Sir Thomas Hope, King's Advocate. The ministers were represented by Alexander Henderson and David Dickson, both leading figures in the embryonic covenanting movement. Also in attendance was one Charles Mowat who 'kept manie a meeting at Nicholas Balfours [and] waited on the Earle of Buchan, at Edinburgh and London'.[141] Charles Mowat appears to have been a go-between to maintain contact between sympathisers in London and Edinburgh, and may have been privy to information from court, through his employer. James Erskine, earl of Buchan, was the brother of Catherine Erskine (Lady Binning), and a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I, and they were the offspring of the second earl of Mar; who had been Lord Treasurer until 1630, and whose own religious sympathies may be gleaned from his involvement with the presbyterian 'Ruthven Raiders' of 1582. It was probably at this meeting that Catherine was warned of the action to be taken on the imminent arrival of the prayer book in Scotland's kirks, and that perhaps 'she should change her seat out of the chief kirk where it was to be read'.[142] She in turn consulted John Livingstone, before deciding against the:

> denying of my testimony to the truth: I resolved to continue in my seat, and when it is read to rise and goe out...[143]

Also present at the meeting was Mowat's brother, Roger, one of the trusted advocates appointed by the 'pryme foor' covenanting noblemen. Roger Mowat had been recommended by John Nisbet, another of the covenanters' legal team in 1638, who had been counsel to John Elphinstone, second earl of Balmerino, at his trial for treason in 1634.[144] The advocate was at the meeting to keep the four noblemen apprised of the situation. As Sir William Noy, the English Attorney General of 1631 might have commented,

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141. *SB*, I, p.346.
142. Livingstone, 'Professors of my acquaintance', f.166.
143. *Ibid.*.
144. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.282, 284.

these representatives of the nobles, ministers, lawyers and matrons of the kirk had hardly met by chance.

It is clear that Scotland's presbyterian godly matrons were to be found amongst all sections of Scottish society. Christian Hamilton was the daughter of Thomas, earl of Melrose and Haddington, Lord President of the Court of Session and Secretary of State. At the opposite end of the spectrum was Eupham McCullen, a demented prophetess of unknown parentage. Geographically, they were to be found in locations as far apart as Aberdeen in the north-east, and Kircudbright in the far corner of the south-west. The matrons were the guardians of the nation's non-conformist ministers, providing them with moral and financial support in their hour of need. They exercised a far-reaching patronage themselves, and in particularly difficult or politically sensitive situations, could cause extra weight to be brought to bear by their menfolk. Consequently, Scotland's Privy Council was unable - or unwilling - to stamp out conventicles effectively, not least because such a course of action would have meant indicting some of the most powerful families in Scotland. For much the same reasons, the matrons who sheltered and funded ministers against the ravages of deprivation and exile reduced the effectiveness of the High Commission.

Practically nothing has been written on their efforts, but perhaps their most unusual and yet most unnoticed role was as guardians of the nation's presbyterian history. When threatened with the High Commission, Samuel Rutherford's first concern was to 'dispatch' his 'papers'. This alluded to the task of keeping incriminating evidence out of the hands of the king and his bishops. It has previously been suggested that David Calderwood already possessed the enormous collection of documents which would be used to compile his *History* as early as 1614.[145] Before his own trial in 1617 the minister placed twelve 'kists' of books and documents, and 'mair lying heir and thair disperst in severall

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145. See above, p.5.

kists', amongst the matrons of Edinburgh for safe-keeping. Splitting up the collection in this way was, paradoxically, the best means of ensuring that it survived intact. The documents and books remained dispersed until the minister's death, and thus in his will we have a rare record of the process.[146] 'Twa kists' were in the keeping of Anna Hay, daughter of Sir Alexander Hay, Lord Forresterseat and clerk register of Scotland. Anna was Johnston of Wariston's sister-in-law, and his close confidante.[147] Another 'twa kists' were in the care of Elizabeth Hamilton, wife to Lawrence Henderson. The Henderson and Hamilton families' non-conformist activities have been noted above.[148] Further kists were entrusted to Marion Sadler of Dalkeith, who was Calderwood's sister-in-law.[149] But the supreme irony lay in the 'twa kists' which resided in the house of Catherine Lawson, the wife of James Primrose, clerk to the privy council. One can only wonder at the thoughts which passed through Primrose's mind, as he prepared the final draft of the king's 'proclamation against forbidden books' in 1625, or directed the council's 'macers' in their search for dissident literature in 1619.[150] After the minister's release from prison on licence in 1617, it was Primrose who warned Calderwood of the king's intention to have him re-arrested should he preach, even though this was not laid down in the council's conditions of bail.[151] There was no doubt that Primrose was a friend to Calderwood, and it is inconceivable that he did not know the contents of the kists his wife had taken into her care. The whole affair encompasses neatly the problems the crown faced in combating non-conformity in Scotland. The godly matrons harboured presbyterianism in their hearts and minds, and those of their menfolk who did not share their enthusiasm openly, at least tolerated it in their homes. Women relished the political role which presbyterianism granted them, and used it to nurture the

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146. Reproduced in Calderwood, *History*, VIII, pp.xv-xix.
147. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.249, 251, 254, 284-286.
148. See above, pp.77, 114.
149. Calderwood, *History*, VIII, p.xxviii.
150. See above, pp.83-84; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.629.
151. Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f6r.

movement through difficult times. Just as the Reformation burst forth from the 'privy kirks' of the 1550s, so the conventicles of the kirk provided the springboard for revolution in 1637.

CHAPTER IV

Pedagogues and Puritans:

Scottish presbyterian exiles in England.

Is it that Englishmen in truth are kept unskilled
In filth and blindness weltering?
And have they Rome-wise the royal altar laid
With superstitious zeal to deck a Purple Jade...

Andrew Melville, c.1606.

After 1600 a mixture of James' religious policy and unfavourable social circumstances drove a small (but nonetheless remarkable) number of Scottish presbyterians to seek employment in England. This chapter concerns two such men, one of whom was John Durie. He spent the early years of his life in Holland with his father, Robert, formerly minister of Anstruther, who was exiled for his part in the 'illegal' assembly held at Aberdeen in 1605.[1] John was later to become famous for his untiring (and ultimately fruitless) efforts to bring about the union of the protestant churches of Europe, but is less well known for his attempts to broker a settlement in the troubled arena of Anglo/Scottish religious affairs.[2] As he arrived at London in the 1620s, he found another notable Scotsman, Alexander Leighton, already there.

It seems unlikely that Leighton was driven out of Scotland as a direct result of his opposition to royal religious policy. His major difficulty seems to have been that he lacked patronage, without which it would have been difficult for him to secure a permanent benefice. Leighton's family[3] forfeited their lands through a bloodfeud (involving at least one murder) which continued

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1. *Fasti*, IV, pp.182-183.
2. A complete biography of this important Scot is long overdue. Aspects of his work towards reconciling the differences between German and Swedish Lutherans and Calvinists are fairly well documented; see Gunnar Westin, *Negotiations About Church Unity, 1628-1634*, Uppsala, 1932, esp. Chapter 1, and references there cited. Durie's contribution towards the new scientific, educational, and philosophical ideas which blossomed in England in the 1640s and 1650s are given a worthwhile, although not full, treatment in C.Webster, *The Great Instauration - Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660*, London, 1975. See also T. Corcoran, *Studies in the History of Classical Teaching*, London, 1911. A.L.Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent*, Edinburgh, 1956, pp.65-75, gives a woefully inadequate account of Durie's efforts on behalf of the Scottish Kirk in Europe; and a mention of Durie's intervention in the controversy over English/Scottish church unity can be found in D.MacMillan, *The Aberdeen Doctors*, 1909, Chapter VI. An invaluable aid to research into Durie's role in England and Scotland during the 1630s is to be found in the publication of the letters of John Durie for this period, in G.H.Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius - Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers*, London, 1947; and G.H.Turnbull, *Samuel Hartlib, A Sketch of his Life and his Relations to J.A.Comenius*, London, 1920.
3. On the Leightons of Usan and the family's difficulties, see D. Butler, *The Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, London, 1903, pp. 1-14.

throughout the 1580s,[4] and although he graduated M.A. from St Andrews University in 1587, his name does not appear in the college registers for 1586-1588.[5] This omission probably reflects his lack of social standing, and suggests that he 'worked' his way to his degree and thus was not named in the roll. It is probable that Leighton earned his living as an itinerant preacher in the Scottish borders and northern England for some years thereafter. Whatever, he must have acquired a benefactor by 1617, since in that year he was able to travel to Leiden to gain the additional qualification of M.D. at the latter university.

In many ways, the later careers of these two men encapsulate the problems which Charles I faced in furthering his father's programme of religious reform. At first glance, it appears that John Durie and Alexander Leighton were on opposite sides of the religious controversy which was raging bitterly in Scotland at the commencement of the 1620s. Leighton sought the complete extirpation of bishops, whilst Durie was apparently prepared to tolerate them and their office for the sake of his ideal of European religious unity. But for both men the issue was one of ends, not means, and for Durie in particular that meant unity with or without bishops. Nevertheless, the two men were not so stubborn as to spurn an alliance, and as the 1630s progressed the 'rigid' principles of Charles I looked likely to provide the necessary conditions to unite them *in opposition* to the crown.[6]

For twenty years after the Reformation, the kirk of Scotland had worked to limit the relationship between king and bishop, and in 1581 had removed bishops from the equation altogether.[7] James

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4. See *RPCS*, VI, *passim*.
5. St Andrews University, *Faculty of Arts Bursars MSS*, ff.64r-66r. Leighton claimed that he had graduated from St Andrews in 1587, and there seems no reason to doubt the fact; see Alexander Leighton, *An Epitome or Briefe Discoverie from the beginning to the ending of the many and great troubles that Dr Leighton suffered in his Body, Estate and Family, for the space of twelve years and upwards*, London, 1646, p.63.
6. On the consequences of Charles' adherence to his 'rigid' principles, see K.Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, London, 1992, p.974.
7. On this see Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', esp. 'Cap 5', f.23r-24v.

reinstated them in 1610, and two decades later Charles undoubtedly did not ease the temper of his Scottish subjects by pledging to 'defend the Bischopes, and the churches under ther governiment'.[8] But he was saying no more (and no less) than 'no Bishop, no King'. Certainly both James and his son understood the latter phrase to mean 'no bishop, no effective secular ruler',[9] but for presbyterians such as Leighton it meant 'no bishop, no effective secular *tyrant*'. Thus in 1610 Hume of Godscroft described presbyterianism as

> distinguished from the Romish discipline and governement... standing in superioritie of bishops, archbishops, and suche other degrees of imparitie in power of governement plaine contrarie to ours, and termining in monarchie or tyrannie, which ye please call it (for they are of one essence of a sole governement, and the qualitie I thinke changeth not the essence).... [10]

Such a philosophy held that the concentration of political or religious power in the hands of a single man (whether it be king or pope) must inevitably lead to tyranny. In the ecclesiastical estate the checks and balances which prevented this happening were provided by the conciliar nature of its church courts, in which there existed

> a full paritie and freedom in conveening; no pastor excluded in choosing, speaking, reasoning, concluding, prosecuting; all by the number and pluralitie of votes....[11]

For the last fifty years, argued presbyterians, the government of the kirk had been by council, *via* the general assembly and the system of regional presbyterial courts which had been added in 1581.[12] In order to protect this 'pluralitie' in the ecclesiastical

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8. Quoted in J.Morrill, 'The National Covenant in it British Context', in J.Morrill (ed.),*The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, Edinburgh, 1990, p.3.
9. *Ibid.*, p.8. On the conference at Hampton Court, where the famouse phrase was first uttered, see F.Shriver, 'Hampton Court Re-visited: James I and the Puritans', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33, 1982.
10. Letter 'Mr David Hume of Godscroft...to Mr James Law, Bishop of Orkney', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.65.
11. *Ibid.*, p.66.
12. See also Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', ff.20r-24v. It is therefore somewhat misleading to suggest that 'Calderwood read back the existence of presbyteries

estate, it was necessary to ensure that the spectre of tyranny did not arise in in the civil realm, and thus infect its spiritual counterpart. From the 1560s there had existed a conception of popular sovereignty which held that that monarchy was an elective office, and that kings were accountable to those who elected them. Although ill-defined, the theory, expounded by George Buchanan, pointed towards the conclusion that ultimate sovereignty rested with parliament as a guardian of the community.[13] Presbyterian political and religious thought therefore perceived parliament and the general assembly as performing separate - but essentially similar - roles in their respective estates. The path to tyranny lay in confusing the two jurisdictions, and, since bishops held of the king and not of the general assembly, the effect of episcopacy on the kirk was to subvert ecclesiastical independence in favour of control by the state.

In 1606 David Calderwood argued the presbyterian case in the following terms:

> The mixing, jumbling, and confounding of jurisdictiouns and callings in ane person, which God distinguished in persons and maner of handling, is against the word.
>
> But so it is, that the office of bishoprie confounds the spirituall and civill jurisdictiouns and callings in the person of one:
>
> *Ergo.*, Num. xviii., ver.4, 5 [the office of bishoprie is against the word].[14]

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to the beginning' [D.G.Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an idea 1560- 1638*, Edinburgh, 1986, p.137], since he claimed only that the kirk was governed by council. The post-Reformation bishops were - like all ministers - subject to that council, i.e. the general assembly.

13. R.A.Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians', in R.A.Mason (ed), *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603*, Cambridge, 1994, pp.116-117.

14. David Calderwood, 'Reasons why this new sort of bishops sould not be sett up in Scotland' [hereafter Calderwood, 'Reasons',] in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.502. The technique of 'constructing a clever syllogism to demonstrate the false nature of church hierarchy' [P.Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war*, London, 1978, p.120-121] was therefore used by Scottish presbyterians some years before Leighton. The latter writer was just as likely to have drawn on their example as on that of Brightman.

The authority for Calderwood's own exposition of the 'twa kingdomes' theory was drawn from the work of the French theologian and political commentator Jean Gerson [1363-1429].[15] Gerson (who was an influence on the thought of the historian John Mair, the tutor of George Buchanan) advocated the superiority of the general council of the church over the pope. In an ideal world, stated Gerson, the government of the civil estate should mirror that of the ecclesiastical. But, he cautioned, 'ecclesiastics have no capacity for temporal jurisdiction, even if princes wish to confer it upon them', and it was their express duty 'not to implicate themselves in worldly affairs'.[16] In turn, princes had no right to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, except to wield the civil sword in defence of the faith. For Gerson, 'all power in heaven and earth' was invested in neither popes nor kings, for just as ecclesiastical jurisdiction lay with a general council of the church, so ultimate authority in the secular realm rested in a representative assembly of the people. The two kingdoms (or councils) were therefore separate, but mutually dependent, in that each was intended to prevent the rise of absolute power in the other.[17]

Both Durie and Leighton had grown up with such ideas, and it is unsurprising to find that they should have carried them to London during the 1620s. Leighton saw the answer to the Anglo/Scottish religious dispute in a presbyterian union of the Scottish kirk and the English church, which was implacably opposed to the episcopal visions of Charles and Laud. Durie sought a negotiated compromise somewhere between the two extremes. But the method by which Leighton and Durie proposed to achieve their

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15. See Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.26v; David Calderwood, 'The nature and qualitie of diocesane synods' [hereafter Calderwood, 'Diocesane synods'], in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.135. On Gerson see Q.Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Cambridge, 1978, II, pp.40-46, 115-118, 121-127. The more famous exposition of the theory is that of Andrew Melville; see Calderwood, *History*, V, pp.439-440.

16. Quoted in Skinner, *op.cit.*, p.116.

17. See *Ibid.*. Presbyterian political theory therefore had serious implications as far as James VI was concerned, a fact pointed out by Figgis a century ago; see J.N.Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, Cambridge, 1896, pp.135-136.

aims was essentially the same, and drew upon Scottish political and religious ideas prevalent since the Reformation. This chapter therefore seeks to explore this latter point, and the implications of Charles' failure - in common with his father - to accept Scottish advice on how to deal with the problem.

I

Christopher Hill, that most prolific of historians on the origins of the English civil war, wrote that in 1607 Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, sentenced a 'Kentish minister':

> to be fined £2,000, pilloried, deprived of his ears, whipped until he confessed, and perpetually imprisoned. His offence was libelling the episcopal government of the church... [18]

Beyond remarking that 'nothing Laud did to Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Lilburne improved on that', the author did not note that William Laud's treatment of Alexander Leighton in 1630 far exceeded even Bancroft's cruel ingenuity. The decree of the Star Chamber, which court sentenced Leighton, reads:

> That Dr. Leighton should be committed to the prison of the Fleet, there to remain during his life....and he shall pay a fine to his Majesty's use of £10000....be degraded of his ministry....and then whipped....be set upon the pillory [at Westminster]....and have one of his ears cut off, and his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S.S. for Sower of Sedition....and at some other convenient time afterwards, shall be carried into the pillory at Cheapside upon a market day....and have his other ear cut off.. [19]

Surely, to quote Hill once again, 'nothing Laud did to Prynne, Burton, Bastwick and Lilburne' improved on *that*. The omission of Leighton from this non-conformist roll of honour is perplexing, until one realises that he was a Scot and a presbyterian, and therefore just another lunatic from the north.[20] 'No single action', wrote William Lamont in 1961, 'did more to inflame resentment against Laud than this sentence [of Prynne, Burton, and

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18. C. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England*, London, 1964, p.323.
19. For details of Leighton's trial and sentence see the 'Speech of Sir Robert Heath in the Case of Alexander Leighton in the Star Chamber, June 4, 1630', ed. S.R.Gardiner, in *Camden Society Miscellany*, (Vol. VII), London, 1865, pp.1-10. The immediate cause of his prosecution was [Alexander Leighton], *An appeal to the Parliament, or, Sions plea against the prelacy*, Amsterdam, 1629.
20. On the attitude of history towards Scottish presbyterians in general, see Chapter V, pp.175-179.

Bastwick], the three libellers became the three holy martyrs'.[21] The notion has proved remarkably enduring, yet as is discussed below, it seems likely that the bishop of London's treatment of Alexander Leighton occasioned as much (if not more) 'resentment' against Laudian policy. Additionally, as has been demonstrated in the last chapter, it considerably inflamed dissident tempers in Scotland. Leighton himself thought the sentence 'hee received in the Starrchamber as great [a censure] as ever was given ther', and it is difficult to disagree with him.[22]

By 1629 Leighton had lived for ten years amongst the puritan community of London, to which Bastwick had introduced him in 1619.[23] Leighton settled in Blackfriars, where he was a welcome addition to the congregation of William Gouge, the presbyterian minister of St. Anne's church in that parish. During this time Leighton used his joint degrees of M.D. and M.A. to assist Gouge in ministering to the physical and religious needs of his parishioners. Gouge was a prominent supporter of Leighton's *Appeal to the parliament* of 1629, and a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643.[24] Blackfriars itself was one of the parishes which formed the caucus of presbyterian dissent in London, and where, according to the bishop of Rochester, 'the power of vestries and churchwardens' was like to 'hatch a lay presbytery'.[25] In 1627 Charles I himself commented that such parishes were 'the retreat and receptacle of the Grandees of the Puritan faction'.[26]

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21. W.M.Lamont, 'William Prynne, 1600-1669, "The Mountainous Ice" of Puritainism' *History Today*, 1961, Vol. XI, 3, p. 200.
22. See *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes - from the beginning of the Long Parliament to the opening of the trial of the Earl of Strafford*, ed. Wallace Notestein, London, 1923, App. 1 & 2.
23. Leighton graduated M.D. at Leyden University in 1619, in which town he had lived with John Bastwick, also studying for the degree of M.D., since 1617; see D.Plooij, *The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch point of View*, New York, 1932, p.59, 83, and S.Foster, *Notes from the Caroline Underground, Alexander Leighton, The Puritan Triumvirate and the Laudian Reaction*, London, 1978, p.2.
24. On Gouge see J.Reid, *Memoirs of the Westminster Divines*, Paisley, 1811, pp.343-363. On Gouge and Leighton at Blackfriars see Butler, *op.cit.*, p.33.
25. S.R.Gardiner (ed.), *Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*, (Camden Soc.), London, 1886, Vol. XXXIX, p.307.
26. Quoted in P.S.Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships - The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662*, Stanford, 1970, p.302. Seaver has demonstrated that

Leighton's lecturing took place under cover of his medical practice, a tactic which, as has been noted above, was also common in Scotland. He was inhibited four times by the board of the College of Physicians for practising medicine: in 1619, 1626, 1627, and 1634.[27] Such conventicles were well attended, a fact which led to him being accused of presiding over secret and subversive meetings. 'Doctor', said Sir Henry Martin at Leighton's trial in 1630, 'you are a great conventicle keeper'. The minister denied the charge, interestingly enough, on the grounds that conventicles were assemblies of papists, not 'honest protestants'.[28] Laud scoffed at such a defence, urging Leighton to admit that he 'conspired with others to distribute illegal books and he undertook the keeping of conventicles'.[29]

At these conventicles Leighton preached before such prominent puritans as Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, and Cornelius Burgess, who there

> did first whisper...then openly preach, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against their lawful sovereign...[30]

For Leighton, educated under Andrew Melville at St Andrews in the 1580s, such topics had been valid matters of public dispute for

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Blackfriars represented a 'working model of a congregationalist polity within the established church', *ibid.*, p.139. See also Hill [*op. cit.*, p.30] on Gouge and Blackfriars as representative of the 'mainstream of puritan thought'.

27. S.R.Gardiner, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642*, London, 1883-84, III, p.143. He was also denied a licence to preach. Leighton thus had personal, as well as ideological, reasons for his tirade against the bishops and the monopolies of the time.

28. Leighton, *An Epitome*, p.47. *Case of Alexander Leighton in the Star Chamber*, p.6.

29. Quoted in Foster, *op.cit.*, p.53. One of those with whom Leighton 'conspired' to 'distribute illegal books' was Stephen Marshall, a lecturer at St. Stephen's, Coleman St., another presbyterian parish (see Seaver, *op. cit.*, p.139) in which 'a great bundle of these kind of presbyterian books' had just been discovered. Many of the books were printed in Holland using connections which Bastwick and Leighton made with both the English and Scottish communities in 1617-1619. Laud was also aware that another member of the Coleman St. community acted as 'private foot post' carrying messages between London and Leyden; *Ibid.*.

30. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p.72.

many years. During the latter period Melville was reprimanded for raising

> questionis disputable in this cuntrey befoir the youth quha certainlie lernis nathing soever in that uneversitie nor to tak ane evill opinione of his majestie...[31]

Leighton was raised on an ideological diet which included George Buchanan's *De Iure*, and the *Vindicae, contra tyrannos* of Junius Brutus, both of which advocated the deposition - or even the execution - of tyrannical kings.[32] The lessons of Buchanan and Brutus had obvious ramifications for the monarchy, but could just as easily apply to the tyranny of bishops. Once condemned by a public assembly,[33] such 'lordly' tyrants could lawfully be removed. For Leighton, there was 'no better physician' for the ills of the state than 'a good minister', and he was simply passing the message on.[34] Marshall and Calamy were two of the joint authors later to be known as Smectymnuus,[35] along with Matthew Newcomen, William Spurstow, and Thomas Young. Young was a native of Scotland who had lived in London since at least 1618,[36] although he spent six years as minister at Hamburg between 1622 and 1628. He became vicar of Stowmarket in Suffolk in that year.

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31. Quoted in J.Durkin, and J.Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577*, Glasgow, 1977, p.321.

32. Buchanan's *De Iure* was published in Scotland in 1579, as was Hubert Lanquet [alias Stephanus Junius Brutus], *Vindicae, contra tyrannos: sive de principis in populum, populique in principem, legitima potestatae*, Edinburgh, 1579. On Languet, see Skinner, *op.cit.*, I, p.162.

33. Buchanan's definition on just what constitituted a lawful public assembly was loose, but therefore all the more adaptable; see Mason, *op.cit.*, p.117.

34. See Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.117.

35. Smectymuus, *An Answer to a booke entitled 'An Humble Remonstrance' in which the Originall of Liturgy Episcopacy is discussed and Quaeres propounded concerning both; the Parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated; the Occasion of their Unparity in Antiquity discovered; the Disparity of the ancient and our modern Bishops mainifested; the Antiquity of Ruling Elders in the Church vindicated; the Prelaticall Church bounded*, London, 1641

36. Resident at Cheapside [*DNB*], an area which had hosted presbyterians before. Andrew Melville and John Davidson stayed at 'Honie lane Cheapside be North, near to the Standart' in 1584/5; see *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, ed. D.Laing, Edinburgh, 1844, I, p.451. Davidson's lectures at St. Olave, Jewry, were popular at the time, and he was interdicted from preaching by the English authorities. He was closely associated with the English presbyterian John Field; Seaver, *op. cit.*, p.216

The tutor and lifelong friend of John Milton, Young was an avowed presbyterian who was much respected amongst the non-conformist communities of England and Scotland. In 1639 he published his highly inflential tract on sabbatarianism, *Dies Dominica*, and in 1641 was the major contributor to the aforementioned *Answer to...An Humble Remonstrance.*[37] In it the joint authors referred to Leighton's *Appeal* of 1629, noting that it was a work 'we durst not for feare of the Prelates keep in our studies'.[38] The quintet were all presbyterians, as was Burgess, and all were members of the Westminster Assembly of 1643.[39]

The extent of Alexander Leighton's influence on the infamous trio of Caroline 'martyrs' in the 1630s became clear as the decade progressed. At the trial of William Prynne in 1633 Laud noted that the Englishman had cited one of Leighton's own books 'divers times'. 'It were worth the asking', said the primate, just why 'Mr. Pryn should so often cite Laytons speculum belli sacri'.[40] The question was rhetorical, for Laud knew the answer well enough, and in sentencing Prynne the archbishop commented:

> We have those amongst us who will hold up their doctrine against Kings and princes...nay, they go further: not only to censure and kill Kings and princes but to allow rewards for them that shall do it....[41]

Prynne lost the tips of both ears, but the unkind cut owed much to the earlier sentiments of Leighton. It was the Scotsman who had offended king and court with his *Looking-glasse of the holy war* of

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37. This was a refutation of two works by Hall, bishop of Exeter, *Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted* [1641], and the *Humble Remonstrance* [1641].
38. Quoted in Foster, *op.cit.*, p. 14. The puritan Richard Baxter later translated Young's *Dies Dominica* into English, adding a preface; see Thomas Young, *The Lord's Day*, London, 1672. For the recognition of his major role in compiling *An Answer*, and the regard to which he was held in Scotland, see Baillie , *Letters*, I, p.366. As tutor of Milton, see D.Masson, *Life of John Milton*, London, 1894, esp. Vol. 1. Young graduated M.A. from St. Andrews in 1606; see *Faculty of Arts Bursars MSS*, Fol. 83, 1605/6.
39. See Reid, *Westminster Assembly, passim.*
40. Quoted in Foster, *op.cit.*, p.43. Foster also fails to note that Leighton was a Scot, and thus misses a crucial connection between the 'Laudian reaction' and Scottish presbyterianism; *Ibid.*, p.2.
41. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 12.

1624, and *A Shorte treatise Against Stage Players* which appeared a few months later. As Laud explicitly acknowledged in 1633, the offending *Historiomatrix, or, the players scourge* of Prynne repeated and expanded on the earlier grievances of Leighton, but it did not create them.[42] By the latter date, the addition of his *Appeal to the parliament*, together with its savage attack on the episcopate, had rendered Laud's political antennae particularly sensitive.

In fact the *Appeal* was much more than simply an 'English apocalyptic vision'.[43] The main thrust of Leighton's argument was that the 'antichristian authority' of the bishops and the 'beauty of Christs church...cannot subsist together'.[44] This argument had been familiar in Scotland for many years. As Calderwood put it in 1610,

> as all men know...the discipline and governement of the kirk' exercised by presbytereis and by bishops, are so opposed one to another, that when the one is sett up, the other must doun of force...[45]

The origins of Leighton's argument become even clearer when it is noted that the 'beautifull face' of the reformed religion (as Calderwood pointed out in 1614) was the 'Richt discipline' of presbyterianism, and

> expearience does teache that quhair the richt policie is not, and the episcopall government in steed of it, schisme, ignoranc, lukwarmnes, newtralitie, and inclinatioun to poprie itself doeth encrease...[46]

This was precisely Leighton's point. Thus (despite Leighton's more colourful language) the conclusion that episcopacy was a cancerous growth of 'bunchy popish flesh which beareth down, deformeth, and deadeth the body of the church' owed as much to Scottish as it did to English thought.[47]

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42. *Ibid.*, p.43.
43. See Christianson, *op.cit.*. The phrase is that of the title page.
44. See *Ibid.*, p.122.
45. Calderwood, 'Reasons', p.513.
46. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.30r.
47. See Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.120.

This was the message that Leighton brought to London, and to some extent at least, his thoughts were well-received. In 1637 Prynne was once again before the High Commission at London, to answer for the publication of his *A Breviate of the Prelates intollerable usurpations.*[48] This attack on the excesses of the church courts also restated grievances which Leighton had included as part of his *Appeal to the Parliament* in 1629. He argued that the bishops held no lawful jurisdiction in the court of High Commission, a point that was repeated by Burton, Bastwick and Prynne at their own trials in the 1630s.[49] Once again, however, Leighton's thought on the issue coincided with that of other Scottish presbyterians. In 1618 Calderwood had argued that 'jurisdiction ecclesiasticall...belongeth to the kirk, and not to the king', which 'antecedent was confessed' by James VI himself in 1617. It followed from this first principle that

> quhat power [the bishops] have, they have it of the king, and the king cannot communicate that which he hes not...[50]

The argument was one of simple logic. For Calderwood it meant that the bishops had assumed powers beyond those of the king himself, and, the minister noted (adopting an imagery which was later to become familiar in Leighton's works), during the process 'the comon officers of the lawes ar made bludstanes to their lusts'. Bishops subverted both the common law and power of the king, and 'consequentlie...ruled like Lords over their brethren'.[51] In his own *Appeal* Leighton concentrated, like Calderwood, on the derivation of episcopal authority, and his argument - by a similar

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48. William Prynne, *A Breviate of the Bishops intollerable usurpations and encroachments upon the Kings prerogatives and subjects liberties*, London, 1635. As in the case of Leighton in 1630, Prynne's punishment was for several publications, not simply that cited. A year before his trial *The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus*, London, 1636, appeared, together with *Certain queries propounded to Bishops*, 1636, and the broadsheet *News from Ipswich discovering certain late detestable practises of some domineering Lordly Prelates* [1636], published under the pseudonym of Matthew White, which John Lilburne printed and circulated. By the time of his death in 1669, Prynne had penned some two hundred books and pamphlets.
49. Hill, *op.cit.*, p.326.
50. Calderwood, 'Remarks', ff.103v-104v.
51. *Ibid.*, 102r, 105v.

process - led him straight to the king. This left both men with the rather unpalatable (not to mention treasonable) conclusion that either - as archbishop Spottiswood was later to let slip - the 'king is pope now',[52] or else that the bishops were adopting 'full popish powers' which bypassed the power of the crown. Leighton's *Appeal* therefore raised the spectre

> that whosoever were king (the Lord preserve our king) he should be but viceroy, as it were, to our jesuited prelates...[53]

Thus the issue was not just about bishops, but rather about the fact that they were unaccountable to either the laws of the land, or even to the king himself.

Leighton's condemnation of episcopacy followed the classic Scottish recipe for tyrannical overlordship. His plain speaking earned him admiration and support in both Scotland and England. When the High Commission proceeded against John Bastwick in 1635, he openly

> mayntayned bothe the contents of the said Layton's booke and the honestie of the man, and lamented his punishment, wishing that he had been there to have kissed his wounds...[54]

In 1637 Laud compared Henry Burton's *For God and the King* to Leighton's *Appeal* of 1629. 'I am most shamefully abused by it', he noted, before adding, 'Surely it is thought equall to Laygtons [sic], and as desperate against the hierarchy'.[55] To Laud, if not to historical posterity, Alexander Leighton was Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick rolled into one.

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52. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.421.
53. Leighton, *Appeal to the parliament*, p.151.
54. Proceedings of the High Commission against Bastwick in 1635, quoted in Foster, *op. cit.*, p.15. Similar sentiments were expressed in Scotland in the 1630s; see above, p.118.
55. *Ibid.*, p.39.

II

It is clear, therefore, that the preaching and written work of Leighton had a profound effect on those whose paths it crossed. During the 1620s, however, Leighton's primary concern - the unlawfulness of episcopacy - became entangled in the wider context of the fate of the reformed church in Europe. In 1622 William Gouge and another puritan preacher, John Davenport, had appealed to the king to relieve the plight of the Palatinate protestants, caught up in the European Counter-Reformation.[56] Concern over the fate of protestants abroad during the period was genuine and widespread, for as one 'humble petition' noted:

> we cannot but tremble at ye very thoughts of these horrid and hideous crymes which our modesty forbids us to name, accasioned by the warr at Germanie...[57]

Thus in 1624 Davenport could raise little enthusiasm for a religious disputation with Leighton over the place of 'Ceremonialls' in the church. No doubt the Scot was worried by news of the uproars over the issue in Edinburgh - his son was, after all, at school in the city - but Davenport appeared indifferent:

> if we must dispute, were it not better to unite our forces against those who oppose us in Fundam[en]tals then to be divided amongst our selves about Ceremonialls? Who can, without sorrow, and fear observe how Atheisme, Libertinisme,[58] papisme, and Arminianisme, both at home, and abroad have stolne in, and taken possession of the house, whilest we are at strife about the hangings and paintings of it? and the enemy strikes at the hearte whilest we buisy ourselves in washing the hands and face of this body. How much better would it beseeme us to combine together in an holy league against the common Adversary...[59]

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56. Seaver, *op. cit.*, p.237.
57. 'The humble petition of the females in the Citty & Suburbs of London', BL, *Sloane MSS*, f.147.
58. This was a charge often aimed at Scottish presbyterians, 'impatient Libertines and haughty: they will form a Gospel according to the air of their climate'; I.Basiere, *The History of the English and Scotch Presbytery*, London, 1660, p.32.
59. Letter Davenport to Leighton [undated, c.1624], in Ed. I.M.Calder, *Letters of John Davenport - Puritan Divine*, London, 1937, p.23.

The worsening situation in Europe, at least in Davenport's opinion, was of greater urgency than 'Ceremonialls'.

One of the foremost apologists for European religious unity in the seventeenth century was another Scotsman, John Durie. He and Davenport had both attended the University of Oxford in 1623-24,[60] and although information on this period of Durie and Davenport's first acquaintance is sparse, it is possible that the inspiration for Davenport's notion of an *holy league* came from Durie. In any case, Durie's own interest was heavily influenced by the *Irenicum* of David Pareus, chief theologian at Heidelberg.[61] In the work Pareus revived the notion of a general synod of the Lutheran and 'reformed' calvinist churches, and called on James VI & I to initiate the procedure. He also appealed directly to James' vanity by naming him as one of the two principal champions of protestantism in Europe. Leighton added his voice to the clamour for action with his *Looking-glasse of the holy war* of 1624. James, however, paid little more than lip service to such appeals, sending a representative to the Synod of Dort in 1619,[62] but refusing to mount the holy crusade which Leighton and his puritan associates insisted upon. The plight of protestants in the Palatinate thus continued to cause great concern in England and Scotland, and James attempts at a negotiated settlement pleased few in the puritan camp.[63]

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60. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.128; *DNB*.

61. David Pareus, *Irenicum, sive de Unione et Synodo evangelicorum concilianda Liber Votivus Pacl Ecclesiae, & desiderils pacificorum dicatus*, Heidelberg, 1615.

62. See Westin, *op. cit.*, pp.35-37; N.Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists - The Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640*, Oxford, 1987, esp. Chapter 5.

63. Even Calderwood, who was not generally given to forays into European history, recorded the plight of James' son-in-law 'Friderick'. The unfortunate man felt James had left him 'to choose the lesser of two evills...the one, of the totall restitution of my estate, but with diminution, or rather annihalation...of the electorall dignitie; the other, of the recoverie of bothe by warre'. Without direct assistance from James, Frederick lost either way; See 'The king's letter to the king of Bohemia' and 'The king of Bohemia's answeir', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.585-594 (at p.587). On James' foreign policy during this period in general see T.Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War 1621-1624*, Cambridge, 1989; M.Lee, M, *Great Britain's Solomon: James the VI and I and his three kingdoms*, Chicago, 1990; C.H.Carter, 'Gondomar: Ambassador to James I', *Historical Journal*, 7, 1964.

By 1626 Durie and Samuel Hartlib, a native of Poland, had become the European end of a privately organised 'aid programme' for the relief of the Palatine protestants, an enterprise run in London by William Gouge, John Davenport, and another well-known puritan, Richard Sibbes. Asking for contributions from sympathisers in London towards the relief of 'two hundred and forty godly preachers and their wives...foure score desolate widdowes and sundrie thousands of godly private persons', the committee assured prospective backers that:

> Neither lett any bee discouraged least their bounty should miscarrie: for wee knowe a sure and safe way whereby whatsoever is given shal undoubtedly come to their hands to whom it is intended..[64]

That 'sure and safe way' was *via* Durie and Hartlib. In 1628 Durie's *Problemata de Pacis Ecclesiasticae Consilis Capescendis* was circulating in London. Compiled in the form of a questionnaire, it was intended to test public opinion and bring the issue of religious unity into the open.[65] Those to whom the *Problemata* was circulated included the puritans Philip Nye, 'a very stirring Instrument'; John Davenport, 'so forward, earnest, and judicious in the work'; and the celebrated non-conformists, John White and John Cotton, the former of whom was a lawyer and lay *Feoffee*.[66] Once again, it is worthy of note that the names of Philip Nye and John White may be added to those already mentioned as members of the Westminster Assembly in 1643.[67]

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64. Open letter to the citizens of London, circulated and signed by Sibbes, Gouge and Davenport; in Davenport, *Letters*, pp.26-27. In April, 1637, Hartlib was awarded a patent by Charles Ludwig, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, granting him a pension for his services to the exiles of the Palatinate; the document is reproduced in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.111. In the same year the former three men, together with Charles Offspring, also formed the *Committee of the Feoffees for Impropriations*, dedicated to the setting up of puritan lectureships throughout England. See I.M.Calder, *Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England, 1625-1633*, London, 1957, pp.xi-xxiv.

65. See Westin, *op. cit.*, pp.97-100.

66. Letter Hartlib to Durie, August 1630, in Turnbull, op.cit.,p.133. Durie later wrote that these men were amongst those who had been informed of his work since its inception; see John Durie, *A Summarie Account of J.Ds former and later Negotiation for the procuring of true Gospel Peace*, London, 1657, p.2.

67. See Reid, *Westminster Assembly*, *passim*.

But perhaps more relevant to the present discussion, is the fact that a number of English puritans were as concerned as Leighton and Durie about the progress of the Counter-Reformation in Europe. James' failure to provide active support raised the temperature of the debate, and when Charles went to war only to suffer a humiliating defeat, the temperature reached boiling point. Leighton's *Appeal* of 1629 begged the English parliament to awaken and become 'sensible of the work to be done', and he called for the house to continue in session

> till the tenets of the hierarchy be tried by God and the country, that is, by the laws of God and the land...[68]

To assist the parliament in this important task, said Leighton, it was 'conceived by some'

> to be a council called: wherin the authoritie of the prelacie their superioritie, their offices, and substituted officers, their liturgie and maintenance may be thoroughly examined, and judged accordinglie...[69]

Leighton claimed that many 'of the better sort, both of City and Countrey, came to my house at Blacke-friers, desiring my advise concerning the presentment of their grievances to the High Court of Parliament'.[70] The problem was that by the time the *Appeal* reached the Commons, Charles I had suspended the sitting, and all hope of gaining a party there had gone. There is no reason to doubt that Leighton did have the substantial support of which he wrote. According to Dr. Samuel Brooke, a prominent supporter of Laudian policy, Prynne, Burton and Bastwick were only three of 'so many thousands of our people and so great a part of the gentlemen of the Land', who were 'Laytons in their hearts'.[71] Sir Robert Heath, prosecuting counsel at Leighton's trial, offered 'great gifts' in return for the denunciation of 'others that approved of the booke', or who had attended conventicles at Leighton's residence.

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68. Leighton, *Appeal to the parliament*, p.236.
69. *Ibid.*, p.214.
70. Leighton, *An Epitome* , p.1.
71. *CSPD*, 1629-31, p.411.

Leighton, however, refused to name his co-conspirators, and, in a typical Scottish response, quoted the law back in the face of his accusers.[72] To compound Laud's anger, he escaped from his imprisonment at 'the Bishops howse of London' a few weeks later. 'The multitude rejoice at his escape', claimed an unsigned letter intercepted by Laud's agents, before going on to say that 'not one in a thousand dislikes him' for the sentiments contained in his *Appeal* of the previous year.[73]

In the event, Leighton's *Appeal* failed. But, as has been argued above, this was not necessarily because he was 'far too radical even for radical puritans'.[74] It is true, for instance, that in 1624 Davenport had disagreed with Leighton's stance on ceremony. When the Scot had angrily told James to 'let that maxim once be made good, in a good sense: *no ceremonies, no bishops*', Davenport had urged caution.[75] By 1631, however, William Laud reported to Charles I that Davenport, 'whom I used with all moderation...about two years since', had declared himself openly against the direction of the English church.[76] The latter preacher was well connected. When one Michael Robarts (for instance) sought a lectureship at Oxford, James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, could not secure it for him, but it was procured 'by means of Mr. Damport, preacher of Coleman St.'.[77] Whether or not Leighton was instrumental in

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72. Leighton, *An Epitome*, p.14. Leighton cited '25 Hen[ry] 8. cap. 15' as precedent.
73. *CSPD*, 1629-31, p.383. D'Ewes, *Journal*, p.17.
74. Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.122.
75. Letter Davenport to Leighton [c.1624], in Davenport, *Letters*, pp.23-26. Leighton, *Looking-glasse of the holy war*, p.204; italics in the original. The 'maxim' was also raised in 1637,
76. Quoted in Seaver, op. cit., p.241.
77. Letter Robarts to Ussher, February 1627, in eds. C.R.Elrington & J.H.Todd, *The Whole Works of the Most Reverend James Ussher*, Dublin, 1864, XVI, p.462. Ussher was not unsympathetic to the plight of non-conformist ministers. He intervened on behalf of John Livingstone when the minister was before the High Commission in 1631, and did not insist on episcopal ordination of Scottish ministers in Ireland against their will; *SB*, I, p.145; Johnston, *Diary*, p.253. The extent of Laud's frustration over the use of such connections is clear in his later reaction to a petition to elect the puritan William Bridges to the vacant lectureship at Colchester. 'When you want [a lecturer]', Laud informed the petitioners, 'you must go first to Dr Gouge and to Dr Sibbes and then you come

Davenport's so-called conversion to 'radicalism', it seems likely that the idea of convening a council to discuss the current state of religion in England was attractive to 'moderate' opinion. It was to Davenport, Gouge and Sibbes that Durie went in search of support for his own version of the same idea. Thus when Durie produced a petition on church unity calling for just such a public debate, it was signed by the *Feoffees* John Davenport, Richard Sibbes, and John White, and thirty-five other puritan ministers, including the aforementioned William Gouge, Stephen Marshall, Henry Burton, Philip Nye, and Cornelius Burgess.[78] Despite (or perhaps because of) Laud's harsh treatment of the presbyterian minister, Durie inherited Leighton's mantle. The question of church unity thus passed beyond the province of kings and bishops, and into the forum of public debate, which was precisely what Leighton had intended should happen. All that remained to be decided was on what terms that unity should be sought.

III

For some years English and Scots non-conformists had collaborated to print and circulate dissident literature. Between 1617 and 1619 Alexander Leighton and John Bastwick lived at the residence of Thomas Brewer at Leyden, an Englishman whose mission in life was to sell

> all the books that he can acquire, in this land or elsewhere, that have been published against the bishops and are forbidden by them..[79]

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to me: I scorn to be so used'; see Letter Henry Jacie to John Winthrop, 1631/2, quoted in, Seaver, *op. cit.*, p.256.

78. See *Copia Instrumenti Theologorum Britannorum* [c.1631], BL, *Sloane MS* 1465, f.2r&v. 'Jo. Davenporte, Eccles S. Stephani in Colmans. Londin, Pastor'; 'Richardus Sibbs, Catherina apud Cantabrig. Mag.'; 'Joh White, Eccl S Trinity. Dorsetshire, Pastor'; Guil. Gouge, Eccl Blackfryers, Londin, Min'; 'Stephanus Marshall, eccl Finchseldens in Ecclesia, Pastor'; 'Henri Burtenus, Pastor Eccl S Malday, Londin'; 'Cornel Burges, Eccl S. Magni Martyrs, Londin, Rector'. The fact that other copies exist, although without signatories, suggests that the document was widely circulated amongst sympathisers; see Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.141.

79. Quoted in K.L.Sprunger, 'The Godly Ministry of Printing by Brewster and Brewer', in R.Harris and S.Jones (eds), *The Pilgrim Press - A Bibliographical &*

Brewer also sheltered David Calderwood in 1619, and by the latter date had printed and published the presbyterian minister's *De Regimie Ecclesiae Scoticanae* [1618], and the notorious pamphlet *Perth Assembly* [1619].[80] When Brewer's press was suppressed in 1619, Edward Raban printed two more of Calderwood's works, the *Altar of Damascus* [1620] and *Parasyagma Pethense et Iuramentum Scoticanae* [1620], probably using Brewer's press.[81] When Raban left Leiden to begin his printing businesses in St Andrews and Aberdeen, another English non-conformist, Sabine Staresmore, took up the task at Amsterdam, issuing four of Leighton's books, including his infamous *Appeal to the Parliament.* There were 1,000 copies of the latter work printed, 500 by Staresmore and 500 by the Dutch printer Johann Stam.[82] In addition, a later edition appeared after his imprisonment in 1630, in the wake of the publicity given to the work by his trial before the High Commission. All of Leighton's works were available in London and Edinburgh soon after their publication.[83]

Historical memorial of the Books Printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers, London, 1974.

80. On Brewer's press see *Ibid.*; Plooij, *op. cit.*, p.57-81; L.Rostenberg, *The Minority press and the English Crown - A Study in Repression, 1588-1625*, Nieuwkoop, 1971, pp.195-198. On the origins of Thomas Brewer's non-conformity, and his subsequent career and imprisonment in 1626, see C.Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641)*, Cambridge, 1912, I, *passim.* Brewer spent fourteen years in prison, finally being released by the same committee of the Long Parliament which was formed to look into Leighton's case; see D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp.530-531; Brewer, 'Information', ff 135-138.

81. This is a rare edition of the *Perth Assembly* in Latin, and is ascribed by the University of St. Andrews rare books archive to Raban at Leiden. There is some dispute over this. Edmund states that the work was printed by Raban at St. Andrew's [See J,P.Edmund, *The Aberdeen Printers*, 1620-1736, Aberdeen, 1884, Vol. IV, 'Raban'], but to have printed such a pamphlet on the doorstep of Spottiswood in Scotland in 1620 would seem to have been exceptionally dangerous. See also W.R.MacDonald, 'Some Aspects of printing and the Book Trade in Aberdeen', in ed. C.A.McLaren, *The Hero as Printer*, Aberdeen, 1976, pp.27-28; Harris & Jones, *op. cit.*, p.38.

82. Leighton claimed to have personally authorised only two copies of the work for presentation to the houses of parliament in England. He admitted that 'half a thousand' copies had in fact been printed, but claimed no knowledge of the existence of any further copies; Leighton, *An epitome*, pp. 19, 26, 41.

83. See, for instance, *RPCS.*, XI, pp.585, 593; Rostenberg, *op. cit.*, p.196. In May, 1629, Leighton's *Appeal* was in Edinburgh, Robert Leighton writing to his mother that he had recieved the books from his father, but 'fears for his

Staresmore was the younger son of William, rector of Frolesworth, Leicestershire, an area where Leighton gained converts to his strict presbyterianism in 1630. Leighton was responsible for the conversion of John Angel, William Sherman, and Thomas Nurse at Leicester in that year, when they and others disputed the Book of Common Prayer. The three Englishmen admitted that the Scot had the 'victory'. Angel and his two co-defendants in 1630 were accused of 'bringing him [Leighton] to Leicester....as if he were some great man', and Angel, at least, had lost his licence to preach by 1634. He was subsequently a staunch parliamentarian. Printed or preached, the tenets of Scottish presbyterianism were spread abroad in England, as men like John Angel 'omitted to kneel at the communion, and procured children to be baptised without the sign of the cross'.[84]

At London one William Speed, a close friend of John Durie, took up much the same task for the latter minister in 1630, as Brewer had done for Leighton in 1617:

> my grand endevoure shalbee to gaine possession of what gifts may bee of present or constant advantage in the church, by laying hands ether [sic] upon MS. or printed books to my power...[85]

Speed also relates how such an 'endevoure' was to be financed. In March 1630 he wrote that he had been promised money for the printing and transcribing of Durie's prodigious literary output, and asked for 'any or all of his manuscripts, upon this promise'.[86] Denied access to the printing press in England, men also resorted

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[Leighton Snr's] safety over them'; *CSPD*, 1629-30, p.486. The letter had been intercepted by Laud and is endorsed with his signature. See also John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1588 to August 1637*, Edinburgh, 1842, pp.351-352. On Staresmore see Foster, *op. cit.*, p.22.

84. 'Articles objected by the Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical', *CSPD*, 1630-1, p.426; Hill, *op. cit.*, p.100.

85. Letter Speed to Durie, November, 1630, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.137. Speed was also a signatory of Durie's petition of 1631, recording himself as 'Pastor Eccl. S. Daneratis'; 'Theologorum Brittainorum', f.2v.

86. Letter Speed to Durie, March, 1630, in *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.138. Thomas Brewer was evidently a man of 'private means', and thus - apparently unlike Speed - had financed his own operation; see Rostenberg, *op. cit.*, p.195.

to the laborious method of copying manuscripts by hand, another of the factors which undermined censorship in both Scotland and England. In 1630 Samuel Hartlib reported that he had personally produced copies of Durie's *Exercitatio de Via Quaerendae Pacis Ecclesiasticae*, and his *De Pacis Ecclesiasticae Procurandae mediis Problema*.[87] Walter Welles, a friend of Durie's father, Robert, was performing the same task with his *Theoria Pacis Ecclesiasticae*.[88] In September 1631 Durie reported to Welles that William Gouge 'did give mee fit opportunity' to set the puritan John White

> a worke, with whom I had 2 dayes, and hee has undertaken to make men acquaint with [the work], not onlie in Dorset-shire, but also in Wiltshire and in Somersetshire and in Glocister where hee intended to travel...I am for my journey to Lincoln. Here I must entreate you of nothing to bee sparing in spreading abroad the Exercitio...[89]

In the same year Speed wished Durie to 'take special notice' of 'Mr [Obadiah] Sedgewick neere London', (a presbyterian closely connected with Davenport, Gouge, and Nye), and also 'Dr Twist [William Twisse] at New-berrie in Barke-shire',

> who hase written a most compleate booke in the Refutation of Arminianisme, but cannot get it printed....For many men flocke unto him as unto some oracle....[90]

When Twisse's book, *Vindicae Gratiae*,[91] was eventually printed in Holland in 1632, it was held in such high regard that a second edition appeared in the same year. Speed also begged Durie to use his travels and connections in Europe to obtain and forward

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87. Letter Hartlib to Durie, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Durie and Comenius*, p. 133.
88. Letter Welles to Durie, September, 1630, in *Ibid*, p. 135. Walter Welles signed Durie's petition of 1631, recording himself as 'Med. D. et verbi dei Min.'; 'Theologorum Brittainorum', f.2v.
89. Letter Durie to Welles, September 1631, BL, *Sloane MSS*, 654, f.246r&v.
90. Letter Hartlib to Durie, Sept, 1630, in *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, pp. 133-134.
91. William Twisse, *Vindicae Gratiae, Potestatis, Ac Providentiae, Dei*, Amsterdam, 1632.

> whatever is acute and pithy in divinity for doctrine...I shall that way gaine many men...and perhaps the purses of some...[92]

Sir William Waller and John Pym, both later prominent parliamentarians, contributed regularly towards Durie's costs in this respect, and in return received 'constant weekely advertisements' of what by 1637 had assumed the proportions of a modern day 'book club'.[93] In that year Waller complained that he had not yet received 'one discourse...concerning the number of the beast', several manuscript copies of which were in circulation. The work was Francis Potter's *Interpretation of the Number 666*, written c.1636, but not published until 1642. Potter contrived mathematical equations that must have had Napier[94] turning in his grave, but managed to link the church of Rome with the number of the anti-Christ, a popular theme in Scotland and England. Robert Baillie was apparently familiar with the work in 1639, three years before it appeared in print.[95] Other 'members' of the group included Robert, earl of Warwick, who was the patron of William Twisse: the Lords Mandeville and Brooke; Sir Nathaniel Rich and Sir Thomas Barrington; John Pell, and Richard Knightley, both staunch parliamentarians; Oliver St. John, lawyer and later Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and the bishops James Ussher of Armagh, and John Williams of Lincoln. All of these men contributed money and patronage to the group.[96]

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92. Letter Speed to Durie, March, 1631, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.137-138.

93. Letter Waller to Hartlib, September, 1638, in *Ibid.*, p.197; and *passim*.

94. The Scotsman John Napier was undoubtedly the major influence behind this mathematical apocalyptic, which had important propaganda purposes, becoming linked with name of Laud himself in the 1630s; see Row, *History*, p.369. On Napier see A.H.Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Reign of James VI*, Edinburgh, 1979, and A.H.Williamson, 'Number and National Consciousness: the Edinburgh Mathematicians and Scottish political culture at the Union of the Crowns' in Mason, *op.cit.*, pp.187-212. See also Webster, *op. cit.*, p.34, and *passim*.

95. Baillie, *Letters*, I, pp.225-226.

96. See Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius, passim*. Even William Laud was on Durie's 'mailing list'. See the extensive correspondance between the two men, including a copy of Durie's *Problemes*; 'John Duryes Mission 1631-1640', *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Report IV, pp.159-162. Durie constantly sought the support of Laud and the king for his work on the continent, and was continually disappointed.

When John Durie, after a short spell in Europe, arrived back in England in 1630 he inherited the support which his fellow Scot Alexander Leighton had been assiduously cultivating for some years. Leighton's *Friendly Triall of Faith of Mr Ezekiel Culverwell* [1624], was probably a deliberate attempt to cement his position in the Blackfriars community of London. Culverwell was a founding father of English puritanism, and William Gouge was his nephew. In turn, Gouge was the puritan 'godfather', of Blackfriars, and no outsider could have survived in the parish without his patronage.[97] The dispute between Leighton and Davenport over ceremonials in 1623/4 may have been instigated by Gouge, as winning over Davenport was important to both men, especially at a time when the latter's presbyterian credentials were in doubt.[98] Davenport's patrons included Sir Edward Conway, a Privy Councillor, and Horatio, Lord Vere, who together with his wife, Mary, was a staunch puritan supporter.[99] In the same year Leighton produced his *Short Treatise Against Stage Players*. The work attacked the monarchy's use of the court masque as a form of entertainment, and noted the fact that at least one such event had been performed on a Sunday. The theme was surely popular in a presbyterian parish which was also home to London's premier theatre, an establishment run by the 'King's Men', and patronised by a coterie of gentry, aristocrats, and royalty.[100] Again Leighton's Scottish upbringing was a possible factor here. In 1574 the General Assembly at Edinburgh had taken the power to censor

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97. See Seaver, *op. cit.*, 225-226, 235, and *passim*. Culverwell was an influential and respected author in Scotland. Robert Blair recorded that his own faith had been strengthened 'when that Treatise of Faith came forth penned by Ezekiel Culverwell, a London minister...I was thereby much satisfied and confirmed'; Robert Blair, *The Life of Mr Robert Blair*, ed. T. McCrie, Edinburgh, 1848, p.32.

98. Davenport was seeking admission as vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman St., a presbyterian parish, at the time of his disputation with Leighton over 'ceremonialls'; see Davenport, *Letters*,, p.23-26.

99. *Ibid. passim*, and K.L.Sprunger, 'Archbishop Laud's Campaign Against Puritanism at the Hague', *Church History*, 45, 1979, pp.308-320.

100. Eds. W.Lamont & S.Oldfield, *Politics, Religion and Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1975, pp.32-35. Leighton, *Stage Players*, *passim*. James did indeed hold a masque on a Sunday, in 1608; see Hill, *op. cit.*, p.158.

'playes, comedies, or tradgedies, or uther profane playes', and especially ordered 'that they be not playit upon the Sabbath days'.[101] Leighton was once again unashamedly cultivating popular sentiment in England in 1629, with his references to the fact that Buckingham had 'abandoned' the 'Rochellers' to a 'black pining death...to the number of 15000 in four months' which inflamed public opinion in London.[102] The claim that the *Appeal* was printed 'in the year and monthe wherein Rochelle was lost' was deliberate title page disingenuity, since it did not appear until some months later.[103]

All of this was intended to publicise Leighton's call for a 'council', in order that those who were to blame for the French *debacle* might be brought to book. His solution was a return to the purity of religion such as had existed in Scotland following the Reformation. Certainly, Laud's attempt at removing Leighton and his seditious message was not totally ineffectual, but the cause was one with which those who subsequently gathered behind Durie could easily identify. For instance, amongst those that most influenced Durie's own views on 'primitive church government' were the continental political and religious theorists Pareus and Bucer.[104] The latter was a popular authority for Scottish presbyterian theorists. As Calderwood noted in 1614,

> Bucer lamented that the mixture of poore doctrine with the Romane Regiment had made them [the English] lick warme standing in the midest, betuixt the romane and reformid kirkes, and made use of both...[105]

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101. A.Peterkin (ed.), *The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1839, p.146.
102. Leighton, *Appeal to the parliament*, p.23.
103. See Foster, *op.cit.*, p.25.
104. In a letter to Andrew Ramsey, the covenanting minister, Durie later wrote that in his opinion one of the the best 'modern' writers on 'primitive church government' was Bucer'; see BL *Sloane MSS*, 654, ff.218-223.
105. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.24r. Calderwood was refering to Bucer's *De regno Christi Jesu* in support of his thesis that the English church had never totally renounced 'the romane antichryst'.

For Bucer the English Reformation had been incomplete, and he advised Edward VI to reform the confused and hybrid 'order of bishops' which existed in England. Leighton made much the same point, noting that Edward VI was 'desirous not to leave a hoof of the Romish beast in his kingdom', but the guile of the prelates subverted his good intentions.[106] Pareus was also a popular but dangerous author. His *In Diviniam S. Pauli Apostoli Ad Romanos Epistolam Commentarius* [1609] was publicly burnt at Oxford in 1623, after one John Knight had proved from 'Pareus upon Romans' that tyrannical kings might be brought into order by the inferior magistrate.[107] The work was in Edinburgh in 1623, and Johnston of Wariston used it as a guide to revolution in 1637.[108]

In the early 1630s Durie's expressly stated aim was to examine and debate *all* shades of opinion, and Laud's savage treatment of Leighton had only served to increase the standing of the minister's ideas within the puritan community. As has already been noted Leighton's *Appeal* was reprinted c.1632-33, by which time he was once again holding conventicles, despite his supposed close confinement in the notorious 'Fleet' prison.[109] Scottish ministers from Knox to Calderwood had pointed out that the English church was in need of reform.[110] For Leighton in 1629 that problem was all the more pressing because England was drowning in a sea of popery and dragging Scotland towards the same fate. Daniel Featley, a puritan author much respected in Scotland, agreed. In

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106. Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.122; J.T.Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, p.223.
107. See Hill, *op. cit.*, p.42.
108. See Johnston, *Diary*, I, pp.292, 310,; Row, *History*, p.332. Pareus' work was printed in English in 1617.
109. This was not uncommon; see *Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber, passim.* Leighton was interdicted for practising medicine in 1634, whilst supposedly still in prison. Leighton himself later indicated that his confinement was not always close; see Alexander Leighton, *King James: His Judgement of a King and of a Tyrant: Extracted out of His own speech at Whitehall to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, 1609, with certain notations anent the same. Also 28 questions: worthy due consideration and solution: in these dangerous times*, London, 1642, p.43.
110. See Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.24r (citing Knox).

1626, he had written of the 'atheists, papists, bankrupts and all kinds of malcontents' waiting in the wings to profit from the 'havoc of all things' which the Counter-Reformation promised.[111] Featley's work was the most popular manual of private devotion of its day, going through five editions by 1639. In 1631 he signed Durie's *Instrumentum*.[112] This is not to say that in the late 1620s and early 1630s Durie and his supporters were ready to march foursquare into revolution. But it does indicate that they were aware that Scottish presbyterianism offered a possible solution to the problems raised by the issue of religious unity.

IV

By November 1633, Durie had decided to involve himself directly in negotiations between Scotland and England on the vexed question of religious unity between the two countries. He informed Walter Welles of his intention to travel to Scotland

> where the chiefest men wil not bee wanting, as I hope, to air up and set upon this work as many as shall bee fit for it..[113]

The timing was significant. In 1633 Gustavus of Sweden had perished at Stettin, leaving the Counter-Reformation apparently victorious in Europe, and in the same year Laud became archbishop of Canterbury, auguring the victory of the 'high church' party in England. Despite Durie's constant urging, neither Laud nor Charles I would assist his work. Sir Thomas Roe - a patron of Durie's at court - wrote pessimistically that 'we shall here [in England] receive nothing but jeers and scorn'.[114] Undeterred, Durie turned once again to private enterprise, utilising the efforts of the considerable support which he had gathered in England.

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111. D.Fealtey, *Ancilla Pietatis, Or, The Hand made to Private Devotion*, London, 1639, pp.499-500. Fealtey was much respected in Scotland, see Baillie, *Letters*, pp.225-226.

112. 'Daniel Featlye, Ecclesia Lambeth anne, Rector'; 'Theologorum Brittainorum', f.2r.

113. BL, *Sloane MSS*,654, f.248r.

114. Letter Roe to Hartlib, July, 1634, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*,, p.165. On Roe see below, n.135.

In 1631 William Speed had begged Durie to obtain for him a copy of 'Mr Camero's [sic] judgement in the Arm[inian] points'.[115] This was a work written by the Scottish divine John Cameron, entitled *Amica Collatio de Gratiae et Voluntatis Humanae Concursu in Vocatione, et Quibusdam Annexis* [c.1620]. In the work, highly regarded on the continent but unpublished in Britain, Cameron purported to demonstrate a 'middle way' between the fundamental differences of Calvinists and Lutherans, which avoided the consequent dangers of a lapse into Arminianism.[116] Cameron had (in 1622-23) been professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, where his pupils had included the soon to be covenanting ministers (and commissioners to the Westminster Assembly), Robert Baillie and Robert Blair.[117] The *Amica Collatio* was a refutation of the Arminian opinions of the German divine Daniel Tilenus, which had been published at St.Andrews in 1620.[118] The latter work had merely added further fuel to the already raging fire over the 'Five Articles'. In 1633 Eleazar Borthwick, a Scottish minister and Durie's agent in his own Anglo/ Scottish negotiations, reported that the *Problemes* of Durie had been circulated amongst the ministry of Edinburgh, and as a result,

> we are to have ane meitting shortlei in Ed[in]b[urgh] where they have promised ther answer and advyse, according whereunto I sall adverteise you...[119]

Durie himself approached archbishop John Spottiswood for permission to obtain the views of the 'Aberdeen Doctors' on the issue,[120] and these efforts produced Edinburgh Presbytery's *Paraenesis Irenica* [c.1634], and Aberdeen's *Judicium Facultatis Theologicae Aberdoniensis de Concordia Evangelica* [c.1634].

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115. Letters Speed to Durie, March and August, 1630-31, in *Ibid.*, pp138-140.
116. On Cameron see, H.M.B.Reid, *The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow, 1545-1654*, Glasgow, 1917, esp. Chapter 4.
117. Although at the time they had vastly different opinions of Cameron's toleration of ceremonial; see *Ibid.*
118. Daniel Tilenus, *Paraenesis ad Scotos Genevensis Disciplinae Zelotas*, St.Andrews, 1620.
119. Letter Borthwick to Durie, September, 1633, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.151.
120. MacMillan, *op. cit.*, pp.157-158.

By 1637 all the aforementioned works were being promoted at London and on the continent, as part of a collection which Speed had hoped would be 'ranged into a Catalogue' of the 'most acute, textual, doctrinal, scholasticall and case Divines' of both sides in the search for religious unity.[121] But they had also re-opened old wounds in Scotland. John Cameron's indifference to ceremony and his attempts to enforce the policies of James VI at Glasgow in 1622, had not endeared him to many of his pupils, or to the disaffected amongst the ministry.[122] In 1632 the anti-Arminian tract of William Twisse, *Vindicae Gratiae*, was finally printed (at Amsterdam, probably by Staresmore), and in it Twisse recalled the controversy between Cameron and Tilenus, claiming that the latter had deserted and betrayed the protestant cause.[123] Twisse's defence of the revered English divine William Perkins, and his attack on Arminius, did not go unnoticed in Scotland. Perkins was a much respected author, and after reading his work Robert Baillie thought Twisse 'doubtless the best disputer in England'.[124] To presbyterian activists the *Amica Collatio* and the *Judicium Facultatis* of Aberdeen (the major contributor to which was John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen), were little different from the Arminian heresies of Daniel Tilenus.[125]

So aware were Laud and Spottiswood of the potential of the *Judicum Facultatis* to raise presbyterian ire that they suppressed even this pro-Anglican tract. Baillie noted in 1636 that 'it be now two years since Durae wreit to St. Andrews of that purpose', and the work itself had not appeared. But, said Baillie:

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121. Letter Speed to Durie, March, 1632, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* p.40. Such 'catalogues' were in fact compiled and passed around. Durie himself had a *Syllabus Quorandam Scriptorum de Ecclesiastica Reconciliatione*, which recommended Pareus' *Irenicum* - amongst other works - and was published in London in 1638.
122. See Reid, *Divinity Principals*, esp. Chapter 4.
123. See Reid, *Westminster Assembly*, pp.37-67.
124. Baillie, *Letters*, I, p.xxvi.
125. See MacMillan, *op. cit.*, esp. Chapter VI.

> I approve weill the Bishop's wisdome in concealling that from our people, for they would not faill to tak it for a policie of theirs, to bring us on that farr, to yield first to the Lutherans and then to the Papists... [126]

Baillie was quite correct. But Durie had circulated the tract on the continent, [127] and word of its contents, if not an actual copy, had obviously reached Scotland by 1636. John Forbes' *Irenicum* of 1629 had been written in defence of the 'Five Articles', and thus his own sympathies were clear. To the prospective leaders of covenanting revolt Forbes' latest work represented religious unity on English terms, a policy which Forbes defended under fire with *A Peaceable Warning to the Subjects in Scotland* in 1638, and with his *Duplyes* of the same year. [128] Calderwood and Johnston of Wariston jointly supplied *An Answer* just a few weeks later. [129]

Despite his lack of success in Scotland, Durie was exceptionally well-placed to mediate in the religious dispute. As genealogical tree 4 (overleaf) demonstrates, Durie was the cousin of James Melville (the arch-enemy of episcopacy), and was also related (through marriage) to Patrick Forbes, the much respected bishop of Aberdeen. [130] Through the marriage of his sister Agnes to Sir James Spens, ambassador to Sweden, he had powerful friends at court in London. [131] The Melville family was still very much an

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126. Baillie, *Letters*, pp.9-10. By 1638 Baillie -formerly a 'moderate' - had changed sides, "I was latelie in the mind that in no imaginable case, any prince might have been opposed; I inclyne now to think otherwayes", *Ibid.*, pp.116-117.

127. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, pp.176-177.

128. *Duplyes of the ministers of Aberdene*, Aberdeen, 1638.

129. *An Answer to M.J.Forbes of Corse his Peaceable Warning*, Edinburgh, 1638. The tract has been attributed to Calderwood; see Mullan, *op.cit.*, pp.181, 253 and n.30. But there is little doubt of its joint authorship; see Wariston, *Diary*, I, pp.348, 378.

130. On Forbes see below, Chapter VI.

131. Spens and his future father-in-law Robert Durie (father of John) undertook a mission together in 1598 to colonise and establish a presbytery on the Isle of Lewis; *Fasti*, IV, pp.182-183. He was ambassador to Sweden under both James and Charles from 1612. In 1624, the year in which Leighton's *Looking-glass of the holy war* appeared, the Scottish Privy Council authorised Spens to raise an army of 1200 men to fight in the service of Sweden; *RPCS*, XIII, pp.364, 478, 500. Amongst those who volunteered was Alexander, eleventh Lord Forbes (see Tree 4), who was later a supporter of the covenanting cause, and a contact

Tree 4

Local Patronage and Family Connections in Aberdeen.

William 3rd Lord Forbes

Alexander 4th Lord Forbes

Patrick Forbes Laird of Corse

Christian Forbes M. George Johnstone

Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo

William Forbes Laird o Corse

Isobel Forbes M. Peter ① Blackburn Bishop of Aberdeen (d. 1616)

Anne Forbes M. Alexander 11th Lord Forbes ⑤

Arthur Forbes of Corse

John ② Forbes Minister of Alford (d. 1634)

Patrick ③ Forbes Bishop of Aberdeen (d. 1635) M. Lucretia Spens

Alexander 1st Lord Forbes of Pitsligo M. Jean ④ dau. of William 6th Earl Mariscal

Barbara Forbes M. William ⑤ Forbes Minister of Towie

John Forbes of Corse Aberdeen 'Doctor' ⑥

James ⑦ Forbes Minister of Abercorn

1. First of James' 'tulchan' bishops.
3. Laird of Corse 1598.
5. Fought in Sweden 1630s.
7. M.A. 1627, but not minister until 1640.

2. Banished 1606.
4. Presbyterian 'matron'.
6. Deprived by covenanters 1641.
8. Exiled 1606.

Local Patronage and Family Connections in Aberdeen/.

David Spens of Laird of Wormiston

John Durie Minister of Montrose (1600) ①

Robert ④ Durie Minister of Anstruther (d. 1616)

Simeon ⑤ Durie Minister of Arbroath

[?] Durie M.

James ② Spens Ambassador to Sweden (1612-35) M. Agnes Durie

John ③ Durie Minister of Rotterdam

Katherine Forbes M. John ⑥ Oswald Minister of Pencaitland (1629-41)

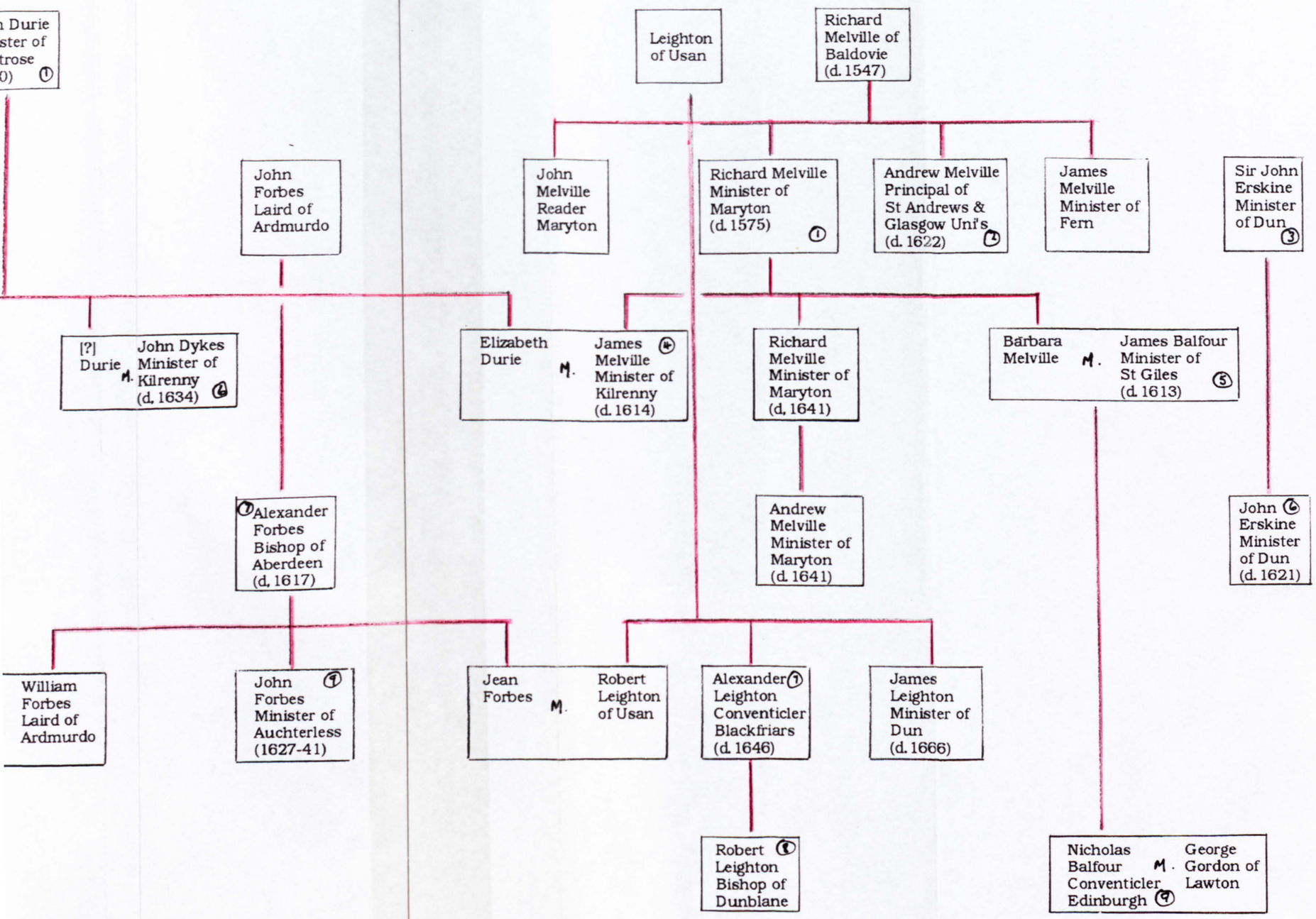
[?] Forbes M. William Forbes Laird of Ardmurdo

1. Minister St Giles 1583, banished Montrose same year.
3. Advocate of unity of European protestant church unity.
5. Member of G.A. 1610.
7. Died after only a few months in office.
9. Deprived for refusing covenant 1641.

2. Contact of John Dur
4 Banished 1606, minis
6. Confined to parish 1
8. Intimate of Robert Br

in Aberdeen/ Angus/ Fife.

Local Patronage and Family Connections in Angus and Mearns



ntact of John Durie at court (see 3).
nished 1606, minister of Leiden.
nfined to parish 1606.
imate of Robert Bruce & David Calderwood

1. Tutor to Erskines of Dun.
3. Co-author *Second Book of Discipline.*
5. Prosecuted for non-conformity, 1596, 1601, 1606, 1610.
7. Tortured and imprisoned 1630.
9. Conventicer at Edinburgh 1630s.

2. Imprisoned 1606, banished 1611.
4. Banished 1606.
6. Voted against 'Five Articles' 1618.
8. Covenanter 1638.

much an active force in the kirk of Scotland in the 1630s. Barbara Melville, sister of James, was the mother of Nicholas Balfour the notorious conventicling matron.[132] Durie was thus well-connected with leading non-conformists. On the other hand, the above mentioned John Forbes of Corse (author of the *Irenicum*) was also a relation. Durie clearly had - so to speak - a foot in both presbyterian and episcopalian camps.

Durie's intervention in Anglo/Scottish religious affairs during the 1630s had therefore considerably widened the frontiers of debate in both England and Scotland. The results, however, were disappointing. 'Much discourse there is of religion', Sir William Waller could note as late as 1638,

> but little practise of piety...Nay even among the best there is such an unhappie fraction, such division in opinions, such different interests and ends'...[133]

In an unsettled world, men such as Waller were prepared to go where Durie led. 'There is none living', he wrote, 'whose undertakings I have in so much admiration as yours'.[134] In 1633 Sir Thomas Roe had written to Samuel Hartlib, thanking him 'for the booke, and for all your plentiful advises', before going on to say that he thought

> the way prepared in all but the motion of a generall counsell, which is too high a thing, and will cause dispute: by Nationall Synods peace may be established, though not all poynts controverted reconciled. I wish Mr Durye were at home that we might trye the purpose of the Church of England...[135]

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in Scotland cultivated by John Durie; see, for instance, BL, *Sloane MSS*, 654, ff.196-198.

132. See above, pp.129-130.

133. Letter Waller to Durie, February, 1638, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, pp.198-199.

134. *Ibid.*.

135. Letter Roe to Hartlib, September, 1633, in *Ibid.*, p.156. It was probably Spens who first introduced Durie to Sir Thomas Roe, who also proved a constant friend to the minister. Roe, like Durie, enjoyed close personal relations with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. He negotiated a peace between Poland and Sweden in 1629-30, and was highly regarded by Charles I; see *Letters Relating to the Mission of Sir T.Roe to Gustavus Adolphus*, ed. S.R.Gardiner, London, 1847.

The idea of a 'Nationall Synod' was obviously still uppermost in men's minds in 1633, but five years later frustration at the lack of progress was evident in Waller's comments to Durie.

At the head of the Church of England stood the king and his archbishop, William Laud, who had their own plans for church unity, both in the British Isles and abroad. Laud had already interfered - with some degree of success - with the direction of protestantism in Holland,[136] and was hoping to see the establishment of church government along English episcopal lines in Sweden. This included a proposal to set up of a Court of High Commission in the latter country in 1636,[137] a task which the earl of Strafford had completed in Ireland in 1633. Such actions helped to keep alive the debate on the source and extent of the powers of the church courts in both England and Scotland, which grew in intensity durung the 1630s.[138] They also left Durie exasperated, as his efforts towards religious unity wilted with the lack of 'a new soile in these quarters to worke upon which is not yet manured with evil bungling labourers'.[139] As early as 1634 the quandary which 'the purpose of the Church of England' presented in this regard was apparent:

> Wee must have no more of the [king]. Yet hee must be made acquaint with all. Else hee will oppose it et become an enemy to it. Et if now hee should crush it all the world would see the faulnes of his face....[140]

Heads I win, tails you lose. Durie could not draw the king into negotiations on the question of church unity, and he could not afford to leave him out. This failure of Charles and Laud to involve themselves in the cause of unity, whilst furthering the high church policies of the Church of England both at home and abroad, left them open to the charge of Arminianism. So

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136. See Sprunger, 'Laud's Campaign'; Burrage, *op. cit.*, pp.297-298.
137. Letter Roe to Durie, September, 1636, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, pp. 184-186.
138. See above, p.147, and below, p.288.
139. Letter Durie to Hartlib, October, 1636, in *Ibid.*, p. 178.
140. Hartlib, 'Ephemerides', in *Ibid.*, p. 168.

concerned was Durie with this development that he informed Hartlib that there was 'only [one] way to crush the Armin[ians] or to bring them in to renounce their Tenants [sic]', and that was to exclude them from protestantism. 'Now they curry favour', wrote Durie, 'almost with every sect, to make or joine thems[elves] to a party', and:

> So they curry now favour with the Lutherans....being but shut out by the Calvinists...when from all protestancy they are so solemly excluded they wil bee made m[ore] odious or bee brought to renounce their fundamental untruths...[141]

The refusal of some English protestants to dissociate themselves from Arminianism, 'and to come at least to our fundamental truths',[142] meant that Durie gained recruits even amongst the bishops, some of whom appear to have been 'hedging' their bets since at least 1633. John Williams of Lincoln, was a calvinist and a member of Durie's 'book club'. 'Whatsoever you sent my Ld: Bish: of Lincolne', wrote Roe in that year, 'was well placed, for he promised me to contribute liberally'.[143] On the other hand, James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, after reading the judgements of the continental Lutherans and the *Judicium Facultatis* of Aberdeen (both supplied by Durie), could not overcome his erastian scruples. Ussher later proposed a scheme for the reduction of episcopacy into the synodical form of government in 1641, in an attempt to arrive at a compromise position.[144] It is a measure of both the friendship between Ussher and Durie and the extent of Durie's influence, that when the episcopal writing was on the wall in 1643 the primate asked Durie to find him a place in Holland 'where he

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141. *Ibid.*.
142. *Ibid.*.
143. Letter Roe to Hartlib, September, 1633, in *Ibid.*, p. 156. Although it should be noted that a considerable enmity existed between Laud and Williams. Lincoln in fact kept a dossier on Laud, and was on two occasions himself before the Star Chamber, fined £11,000, and imprisoned for having in his possession letters derogatory to Laud; see D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 19, n.39.
144. James Ussher, *The Reduction of Epiuscopacy into the form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church, Proposed in the year 1641 as an expedient fot the preventione of those troubles which afterwards did arise about the matter of Church Government*, London, 1658.

may have meat and clothing'. The Scot replied that he hoped to get him a professorship at Leiden.[145]

Almost inevitably, Laud's interference with the cause of continental protestantism left Durie tainted. In 1640 Robert Baillie accused him of seeking to 'reconcile foreign protestants and the Church of England with the Church of Rome', a charge which Durie furiously denied.[146] He later wrote to Alexander Henderson, referring him to Hartlib as a character witness. There is little doubt that Baillie's charge was unfounded, and the result - as Durie himself said - of malicious rumour.[147] Durie himself thought that the 'episcopal government, as it exists in England, is not good'.[148] On ceremony Durie was personally uncompromising: he neither practised nor believed in 'bowing', including the 'bowing of the knee'. Although desperate for funds, he refused a lucrative offer of a chaplaincy at Rotterdam because 'there is a communion table railed and set altarwise, that must be changed', and the congregation were accustomed to taking communion kneeling.[149] The two men were eventually to overcome their differences, indeed in 1636 Baillie had been much impressed with Durie's work,[150] and in 1639 Baillie instructed one Alexander Cunningham to proceed to London and sound out those 'who are fervent and able opposits there to Canterburies way'. These were all members of Durie's 'club', and included Richard Holdsworth, Daniel Featley,

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145. Letter Durie to Hartlib, August, 1643, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.234-235.

146. Letter Durie to 'Andrewe Ramsay...Alexand[er] Hendrichson or...Archball Johnson', September, 1640, in *Ibid.*, p.216. It is a sign of the power of 'Johnson' [Wariston] by 1640 that he was responsible for overseeing the publication and printing of books in Scotland; see D.Stevenson, 'A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: the Scottish Covenanters and their Printers, 1638-51', *The Library* (6th Series), VII, 1985. Durie was unaware that Baillie was the author at this time, and blamed 'Johnson' because the book had been published with his 'approbation'.

147. Letter Durie to Henderson, December, 1640, in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.218.

148. Letter Durie to Hartlib, December, 1641, in *Ibid.*, p.226-227.

149. Letter Durie to Hartlib, August, 1640, and May, 1644, in *Ibid.* pp.215, 240-241.

150. 'Concerning Duraeis busines when ever I hear of the advancement of it I am refreshed; yow neid put no questione on our side, for we ever did earnestlie sute it'; Baillie, *Letters*, I, pp.9-10.

Henry Burton, and John Prideaux. All (except Prideaux) were signatories of Durie's *Instrumentum*.[151] Also cited were John Bastwick and William Prynne, and the bishops Davenant (Salisbury), Hall (Exeter), and Williams (Lincoln), all of whom had contributed to Durie's mission of church unity.[152]

Durie's agent between London and Edinburgh was Eleazar Borthwick, a prominent covenanting minister after 1637. Borthwick and Durie had become acquainted when the former was chaplain to Sir James Spens. The latter was also a Scot, Lord Wormiston, and was ambassador to Sweden under Charles I until his death in 1632.[153] From 1637 Borthwick acted as a direct contact between the court at London and Johnston of Wariston in Edinburgh. According to Baillie,

> Mr Eleazor [Borthwick] was the man by whom his Grace [James, Marquis of Hamilton], before his commission, did encourage us to proceed with our supplications...[154]

The *Diary* of Johnston of Wariston also suggests that Borthwick was a trusted confidant of Hamilton, and of Wariston himself.[155] By 1637 Borthwick had five years' experience of working through the patrons and sympathisers of Durie's cause. The tremendous impact which the Scots commissioners had on their preaching 'tours' of London was at least in part due to the fact that Borthwick accompanied them, and knew just where to place them for maximum effect.[156]

It has already been stressed that Durie felt that the failure of his mission was imminent in 1633-34. Is it a coincidence that Durie should choose this moment to seek the opinion of Scottish

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151. 'Richardus Holdsworth, Rector eccles S Patri pauper, Londin'; 'Theologorum Brittainorum', f.2r.
152. Baillie, *Letters*, I, pp.225-226.
153. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p.144.
154. Baillie, *Letters*, I, pp.98-99.
156. See Wariston, *Diary*, p.346.
152. 'The people throngs to our sermon...their crowd daylie increases....so manie considerable people as our rooms could hold'; Baillie, *Letters*, I, pp.295, 339.

ministers, or that at the same time he should have employed Eleazar Borthwick to conduct negotiations with Edinburgh? Durie certainly cultivated contacts on both sides of the presbyterian/ episcopalian divide at this time. One of Borthwick's friends and fellow chaplains in Sweden was Robert Douglas. Later, Douglas was one of the group of ministers who met at Edinburgh to discuss the action to be taken on the imposition of the Prayer Book in 1637, a meeting which took place three weeks *prior* to its introduction.[157] John Sharp, one of the ministers of James exiled from Scotland in 1606 and a covenanting supporter in 1637, was present at the meeting which convened at Borthwick's request in 1633. Three years earlier, the town council

> hearing that Mr John Sharp, Doctor and Professor of Divinity in the College of Die in dauphine in France, was by Cardinal Richelieu's procurement thrust out of France, and come over to London, thought fit to give him a call to the professor of Divinity in the Colledge...[158]

This led to the production of Edinburgh Presbytery's *Paraenesis Irenica*, to which Sharp was a contributor.

In the early 1630s, John Durie would gladly have accepted unity between England and Scotland on terms such as those outlined by Ussher in 1641. But when this route was denied him, he was quite prepared to revert to Leighton's stance on the issue, and call upon the Scottish for assistance. From 1634 John Livingstone had meetings at London with Leighton, and with Sir Nathaniel Rich (a prominent MP and supporter of Durie)[159] and another sympathetic Englishman, Sir Richard Saltonstal.[160] The support from England which began to build in the 1630s could hardly have discouraged presbyterian non-conformists in Scotland from

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157. See J.M.Henderson, 'An Advertisement about the Service Book -1637', *SHR.*, XXIII, 1926.
158. Thomas Crauford, *History of the University of Edinburgh: From 1580 to 1646, by Thomas Crauford, A.M., Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the Colledge of Edinburgh in 1646*, Edinburgh, 1808, p.117. See also Turnbull, *op.cit.*, p.151; *Fasti*, V, pp.160-161.
159. See above, p.158.
160. *SB*, I, p.150.

seeking to impose a Scottish solution to the religious dispute on Charles I. In return, Durie and his supporters achieved their aim of a 'national synode' with the Westminster Assembly of 1643. It can surely not be mere happenstance that at least fifteen of the group were appointed as members.[161]

In the Scottish context, the ideas of Leighton were not 'radical',[162] and neither were they too much for many of his English puritan supporters. He had, after all, acquired significant support for his notion of a 'council' to debate the perceived excesses of the episcopate by 1629. That two councils (i.e assembly and parliament) should perform separate, but complementary, functions in their respective estates was only 'radical' in the context of English (or after 1603, British) political and religious policy. As Calderwood had noted in his own appeal to the Scottish parliament of 1606, a national assembly of the kirk had been the norm in Scotland 'these 46 yeeres'.[163] Indeed, the latter minister pointed out in 1614 that it was 'the want of [a] nationall assemblie' which was

> the true cause of the pitiful rent in the church of the low countries...Have they not begid with teares ane nationall assemblie, and cannot get it?...[154]

In 1624 Leighton believed that unless this situation was rectified in England and the Netherlands 'the Lord will pull them out of the cliff of that rock' of the true church.[155] The proposal of Durie and Leighton for a 'national synod' to debate the lawfulness of episcopacy or the question of church unity was not a new idea. But in the British context, as in Scotland, the failure of negotiation

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161. William Gouge, Edmund Calamy, Stephen Marshall, Matthew Newcomen, William Spurstow, Thomas Young, Philip Nye, John White, Obadiah Sedgewick, William Twisse, Edward Reynolds, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Gataker, George Walker, John Durie; all either signatories of Durie's 'Instrumenti Theologrum Brittainorum', or known associates (as mention above).
162. See Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.116, who opined that Leighton's ideas were too radical for 'most puritans'.
163. David Calderwood, 'Reasons', p.526.
154. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.26v.
155. Quoted in Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.118.

simply drove 'moderate' and 'radical' together. In the 1630s, as both men discovered, England and Scotland were as far apart in religious terms as they had ever been.

Chapter V

Prophecy and Passivity:

the awakening of Archibald Johnston of Wariston.

finding nou al my outward hoopes frustrat, my perplexities redoubled, my prayers rejected, and that quhilk I feared most to haive befallen me, my mynd was so extra-ordinarly wakned, and my affections so sturred, as in so schort tyme I never fand sutch pangs of greif and grips of sorrou as then; my eies ran lyk rivers; my heart bursted within ma; and thus loaden an[d] unexpressibly weary I had my recours to Chrysts meditation for to restore me to Gods wonted favour...

Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1634.

It is interesting that three historians, their work separated by eighty years, should begin their accounts of the early life of Archibald Johnston of Wariston, with reference to the opinion of Thomas Carlyle.[1] The passage of one and a half centuries has not altered the view that Wariston was an 'austere Presbyterian Zealot; full...of heavy energy and gloom', a man impossible to 'love'.[2] Yet Carlyle's words were not so much a sketch of Wariston himself, as a composite portrait of *all* Scottish 'presbyterian zealots', a work begun over four centuries ago. With the 'seditious' sermons of Andrew Melville ringing in his ears, Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, was already hard at work sketching in the details of the portrait in 1584-85. How was it possible, he asked, to love men who had so obviously failed in their duty to 'exhort the people to the obedience of their native king', choosing instead

> be popular sermonis...to trouble and perturbe the countrey...[3]

Kings,and not 'factious' ministers, affirmed Adamson, should 'cognosce and decyde in causis Ecclesiasticall'.[4] By the 1590s, Adamson's English counterpart - Richard Bancroft - had also noted that the 'consistorian humour' of Scottish presbyterians was incompatible with the right order of late sixteenth-century politics and religion, warning the young Scottish king in no uncertain terms that his

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1. G.M.Paul (ed), *Diary of Archibald Johnston of Wariston 1632-1639*, Edinburgh, 1911, esp. Introduction, pp.ix-li; P.H.Donald, 'Archibald Johnston of Wariston and the politics of Religion', *RSCHS*, 1992, XXIV, pt 2, pp.123-140; David Stevenson, 'Depression and Salvation: Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston', in *King or Covenant? voices from the civil war*, Melksham, 1996, pp.150-173.
2. Thomas Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, London, 1845, II, p.119.
3. Patrick Adamson, *A declaratioun of the kings majesties intentioun and meaning toward the lait actis of parliament*, Edinburgh, 1585, sig. Aiii r&v. On Adamson's somewhat chequered career see D.G.Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an idea 1560-1638*, Edinburgh, 1986, Ch.4. For an analysis of the possible influence of Adamson on James VI, and his opposition to presbyterianism in the 1580s, see R.A.Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians', in R.A.Mason (ed), *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603*, Cambridge, 1994, pp.129-131.
4. Adamson, *op.cit.*, sig. Aiii r.

> crowne and their soveraigntie will not agree togither...[5]

As the new century dawned, James VI was to demonstrate that his own opinion and that of Adamson and Bancroft hardly differed, as he too complained of the 'insolence' of men who

> under pretence to taxe a vice in a person, seek craftilie to staine the race [of kings], and steale the affection of the people...how can they love you that hated them of whom you are come?...[6]

The 'austere presbyterian zealot' was not a man to love or be loved, but a dangerous religious fanatic who threatened the political stability of the age.[7]

As the king himself recognised, the roots of presbyterian 'zealotism' lay deep in his minority. It was, after all, John Knox who first accused the Stewart monarchy (or more specifically, the regent Morton) of committing the sin of Mannasseh.[8] Indeed, James was explicit as to the nature of the problem which the crown faced in 1600. He warned his son in no uncertain terms that the 'very spirites' of those 'archi-belloues of rebellion', such as John Knox and Andrew Melville, would find 'transition in them that hoardes their bookes, or maintaines their opiniouns' unless stern action was taken.[9] By way of example, the king attempted to exorcise such 'phanatick spirits' from the kirk in 1606, and imprisoned both James and Andrew Melville, together with several other Scottish 'puritans'. Nevertheless, another 'refractarie foole' - David Calderwood - immediately emerged to ensure that presbyterianism's 'passions and particular respects' remained to

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5. Richard Bancroft, *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse*, London, 1589, p.70. Letter, Bancroft to Burghley [c.1590], NLS, *Advocates MSS*, 6.1.13, ff.46-55.
6. J.Craigie (ed.), *The basilikon doron of King James VI*, Edinburgh, 1944-50, I, p.21.
7. The king himself regarded Knox and Melville as examples of 'phanatic spirits', to be kept only 'for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evill wife'; *Ibid.*, pp.78-79.
8. John Knox, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W.Croft-Dickinson, London, 1949, II, pp.108-109. Mannasseh caused Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err. Presbyterian ministers were later to remind James that this sin would be his own undoing, and that of his 'race'; see Calderwood, *History*, III, p.762, V, pp.279, 679.
9. *Basilikon Doron*, pp.149-151.

haunt the king for the rest of his days.[10] Consequently, James VI & I found himself having to repeat the whole process eleven years later.[11] Calderwood had hardly been banished before Alexander Leighton, yet another irksome Scottish presbyterian, appeared in London to carry the fight directly to the court.[12] It is therefore not entirely surprising that the equally 'refractorie' Johnston of Wariston should have emerged to take up the cause of presbyterianism by 1637. By the latter date the sin of the father had been firmly visited upon the son, and Charles proved no more adept than James at silencing the strident voice of Scottish opposition to the principle of royal supremacy over the kirk.

Predictably, eventual victory in 1638 won scant praise from later commentators for those who had championed the presbyterian cause. In the light of the Restoration, Robert Leighton - with an about turn of epic proportions - condemned the 'brainsick fancies' which had emanated from the covenanting regime as neither 'intelligent', nor 'rational'. Only 'folly and imprudence', he claimed, could issue from the heads of such 'Bedlamites'.[13] The 'heavy energy and gloom' of such men were the result of something in the Scottish air, a disease common to all Scottish presbyterians.[14] Thereafter the dark robes of 'zealotism' became a permanent feature. In accepting this composite portrait, Carlyle dressed the image in Wariston's clothes, and presented it to posterity. Gardiner did the same for Alexander Leighton, a few years after

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10. *Ibid.*, p.75. David Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.6v.
11. See *Ibid.*, *passim*.
12. On Leighton see above, Chapter IV.
13. Robert Leighton, 'The Four Causes of Things' [c.1671], in George Jerment (ed.), *The Whole Works of Robert Leighton*, London, 1808, V, pp.184, 206. He was referring to the workings of 'erroneous conscience', which led men to seek sanctuary in the 'sovereignty of conscience', and set themselves 'above the reach of any power upon earth'; *Ibid.*, p.189. Leighton, a covenanter in 1637, accepted the bishopric of Dunkeld under the episcopal administration of Charles II. Lawrence Charteris, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh in 1675, also wrote of the 'great zeal' of such men whose minds were 'not a little perverted'; L.Charteris, *The Corruption of this Age* [c.1675-80], Edinburgh, 1704, pp.20-22.
14. See, for instance, the opinion of Isaac Basiere quoted above; Chapter IV, p.149, n.58.

Carlyle.[15] Along with Melville, both Wariston and Leighton embodied all that was negative about Scottish presbyterianism. They were unlovable religious fanatics, and their eventual degeneration into madness was almost guaranteed.[16] Knox did manage to escape such a fate, but only because of what appears to have been deliberate disingenuity on the part of John Spottiswood (archbishop of St Andrews),[17] and the huge shadow which Wariston cast in 1637-38 tended (as it still does) to obscure Calderwood's role in events from view.[18] As a consequence, modern historiography has (more than a little curiously), presented each man as unconnected with his predecessor: Knox had no

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15. R.S.Gardiner, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642*, London, 1883-84, VII, pp.143-152.

16. Melville recognised history would condemn him as 'mad' in 1606, but he, at least, has recently been rescued. See R.A.Mason, 'James VI and the presbyterians', pp.120-126, which connects Melville to the political thought of George Buchanan; and James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp.334-367, which stresses continuity between the aims and thought of Knox and Melville. The lack of interest of Scottish historians in Alexander Leighton is startling. In England, John Bruce noted that the 'unhappy man died insane'; 'Leighton's Case', in S.R.Gardiner (ed.), *Speech of Sir Robert Heath, Attorney-General, in the Case of Alexander Leighton, in the Star Chamber, June 4, 1630*, London, 1875, Preface, p.xiii. Gardiner noted that Leighton's work represented the 'resuscitation of Presbyterianism' [*Ibid.*, 'Note by the Editor', p.xix], but few, including Gardiner himself, have attempted to follow up the comment. In 1966, Laud's biographer, Trevor-Roper, clearly considered Leighton just another lunatic from the north; H.R.Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud*, London, 1966, pp.109-110. Wariston remains thus condemned on both sides of the border. Over forty years ago C.V.Wedgwood refered to Wariston as a 'religious fanatic' who walked on 'the dizzy verge of madness' [*The King's Peace*, London, 1955, p.185], a sentiment with which Gordon Donaldson [*Scotland, James V - James VII*, Edinburgh, 1965, p.313] agreed. More recently Ronald Hutton described Wariston as intimidatory and 'terrible' in the 1640's, adding that by the 1660's he was 'patently going insane' [R.Hutton, *Charles the Second - King of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Oxford, 1989, pp.52, 172], whilst for Keith Brown he was a 'presbyterian and political radical' who was 'deranged' by 1663; K.M.Brown, *Kingdom or Province - Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715*, London, 1992, pp.112, 145.

17. Spottiswood first accused Knox of attempting 'by all means to conform the government of the Church with that of Geneva', which was almost precisely the accusation which he later levelled at Melville; see Kirk, *op.cit.*, p.353. In his attempt to show that the Reformation had not dispensed with episcopacy, Spottiswood was forced to rehabilitate Knox, referring to him as a 'zealous promover' of the 'true religion'. Gordon Donaldson used this second comment in support of his own thesis that it was 'Melville and not Knox, who was the originator of Scottish presbyterianism'; see G.Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries*, Edinburgh, 1972, p.71; G.Donaldson, 'Sources for Scottish Church History 1560-1600', in G.Donaldson, *Scottish Church History*, Edinburgh, 1985, p.94.

18. See below, esp. Conclusion.

intention of abjuring episcopacy;[19] Andrew and James Melville disappeared into obscurity and exile after 1606;[20] Calderwood spent his time 'quietly collecting material' for his *History* after 1625;[21] Leighton acquired the dubious distinction of being 'English';[22] Wariston was instantly converted to 'radicalism' in 1637.[23] Such an interpretation has meant that four centuries of dust covering the composite portrait remains almost undisturbed. 'Properly', to borrow Carlyle's phrase, the following chapter 'turns all upon that'.[24]

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19. See above, n. 17.
20. The eclipse of Melville is largely due to the enduring impact of the scholarship of Donaldson, which insists that James had dispensed with his presbyterian problems by 1603 [Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, p.254], and was thus just 'mopping-up' in 1606.
21. G.Donaldson and R.Morpeth, *Who's who in Scottish History*, Oxford, 1973, p.130.
22. 'If English puritans had followed the trail of Cartwright the whole course of religious history in the seventeenth century might have been profoundly different. To the chagrin of the presbyterian Scots they did not, the one outstanding exception was Alexander Leighton'; W.H.Lamont, *Godly Rule, Politics and Religion 1603-60*, London, 1969, p.44. Paul Christianson places Leighton firmly in the tradition of 'English apocalyptic' visionaries; P.Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war*, London, 1978, esp.pp.116-124.
23. Wariston is portrayed as stumbling blindly into revolutionary leadership, which he 'never sought nor had thrust upon him' [A.I.MacInnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-1641*, Edinburgh, 1991, p.169], or as being converted 'almost at once' by Charles' 'gross political imprudence' in introducing the *Service Book*; C.Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642*, Oxford, 1991, p.47.
24. Carlyle, *op.cit.*, p.119.

I

As Alexander Hume noted in 1594, the 'Spirit of man' was often troubled by 'naturall sicknes and diseases' and by 'contracted melancholie, quhilk man apprehendeth through sorrowe'.[25] Although such things were earthly concerns, 'observed by mediciners and chirurgens, & in their works abundantlie set furth', the careful man should interpret them as a possible sign of God's displeasure, and search his conscience accordingly. Hume, an advocate, was writing from personal experience. Afflicted with a serious illness in 1592, he found 'all wardly cares and impediments were removed', and confined to bed for the best part of a year, his mind became 'altogether setled on the service of [his] God'.[26] From that which he had feared to be his death-bed, Hume produced his *Treatise of Conscience*, his prime task being to provide advice for others likewise afflicted. Recovering, he studyied for the degree of M.A. at St Andrews, and joined the ministry in 1597.

Almost four decades later, the death of Jean Stewart[27] - Wariston's first wife, who was barely fifteen years old - threw Archibald Johnston of Wariston into that same task of critical self-examination. His first 'book' - Wariston never refers to it as a 'diary' - was probably begun in July, just a few weeks after his bereavement.[28] The work begins in the form of an introspective dialogue between the author and his 'saule', although it soon takes on the shape of a daily record of events. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly the 'Journal of his soul exercises' which James

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25. Alexander Hume, 'Ane Treatise of Conscience', in A.Lawson (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Hume*, London, 1902, p.106.
26. *Ibid.*, p.106, & Preface.
27. She was the daughter of Sir Lewis Stewart (knighted by Charles in 1633), a highly respected advocate.
28. Paul states that the work 'begins in the year 1632' [p.x]. But the period from March 1632 (when Wariston obtained majority) and June 1633 (when his first wife died) is clearly dealt with by the author retrospectively. It is not until the latter date [see, for instance, p.22] that Wariston appears to be discussing events as they happen.

Kirkton had read,[29] and therefore the work on conscience which Wariston intended it to be - his *Memento Quamdiu Vivas.* To dismiss the *Memento* as a collection of 'demented confessional ramblings', or as the work of a man in the grip of a 'manic-depressive illness', is to misunderstand the point of the work.[30] Wariston felt compelled, as others (such as Hume) had done before him, to leave the *Memento* for the instruction of those who had yet to undergo such trials - its 'confessional' nature is therefore its *raison d'etre.*[31] Following the advice contained in the works of men such as the above mentioned Alexander Hume, or those of the puritan preacher Nicholas Byfield,[32] a suffering Wariston laid his innermost thoughts 'in braid band' (i.e., laid them fully open) for the world to see.[33] The *Memento* covers a period during which Wariston (in similar terms to Hume) was plunged by personal calamity into a 'private' (i.e. retired), 'melancholious, pensive kynd of lyfe',[34] from which he did not fully emerge until 1636.[35] This first 'book' is incomplete, stopping abruptly with an entry for '20

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29. James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Kirk of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678*, Edinburgh, 1817, p.169. He was Wariston's son-in-law.

30. E.J.Cowan, 'The making of the National Covenant', in J.Morrill (ed.), *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, Edinburgh, 1990, p.76; Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p.155.

31. 'O my soule [ever] confesse thy weaknes and wryte doune the order of Gods working with the'; Johnston, *Diary*, p.3.

32. See Wariston, Diary, p.104. Nicholas Byfield, *The marrow of the oracles of God. Or divers treatises*, London, 1619. Byfield [1579-1622], sometime chaplain to Edward, earl of Bedford, was a puritan of 'strict sabbatarian habits'. He was sorely afflicted with 'the stone', and died after fifteen years of painful suffering; *DNB*..

33. As demonstrated above, other Scottish authors expounded a similar theme: 'being in great affliction, and assaulted with many temptations, (as the godly ever runnes to God in in time of trouble) I took purpose to compose somewhat to his glory, and to the comfort and edification of [other] gude men'; Hume, *op.cit.*, p.94. The message was therefore common enough in the popular literature of the day, and reinforced the general ethos of the duty to use one's talents, wealth, and/or life experiences ('good workes') for the benefit of others, which helped the individual to 'confirme [his] election, justification, and life'; Robert Rollock, *Five and twentie lectures, upon the last sermon of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1619, p.98.

34. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.150, 165.

35. This was the year in which Wariston acquired the estate of the same name. It was not until then that he felt possessed of the personal social status which could further his 'public' ambitions. Circumstances had previously denied him inheritances from both his father and his grandfather; see Johnston, *Diary*, pp.165, 370.

Sept.' [1634], and was intended to record his progress from physical to spiritual majority for posterity.[36]

When the account of his life is resumed in February 1637, the tone of Wariston's writing has changed, and the *Diary* has become a definite *aide-memoire*. As one recent commentator has noted, the 'pages of self-loathing pleading with the Lord' are absent,[37] and the work reflects the trials and tribulations of Wariston's 'public' life.[38] He had found a new purpose, and regarded the years 1637-39 as a test of his faith, and the proving-ground of his chosen calling, which was not necessarily limited to the pursuit of his employment as an advocate.[39] The period is thus very much one of self-definition for Wariston, as he struggled to come to terms with a divinely inspired task, 'in that I haive been maid on[e] with the Lord and he on[e] with me'.[40] He clearly perceived the nature of the divine purpose with him as early as May 1637. At Cramond he attended communion, and

> was mutch mooved at the taible, quhairon I spread thos former passages for my calling with the neu covenant for al for to find the trueth of them sealed up to me in the sacrament...[41]

Wariston was baring his soul not only in God's sight, but also in public, in order to demonstrate the necessity for a renewal of the covenant of grace, a desire which the Lord 'verefied in [Wariston's] auin personal experience'.[42] All that followed, up to (and quite possibly beyond) the General Assembly of November 1638, was

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36. The contention here, but not noted by Stevenson [see below, n.37], is that the 'diary' proper forms a separate work - probably begun in 1636 - and this is reflected in the changed language.

37. Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

38. This was a difficult period for Wariston, since his actions were often of necessity covert, and therefore not publicly recognised. He often recorded his frustration over the fact, begrudging such 'restraint'; see, for instance, Johnston, *Diary*, p.266.

39. Wariston was still worrying about his chosen 'calling' in May 1637, despite the fact that he had no lack of profitable employment as an advocate; see *Ibid.*, pp.247-249, 256-257.

40. *Ibid.*, p.253.

41. *Ibid.*, p.256-257.

42. Wariston had been reading from Jeremiah, I, 8, 'be not afrayed of thair faces, for I am with the to deliver the'; *Ibid.*.

based on this appreciation of his purpose in life. In the *Diary* Wariston's concern for his soul is replaced by worries over the fate of his earthly estate,[43] but his resolve seldom faltered. Nevertheless, it was only in the light of the success of the latter gathering, early in 1639, that his 'public' life truly began.[44]

It may be, therefore, that the *Diary* ends in 1639 for the 'infuriatingly trivial reason' that Wariston had 'come to the end of the volume',[45] but by the latter date he seems to have decided to employ a 'scribe' to continue the work - as the only surviving fragment of the *Great Book* of 1639-1650 appears to prove.[46] It was probably intended to be the record of a national movement, not of any single individual.[47] In any event, it is - regrettably - outwith the scope of this thesis to enter into a detailed consideration of Wariston's work after the production of the *National Covenant* in 1638. But the fact that both the *Memento* and the *Diary/Great Book* should have inspired Kirkton to produce a *Secret and True History* of the Restoration period,[48] and raised the ire of critics such as Robert Leighton, is testimony to their enduring impact. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Leighton should have sought to portray Wariston as 'brainsick', or that Charles II condemned him to earthly oblivion. But it remains perplexing that - over four hundred years later - so few historians

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43. Wariston feared for his own life, and for the fact that his devotion to the covenanting cause was rapidly depleting his estate. He also felt that both these factors contributed to his wife's ill-health; *Ibid.*, pp.289, 306-307.
44. The first of many public appointments and preferments came in 1639, with his appointment as a commissioner to parliament.
45. Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p.160.
46. Stevenson notes that the fragment 'could be by a different author'; *Ibid.*. In short - as its editor points out - it is; G.M.Paul (ed.), *Fragment of the Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston , Lord Wariston 1639*, Edinburgh, 1896, Introduction. One possible explanation is that Wariston, who had employed a secretary in 1637, left him the task of recording of important events, such as the negotiations at Berwick.
47. The title which Wariston gave this (now apparently lost) work suggests that it might have been a 'history', something along the lines of those which David Calderwood and John Row had produced.
48. Thus raising the possibility that Kirkton, in so doing, was continuing the family tradition.

have sought to question the judgement, or to disinter fully Wariston's intellectual remains.[49]

II

Although the *Memento Quamdiu Vivas* records the intense loneliness of Wariston's struggle over his choice of 'calling', the prospective advocate did not lack advice. Wariston followed a course carefully crafted by others to assist him in his quest, following 'rules' systematically laid down by William Perkins, a former lecturer and fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Even the three possible choices under consideration came from Perkins' *Treatise of callings*, whose discussion centred around those whom 'God hath set...in the churche, first apostles [ministers], gifts of healings [medicine], helps of gouvernements [advocate]'.[50] The quandary was much the same as Hume had faced in 1592. Unlike the latter minister, however, Wariston was reluctant to wait the '3 or 4 year or ever [he] wald be aible for the poulpit', and so he rejected the ministry as an employment option.[51] He also read Robert Bolton's *Instructions for a right comforting afflicted consciences* about the 'commodities and necessities' of a calling.[52] Bolton had been heavily influenced by Perkins, and even recommended the latter as further reading on the subject. Both

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49. As Roger Mason has recently pointed out, 'the social and cultural environment which nurtured [Wariston] remains largely unexplored', and the 'intellectual formation' of his character and written work, therefore, obscure. See Roger A. Mason, 'Imagining Scotland: Scottish political thought and the problem of Britain 1560-1650', in R.A.Mason (ed.),*Scots and Britons*, p.12. Curiously, the author of one of the few recent and substantive articles on Wariston's early life, makes the same point, thereby declining to tackle the subject; Donald, *op.cit.*, p.132.

50. *Ibid.*, p.134. William Perkins, *A treatise of the vocations, or, callings of men*, London, 1603. Perkins [1558-1602], was one of a 'synod' which revised the English presbyterian *Book of Discipline* in 1589, and was 'noted for his outspoken resistance to all that savoured of Roman usage in the matter of ritual' [*DNB*].

51. Johnston, *Diary*, p.135. *Cf.*, Hume, *op.cit.*, 'Epistle General'.

52. Robert Bolton, *Instructions for a right comforting afflicted consciences*, London, 1631. Bolton [1572-1631], was a puritan 'unconformable to the ecclesiastical establishment' in England; *DNB*.

authors advised against 'ane unnecessar or rasch chainge of calling', and Wariston decided for the 'laues',[53] because of his

> continuat resolution since my bairnhoode, my plying of my studies to that end...my gifts being disputative naturally fitted for it, and cheifly this warrand of the Apostle[54] comanding me to remaine in the calling quhairin I was [first] called...[55]

It seems likely that Wariston saw a mirror image of his own early life in the authors whose works he consulted, and whose advice he followed. He considered that he had misspent much of the time of his youth, and could identify with the lack of fulfilment expressed by Hume in his earlier choice of career,[56] or the lessons to be drawn from Bolton's youthful profligacy.[57] Wariston was also influenced by Paul Baynes' *Caveat for cold christians*,[58] and its

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53. Johnston, *Diary*, pp. 134-136. See also William Perkins, *Of the calling of the ministerie two treatises*, London, 1605. Both of Perkin's works noticed appear in contemporary editions of Perkins' *Collected Works*, of which fairly comprehensive 'complete' editions were available from 1608. In order to decide on his 'calling' Wariston also consulted the work of Heironymous Zanchius, *Speculum christianum, or, a christian survey for the conscience. Englisched*, London, 1614.

54. 1 Corinthians, 7,20.

55. Johnston, *Diary*, p. 135.

56. Like Wariston, Hume studied law in France before joining the bar at Edinburgh. He then sought office at court, becoming 'hindered and drawne away with warldly affaires', until it 'pleased God to visite me with a Fever', by which means He gained Hume's full attention. He joined the ministry c. 1597; Hume, *Conscience*, Epistle General; Scott, *Fasti*, IV, pp. 354-355. *Cf.*, Johnston, *Diary*, p. 2.

57. Wariston set much store by Bolton's work [see *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 134-135, 150, 206, 211-212, 214, 220, 226], and again the similarities of the experience of the Englishman's youth and Wariston's own are striking. Bolton's parents 'were not overflowing with wealth, [but] they had a competant estate', and he lived 'profligately' until 1593 when 'his father died, and then his means failed; for all his father's lands fell to his elder brother' [*DNB*]. Bolton's new found poverty reformed him. It is likely that Wariston was aware of the example. Copies of Bagshawe's *Life* of Bolton [*DNB*] were highly popular during the 1630s. Similarly, Wariston's own prospects had appeared good, but for an unfortunate set of circumstances: firstly his grandfather (Sir John Arnot) died before acting on his promise 'to buy [the lands of] Graunton to me'; secondly, his mother bestowed the family's Edinburgh property of the Sciennes on her brother (Samuel Johnston) instead of her son. In 1633, widowed and lacking an inheritance, Wariston also began to question the purpose of his life; see Johnston, *Diary*, p. 370.

58. Johnston, *Diary*, p. 220. Paul Baynes, *A caveat for cold christians, in a sermon*, London, 1618. Baynes [d. 1617] inherited an annuity of 'forty pounds' from his father, but only on condition that he 'forsake his evil ways and become steady'. On the death of Perkins, Baynes succeeded to his lectureship, and is credited with being instrumental in the conversion of Richard Sibbes [*DNB*].

message of the dangers of indifference - exemplified by the recklessness and profanity of Perkins' youth[59] - and Baynes' own excesses as a young man. All of these men stood as towers of strength in that they had triumphed over worldly temptations. In his own attempts to emulate their example, Wariston was also confronted with living examples of men determined to avoid both earthly temptations, and religious innovation, whatever the personal dangers. He often consulted the work of John Dod, a confirmed English presbyterian, and a man much admired on both sides of the border.[60] Wariston also read Richard Capel's *Tentations, their nature, danger, cure* [1633], and John Downame's *Christian Warfare* [1609-18].[61] Such studies reinforced his decision to join the bar, as he concluded that

> the tentations [of advocacy] was lesse dangerous [than] eyther in medecine or theologie, for thair they endangered the saule or the body, heir only the purse...[62]

Capel's work was published in the same year that the English puritan preacher (known to his congregation as Boanerges, son of thunder) resigned his rectory in Gloucestershire, following his refusal to read the *Book of Sports* from his pulpit. Downame's puritanism had forced him to live unbeneficed between 1618 and 1630, and his highly popular work was in its fourth edition by 1634.[63]

Bancroft 'put down' Baynes' lecture because of his non-conformity, and although he lived thereafter in poverty, he was famed for the conventicles at which he continued to preach. See also Paul Baynes, *Christian Letters*, London, 1619.

59. Perkins was reputedly converted by the realisation that his excesses were used as an example to terrify children, and make them aware of the consequences of their own misbehaviour; *DNB*.

60. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.94, 114, 120, 129, 139, 250, 285. Dod was suspended for non-conformity in 1604, and at the age of ninety-six was a member of the Westminster Assembly. He died in 1644; *DNB*.

61. Johnston, *Diary*, pp. 194, 197.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

63. Richard Capel, *Tentations: their nature, danger, cure*, London, 1633; John Downame, *The Christians warfare*, London, 1609-18. Capel [1586-1656] was a supporter of the Long Parliament in 1641. In 1640 Downame [d. 1652] was one of the puritan ministers who petitioned the English privy council against William Laud's *Book of Canons*; *DNB*.

The whole process of such self-examination was akin to an apprenticeship, from which the student learned important political lessons. For instance, Wariston noted that God joined 'ever togither the giving of Almes unto fasting and praying',[64] a lesson which addressed the important issue of control of the poor in seventeenth-century society. In return for God's blessing on his marriage Wariston had already bequeathed 'the tent pennie of my annuel rents' to the poor, 'quhilk voue the Lord had inaibled [him] to keap hitherto'.[65] But just two months after his wife's death, and after much soul-searching, he further promised:

> first al the superfluites and reliques of my yearly anuel rent, quhilk I would not give out for neu anuel,[66] bot would imploy on pious uses and goodlie persones: secondly, al that I could winne the first year of my calling and, ever after that, the tent dolor or pennie of my winning...[67]

In return Wariston asked that God 'mercifully and indulgently deal with this unworthy worme'. It can hardly be coincidence that Wariston offered such a barter after reading Byfield's 'threefold consideration of sinne', or Bolton's *Saints Guide*,[68] and their threats of 'hels fyre' for the unrepentant. Their advice 'schauing what a man must doe for to be saved'[69] clinched the arrangement. Byfield's *Oracles of God* was in its ninth edition by 1633, and it is hard to imagine that Wariston was the only man to be so influenced. The explicit political message of Byfield's work was mirrored in Bayly's *Practise of pietie*,[70] but the latter work also

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64. Johnston, *Diary*, p.146.
65. *Ibid.*, p.122.
66. i.e. re-invest. The point demonstrates that Wariston did not lack an appreciation of economics.
67. *Ibid.*.
68. Robert Bolton, *A three-fold treatise: containing the saints Guide. Examination. Fasting.*, London, 1634. The work consisted of three parts, 'The saints sure and perpetuall guide'; 'The saints selfe-enriching examination'; The saints soule-exacting humiliation; or soule-fatting fasting'. Bolton [1572-1631], rector of Broughton (Northamptonshire), was 'so famous for relieving afflicted consciences, that many foreigners resorted to him, as well as persons at home, and found relief'; *DNB*.
69. Johnston, *Diary*, p.120.
70. Lewis Bayly, *The practise of pietie: directing a christian how to walke*, London, 1612. Bayly was bishop of Bangor (Wales).

contained a more subliminal lesson. Following Bayly's advice, Wariston faithfully recorded the sermons he attended by marking his bible with his 'killavyne penne' (i.e. black-lead pencil). Later, according to 'the Practise of Pietie['s] direction', he firstly repeated the sermons to himself in private, before reading them once again in the presence of friends and family. The whole process was followed by a confession of 'al particularly unto God'.[71] Since the sermon was the major means by which the government could pass on its political *raison d'etat*, Bayly's method ensured that the message reached beyond a minister's immediate congregation. The popularity of Bayly's *Practise of pietie*, first published in 1612, resulted in at least thirty-one editions appearing by 1633, including two print-runs from Andrew Hart's Edinburgh press in 1630-31. The fact that Wariston (and again, he surely cannot have been alone) should have enthusiastically adopted Bayly's method, was ominous for a regime which had so conspicuously failed to win complete control of the pulpit in Scotland.[72] From the outset of his *Memento*, Wariston records attending the sermons of many non-conformist ministers. He was an eager pupil, who learned the lessons of his 'apprenticeship' well.

Perhaps the most important lesson lies hidden behind the 'demented confessional ramblings', which have come to characterise this period of Wariston's life. As others have noted, he was often pre-occupied with 'hours of weeping, especially during prayer and meditation', and his 'exstasies' were indeed a 'noisy and passionate business'.[73] But again, the 'business' is misunderstood.[74] Wariston was not alone in his attention to tears, which were a sort of spiritual purgative,[75] and Elizabeth

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71. Johnston, *Diary*, p. 148.
72. See below, Chapter VI. On Hart's press, see above, Chapter III.
73. Cowan, *op.cit.*, p.76; Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p. 155.
74. Tears were a calculated device, and were therefore not simply emotional outpourings. In 1633 Wariston 'considered the distinction of tears,' which were 'depracatorie' [as in a petition to ward off evil or sin], or 'impetratorie' [as in an entreaty or request for salvation]; Johnston, *Diary*, pp. 142-143.
75. Wariston's intense meditations 'bread unto [him] many ane salt teare', which was the preserve of the faithful. *Cf.*, Matthew, V, 13; 'Ye are the salte of

Melville's *Godlie Dreame* is testimony to the fact that the process was not unique.[76] Thirty years before Wariston this 'Gentelwoman in Culros' wrote of her own intense spiritual experience during which she was transported to a place where 'the twinkling teares aboundantlie ran down' and she

> ...saw ane sicht, quilk maid my heart agast:
> Puir dammit saullis, tormentit sair for sin,
> .....
> The fyre was greit, the heit did peirs me sair,
> My faith grew waik, my grip was wondrous smal,
> I trembellit fast, my feir grew mair and mair,
> My hands did shaik, that I held him withall.
> At lenth thay lousit, then thay begouth to fall,
> I cryit O Lord, and caucht him fast againe:
> Lord Jesus cum, and red me out of thrall,
> Curage said he, now thou art past the paine.[77]

Melville saw her *Godlie Dreame* achieve the status of a presbyterian anthem in her own lifetime. It was performed[78] at conventicles (such as those held at the homes of Wariston's grandmother, mother, and aunt), and at larger outdoor gatherings (such as that of Shotts in 1630).[79] The young advocate could hardly have been unaware of the work. Indeed the experience of his own most

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the Earth'. The marginal comment reads: 'Your office is to seasone men with the salt of the heavenlie doctrine'.

76. Few records of the actual process of this type of intensely personal communion with the soul are extant, but the paucity of surviving records can hardly be offered as proof of Wariston's 'dementia'. James Melville's *Black bastel* [c. 1611] is a further example, and may have been inspired by Elizabeth Melville's work. An abridged version was printed at Edinburgh in 1634 as *The black bastel, or, a lamentation in name of the kirk of Scotland* . Neither can it be claimed that such 'extasies' were the preserve of 'fanatics', since Hume records being 'transported' in his 'of Gods benefits bestowed upon man' [Hume, *Hymnes and Sacred Songs*, p. 17], and his observations in the *Treatise of Conscience* [see below] are obviously based on personal experience. Hume was no extremist, despite his opposition to episcopacy, and in 1609 lambasted both radical presbyterians and bishops; see below, Chapter VI, and references there cited. Elizabeth Melville's *Godlie Dreame* [see below] retained its popularity throughout the seventeenth century, and was republished in 1620, 1644, and 1680, which is doubtless another reason why Leighton and Charteris were so concerned to decry such 'fanaticism' in 1670-80.

77. Elizabeth Melville, *Ane Godlie dreame...be M.M. Gentlewoman in Culros, at the requeist of her freindes*, Edinburgh, 1603, in Hume, *op.cit.*.

78. The poem was 'Compylt in Scottish meter' and chanted, rather like a psalm.

79. See above, Chapter III.

intense 'out of body' experience was remarkably similar to that of Melville:[80]

> my eies stood brent open, never closing albeit rivers of tears ran doun my scheaks [quhairupon] my saul was transported out of myselth and fixed upon the immediat vision and fruition of ane incomprehensible Dietie... behold the catalogue of my sins doone eyther befor or since my calling [quhairat] I begoud to trimble...I thought at this tyme that my jesus took my heart in his hand and knet it and wrapped it within the heart of God [quhairat] my saul revived crying Haleluya, Haleluya...[81]

Like Melville, Wariston confronted both his sins and his mortality, before being saved by the hand of God.

Alexander Hume was the great friend and mentor of Elizabeth Melville, to whom he left his 'love and Christane affection and my blessing'[82] and she was considerably influenced by his own work and poems. Hume, who died in 1609, left what amounted to a guide to the nature and workings of 'ane exstasie', which was quite clearly reflected in the experiences of both Wariston and Melville:

> Quhen it plesis the Lord at any time, to shewe his angry face, and to rebuke man for sin, incontinent man is striken with sudden feare and trembling, and begins to call to remembrance quhat sins he has committed, and quhairin he hes offended his God:...Quhilk when he remembers, seeth the uglines thairof; is accusit by his owne Conscience and feillis the fearce wrath of God kindled against him for his sin: his spirit is marvellouslie troubled, and is suddenlie oppressed with extreme pain and torment:...that man sall see nathing but the angrie face of God, burning like a consuming fire against him [for] it is not possible, that we can be partakers of eternall glory and gladness in the heven with Christ, unless we be first participant of paine with Christ, and feill with him [the] torments of hell in our sauls and conscience...[83]

Neither Melville nor Wariston *contracted* (as in dementia or manic-depression) their visions of heaven and hell, but rather they

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80. The circumstances leading up to each of the various spiritual experiences noted here also appear too similar to be entirely coincidental, the common factors being fasting, solitude, meditation, mourning, and the current 'wretchit' state of religion in Scotland.
81. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.252-253.
82. Hume, *op.cit.*, p.184.
83. *Ibid.*, p.107.

learned them. In Melville's case the point was to gather converts. Such displays of piety were intended to impress, and thus she recorded her experiences. Her presbyterian 'friends' had not failed to note the power of the piece and encouraged its publication,[84] and its impact was all the greater because it was composed by a woman. God did indeed move in mysterious ways.

In April 1637, Wariston wanted to secure the post of advocate for the kirk. His first action following his experience (as described above) was to 'wryt it at lenth to Mr David D ick[son], for to stand as ane testimonie' to his piety, a necessary qualification for the job.[85] This is not to say that either Wariston or Melville was deliberately disingenuous about his/her experiences, but nevertheless their 'exstasies' were - even in their undoubtedly genuine desire to commune with God - self-induced. As Wariston's own written work reveals, the means of inducement (melancholy,[86] fasting, and prayer) were well documented.[87] His only problem, as his older - and much wiser - aunt bluntly informed the young man in 1634, lay in controlling his 'zeal'. Janet Johnston, one of Edinburgh's most formidable and powerful

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84. The poem was published 'at the requeist of her freinds'; Melville, *Godlie Dreame*, frontispiece.

85. Johnston, *Diary*, p.251. Dickson, minister of Irvine, was a leading covenanting minister; see below, Chapter VI.

86. This all important preliminary state of mind was produced [see, for instance, Hume, *op.cit.*, p.107] by meditating on personal loss, on affliction, or on the 'wretchit' state of religion in Scotland. Between 1633 and 1638 Wariston employed all three methods.

87. Wariston's library on the subject of private prayer, meditation, and fasting was extensive. Besides the influence of Hume and Melville, he records reading William Struthers, *Christian observations and resolutions, With a resolution for death*, Edinburgh, 1628. He also followed the advice of several English puritan authors, including: Timothy Rogers, *The righteous mans evidences for heaven*, London, 1619; John Rogers, *The doctrine of faith*, London, 1627; Henry Scudder, *The christians daily walk in holy securitie and peace*, (a work edited by the dissident John Davenport), London, 1628; John Hart, *The burning bush, not consumed*, London, 1616; Daniel Featly, *Ancilla pietatis: or, the hand-maid to private devotion*, London, 1626. Wariston also read the work of foreign 'divines', such as John Gerhard, *A christian mans weekes worke.. Or the dayly watch of the soule. Contayning fifty two meditations with prayers*, London, 1611; Zacharias Ursinus, *The summe of christian religion*, London, 1587. See Johnston, *Diary*, pp. 11, 20, 22, 100-101, 103, 129, 132, 139, 141, 143, 157, 160, 164-165, 202, 230, 232, 246, 285.

'matrons',[88] was well aware of the effect of periods of extended fasting and prayer. Used in the right context, such as the conventicle, faith was indeed confirmed and increased[89] - often (as at Shotts in 1630) resulting in a kind of mass 'exstasie', and individual conversions.[90] But, she warned Wariston, they could also 'waken the hot bilious and dust melancholic humeurs', which tended to tighten the grip of those very 'melancholious and pensive' chains from which he sought to escape.[91] Such displays of piety, as his aunt told him, were the *means* to a better understanding of God, not an *end* in themselves. In 1634 Wariston was 'ill'[92] because he was 'overdoing it', which is the reason why - in 1637 - the event recurs, but the man remains 'relatively calm'.[93] By the latter date, Wariston had learned both his lesson, and how to control his emotions to maximum effect. Two weeks after this latest 'exstasie', he received Dickson's 'comfortable ansuer', and within a month was officially offered the post of advocate for the kirk.[94] By late 1638, with the Glasgow Assembly approaching, Wariston had even taken on his own apprentice, Margaret Mitchelson. Her 'exstasies', under Wariston's guidance, attracted audiences of 'noblemen, som doubtsome of befor', who were afterwards 'strongly confirmed and encouraged to had hand to this great work of God'.[95] The use of such tactics was of great advantage to Wariston in 1637.

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88. Janet was the wife of Sir James Skene, Lord Curriehill, and Lord President of the Court of Session.
89. See, for instance, an account (probably by Hume) of the 'conversion of eight learned persons' [c. 1600]; NLS, *Advocates MSS*, 19.3.6.
90. See above, Chapter III.
91. Johnston, *Diary*, p. 182.
92. Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p. 155.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
94. Johnston, *Diary*, pp. 255, 258.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 385, 393, 406-407.

IV

It is difficult to believe that Wariston's presbyterian upbringing had such a profound effect on his future conduct *and* - as we are constantly reminded - that he 'conformed' prior to the introduction of the *Service Book* in 1637. Yet the latter event continues to be presented as the final straw in a 'string of innovating policies', and thus the defining moment of his life.[96] The evidence for the above thesis is provided by the fact that Wariston listened to the

> sermons of Dr Fairlie, who became Bishop of Argyle...and even occasionally to the man who was to read the service book on the unfortunate day of its introduction...[97]

The enforcement of the new liturgy, was (or so we are told) one 'gross political imprudence' too far, which converted Wariston 'almost at once'.[98] Yet, as another commentator admits, Wariston 'grew up amidst controversial changes in the everyday life and worship of the church', and 'took his religion very seriously'.[99] Even so, there is no attempt to challenge the theory of 'instant' conversion offered above, largely (and somewhat paradoxically) because the last major religious upheaval - the 'Five Articles' of Perth - 'passed through General Assembly when Archibald was [just] seven years old'.[100] Two main points of contention are raised by the above arguments: firstly, that of Wariston's 'instant' conversion to radicalism in 1637; and secondly, the role and timing of Charles I's 'gross political imprudence'.

It is true that Wariston was 'occasionally' present at the sermons of conformist ministers, but the notion that 'all the ministers whose

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96. See, for examole, P.Donald, 'The Scottish National Covenant and British Politics, 1638-1640', in Morrill (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.90.
97. Russell, *op.cit.*, p.47.
98. *Ibid.*. Oddly enough, the same author had earlier written that 'the 1580s...made a vital contribution to the growth of Covenantor mythology'; C.Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, Oxford, 1990, p.39. Yet just how (or why) Wariston remained isolated from such 'mythology' is not explained in either text.
99. Donald, 'Wariston', p.123.
100. *Ibid.*.

Churches he attended' were members 'of the Bishop's party' is highly misleading.[101] The choice of six ministers (two of whom were converted to the dissident party following the parliament of 1633) to prove the point is unashamedly selective. On only the second page of his *Memento*, Wariston (at the age of sixteen, in 1627) records attending service 'in the Pans, in Musselbrugh, [and] in the West Kirk'. The ministers at each of these churches - John Ker, Adam Colt, and William Arthur - were dissidents of long-standing, and had been prosecuted for non-conformity as long ago as 1606, and as recently as 1624.[102] Wariston regularly attended their kirks, and was still doing so in 1633-34. It is equally true that most of the sermons Wariston heard would have been uncontroversial. Of the six occasions that he records hearing James Fairlie, only one sermon - in January 1634 - referred to a matter of controversy.[103] Indeed Fairlie seems to have preached almost solely on what was obviously his 'pet' subject: 'Be glad in the Lord, and rejoyce, ye righteous: and schout for joie', a sentiment which Wariston heard repeated in four out of six sermons.[104] It would have been difficult for anyone, dissident and conformist alike, to take umbrage at that message. Wariston records hearing James Hannay ('the man who was to read the service book on the unfortunate day of its introduction') only once, in February 1637.[105] Thomas Sydserff was, as even Paul admits, 'thoroughly hated by the populace of Edinburgh',[106] and there is no indication in the *Memento* to suggest that Wariston differed from the opinion of the rest of the 'populace', some of whom - at least - must also have 'occasionally' attended his sermons. The man Wariston most frequently heard whilst he was resident at Edinburgh was Alexander Thomson, who was conformist, but - as

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101. Johnston, *Diary*, Introduction, p.xviii.
102. *Fasti*, I, pp.95, 325, 388; *Cf.*, Johnston, *Diary*, p.2.
103. Fairlie was attempting to calm reaction to the unpopular appointments of William Forbes to the bishopric of Edinburgh, and Thomas Sydserff to the Deanery of St Giles; Johnston, *Diary*, p.232.
104. *Ibid.*, pp.55, 100, 128, 206.
105. *Ibid.*, p.248.
106. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p.xviii.

he was also Wariston's parish minister - this could hardly have been avoided.[107] To base any judgement of Wariston's own 'conformity' on such contradictory evidence appears rather perilous.

A much safer guide to Wariston's 'conformity' is his attitude towards the contentious issue of the observance of the 'Five Articles', particularly that which dealt with kneeling at communion. An anonymous contemporary commentator noted that the promotion of such a policy after 1618 left three types of communicants in Edinburgh, of which 'one sat...another kneeled, and the 3d sort ran away from their ministers'.[108] As Wariston carefully recorded his attendances at communion,[109] it is possible to place him in one or other of these categories. Table 3 (following, p.196) demonstrates that Wariston seldom attended communion at Edinburgh, preferring instead to visit close relatives at the time of their particular communion 'season': in Lothian with his uncle Samuel,[110] or in Fife with his aunt Margaret Craig and her husband Sir Alexander Gibson (Lord Durie),[111] and in the Borders with his mother and her second husband, John Wilkie (laird of Foulden, near Berwick).[112] In 1636, after his second marriage to Helen Hay, Wariston acquired the estate of the same name, and thereafter became commissioner for Currie, his new parish kirk. Between 1632 and 1637, therefore, Wariston had no need to 'run away' from his ministers, as he could reasonably lay claim to five legitimate places of residence by the latter year. Of

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107. *Ibid.*, pp.36, 49, 70, 86, 112, 144, 152, 184-185, 188, 192, 198, 238.
108. NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Collections II, f.3v.
109. The period represented (with the exception of three communions in 1627) is April 1632 to September 1634, and from February to June 1637, prior to the introduction of the *Service Book*.
110. Between marriages (June 1633 to September 1634) Wariston appears to have let his town centre property, and to have lived with his brother at 'the Sheens', which belonged to his grandmother; Johnston, *Diary*, pp.35-236, *passim*.
111. As a young man Wariston enjoyed an especially close relationship with Alexander Gibson, a strict presbyterian. He appears to have become guardian of the boy on the death of his father in 1617; see, for instance, *Ibid.*, p.3.
112. Elizabeth Craig, Wariston's mother, married Wilkie in 1629; *Ibid.*.

the twenty communions[113] at which Wariston was present during the period (see Table 3, overleaf), ten (50%) were presided over by ministers with long histories of resistance to ceremonial innovation in the kirk:[114] three ministers (15%) had avoided trouble with the authorities, but were strong supporters of the covenant in 1638;[115] and the precise sympathies of six (30%) are unknown. The sole remaining minister, whose sympathies *were* suspect, Andrew Learmonth of Liberton, refused to implement a direct instruction from the bishop over kneeling at communion in 1634,[116] and indeed Wariston notes 'sitting' at the table to receive the sacrament at Liberton in 1633.[117] None of them administered communion in strict accordance with the 'Five Articles',[118] and even if those six (30%) of unknown status adopted an adiaphoristic stance, it is clear that Wariston's own preference was to sit.[119]

Thus Wariston viewed the events of the 1630s through the eyes of the old kirk, not the new. The notion is reinforced by his reaction to his first sight of Charles' royal court and entourage, which he attended at Edinburgh in 1633. 'The greatest worldlie contentments' the court could offer, he noted at the time, were

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113. Wariston records three attendences at Prestonpans, two at Kirkcaldy, and one each at the fourteen other venues. On one further occasion he omits the location. Only three of these are discussed in retrospect, i.e. prior to the death to the death of his first wife in June 1633, and obviously represent special memories.

114. William Arthur (West Kirk); John Ker (Prestonpans, on three occasions); Adam Colt (Inveresk); Robert Balcanquall (Tranent); James Porteous (Lasswade); John Aird (Newbattle); Robert Douglas (Kirkcaldy); John Row (Carnock). See Table 3 and references there cited.

115. John Dunlop (Ratho); William Colville (Cramond); Frederick Carmichael (Kirkcaldy). See Table 3 and references there cited.

116. Letter William Forbes [bishop of Edinburgh], to the presbytery of Edinburgh, 5 March, 1634, in *SBC*, pp.256-257.

117. Johnston, *Diary*, p.122.

118. Wariston's attitude to the 'purity' of the old form was clear, and - even in 1634 - he would not attend such a service. This point is explicitly addressed below.

119. Wariston liked to spread pertinent texts on the table, in order that he might sit and meditate on them, whilst following the communion and its accompanying sermons; see references cited for Table 3.

Table 3

Locations of communion services attended by Wariston prior to the introduction of the *Service Book* in July 1637

Area	Presbytery	Parish	Minister	Year of comm'n
Edinburgh	Edinburgh	West Kirk	William Arthur[1]	1633
	Edinburgh	Liberton	Andrew Learmonth[2]	1633
	Edinburgh	Ratho	John Dunlop[3]	1637
	Edinburgh	Cramond	William Colville[4]	1637
Lothian	Haddington	Prestonpans	John Ker[5]	1632
	Haddington	Inveresk	Adam Colt[6]	1633
	Haddington	Tranent	Rob. Balcanquhall[7]	1634
	Dalkeith	Lasswade	James Porteous[8]	1634

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1. William Arthur [1572-1654] was a signatory of the protestation of 1617 on behalf of the liberties of the kirk, and was tried by the High Commission in 1619 for refusing to conform to the 'Five Articles'. He was still refusing to conform to the bishop's instructions to enforce kneeling at communion in 1634; *Fasti*., I, p.95; Johnston, *Diary*, pp. 8-13.
2. Andrew Learmonth [d.1662] refused to implement the bishop's instructions as regards kneeling at communion in 1634. He would not support the covenant, however, and was deprived by the covenanting regime in 1639; *Fasti*, I, p.171; Johnston, *Diary*, p.122.
3. John Dunlop [1582-1647] served Ratho for forty years, from 1607 to his death. He joined the covenanting party in 1637; *Fasti*, I, p.182; Johnston, *Diary*, pp.250, 269.
4. William Colville [?], appointed to the parish in 1635, became a staunch covenanter; *Fasti*, I, p.126; Johnston, *Diary*, p.257.
5. John Ker's [1576-1644] mother was Margaret Stewart, widow of John Knox. In common with many of those who influenced Wariston's early thought, Ker had led a dissolute youth, and was converted by the revered John Davidson, before succeeding him to the parish. Ker signed the protestation of 1617, and was confined to his parish in 1624 for refusing to implement the 'Five Articles'; *Fasti*, I, p.388; Johnston, *Diary*, p.8.
6. Adam Colt [d.1641] was detained at London along with Andrew and James Melville in 1606, for supporting the illegal assembly at Aberdeen in the previous year. Confined to his parish, he served Inveresk from 1597 until his death in 1641. He was highly respected for his 'learning, wisdom, and pietie'; *Ibid.*, p.36.
7. Balcanquall [d.1658] was the son of Walter B. who had opposed James' moves against presbyterianism in 1584, 1596, and 1606. Robert refused to accept election to the lucrative benefice of Trinity (Edinburgh), a vacancy caused by his father's death in 1617, because of the controversy which emerged in that year. The parish remained unoccupied until 1626; *Fasti*, I, pp.125-126, 396; Johnston, *Diary*, p.243.
8. James Porteous [1578-1643] signed the protestation of 1617, and was prosecuted by the High Commission for refusing to implement the "Five Articles'. He was a member of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638; *Fasti*, I, p.329; Johnston, *Diary*, p.231.

Table 3 (Cont.)

Area	Presbytery	Parish	Minister	Year of comm'n
	Dalkeith	Newbattle	John Aird[9]	1637
Fife	Kirkcaldy	Kennoway	Fred'k Carmichael[10]	1635
	Kirkcaldy	Kirkcaldy	James Simson[11]	1633
	Dunfermline	Carnock	John Row[12]	1627
Borders	Chirnside	Foulden	Thomas Ramsay[13]	1627
	Chirnside	Ayton	George Home[14]	1634
	Chirnside	Coldingham	Chris'r Knowes[15]	1634
	Chirnside	Eyemouth	not known[16]	1634

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9. John Aird's [1584-1638] father William was one of the ministers forced to flee to England in 1584, and a resolute opponent of episcopacy until his death c.1606. John served as assistant to his father at the West Kirk, and signed the protestation of 1617; *Fasti*, pp.100, 332; Johnston, *Diary*, p.261.

10. Frederick Carmichael [1597-1667], was brother-in-law to George Gillespie, author of the *Dispute against English popish ceremonies* [1637]. Carmichael's father (minister of Kilconquhar) had been detained at London with Andrew and James Melville in 1606, and was prosecuted by the High Commission in 1619 over his opposition to the 'Five Articles'. At this particular communion in 1633 Carmichael was assisted by Alexander Henderson, whicch suggests that the congregation was substantial; *Fasti*, V, p.112, 208; Johnston, *Diary*, p.37.

11. James Simson [1581-1665], was appointed to the first charge at Kirkcaldy in 1627. His assistant was the young Robert Douglas, who became leader of the covenanting party on the death of Henderson in 1646; *Ibid.*, p.37, 95-96.

12. John Row [1569-1646] signed the petition against episcopacy of 1606, and was before the High Commission in 1619 and 1621 for refusing to implement the 'Five Articles'. Carnock was celebrated for the size of its communion congregations, and was an almost necessary pilgrimage for non-conformists. Row was a member of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, and the author of a *Historie of the kirk of Scotland from the year 1558 to August 1637*; *Fasti*, V, pp.7-8; Johnston, *Diary*, p.126.

13. Thomas Ramsay [d.1650] married Helen Kellie, widow of Oliver Colt, the previous incumbent. He was a member of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638; *Fasti*, II, p.48; Johnston, *Diary*, p.126.

14. The precise sympathies of George Home [d.c.1660] are not recorded, but various members of the Home family had been ministers of Ayton and the neighbouring parish of Coldingham since at least 1584; *Fasti*, II, pp.30-35; Johnston, *Diary*, p.210.

15. Nothing is known of Christopher Knowes' [d.1646] ministry before 1637; *Ibid.*, p.215.

16. Wariston attended comminion at Eyemouth in 1634, but did not note the name of the minister. Likewise, *Fasti* has no record of the minister of the parish at this time.

> bot vanitie and void of any satisfaction to anie mans mynd [and] ane real vexation of sprit, and so ful of greifs and miscontentments both in the getting, keaping, [and] lossing of them..[120]

The sentiment was commonplace amongst presbyterians. Alexander Hume recorded that his own similar experiences of the court of James VI contributed to his decision to join the ministry. Other literature Wariston was reading at the time, notably Edward Reynolds' *Sinfulness of Sin*, and the *Vanity of the Creature*,[121] only served to confirm such an opinion. If the excesses of Charles' court were not quite a 'gross political imprudence' for Wariston, the king's appointment of William Forbes to the bishropic of Edinburgh in the same year certainly was. In January 1634 the much reviled Forbes was consecrated, an event which was

> displeasing to many of the better sort, considering that so laitly he had been one of their ministers, and left town without their allowance, and [in] discontentment at the Magistrates and people...[122]

To add insult to injury, in February the equally unpopular Thomas Sydserff was consecrated Dean of Edinburgh, following the death of William Struthers. The latter, besides being an intimate of Wariston himself,[123] was a highly respected minister. Sydserff's appointment caused such dissatisfaction that he was forced - on the following Sunday - to remind the citizens of Edinburgh that they should confine their business to their own 'callings', and not meddle in those of others. In the afternoon sermon, Alexander Thomson (who appears to have been more receptive to the current mood), was urging his congregation to 'patience under crosses', whether real or perceived. The irony of the sermons was not lost on Wariston, who shed 'many ane salt teare' over their

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120. Johnston, *Diary*, p.27.
121. These were two sermons preached by Reynolds [1599-1676], and which were probably available in pamphlet form in 1633 [see *Ibid.*, p.197]. His collected works did not appear until 1658. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of 1643; *DNB*.
122. *SBC*, p.255.
123. Johnston, *Diary*, p.164.

implications.[124] As with the conspicuous consumption of the parliament of 1633, the appointments of Forbes and Sydserff caused Wariston (and others) to question 'the inanitie and vacuitie of al human contentments'.

By March, the newly installed bishop had ordered the 'Bretheren of the Exercise of Edinburgh' to

> give the communion, this next ensuing Pasch day (which will be the 6th of Aprile), every one of you in your own churches, and that you take it yourselves upon your knees, giving so good an example to the people; and that likewise that ye minister the Elements out of your own hands to everyone of your flocks...[125]

Forbes' order split the presbytery of Edinburgh, with only ten ministers, (including the four who served St Giles) agreeing to conform.[126] For his part, Wariston did not take communion on the '6th of Aprile', but instead chose to 'meditate' alone on 'mans breaking the Covenant of Works, and Gods wonderful love'

> 1. in deinzing to condiscend to a second covenant with the breaker of the first, 2. to mak sutch a covenant as is so painful on Gods pairt as to have his blood sched, and so easie in mans pairt as only to apprehend it by faith...and that at a tyme quherin he desyred it least, and deserved most the contrarie...[127]

Was man now to break this second covenant? Certainly Wariston thought so, and he was soon meditating

> on mans corruption, quhilk was so great as to turne Gods greatest blissings to be our greatest curses, and to chainge thos means and most pourful middes of mans salvation [communion] to be the greatest causes and aggravations of his damnation...nou our corruption so defyleth this holy exercise as in it we dishonor most God by meeting with his enemie the devil...[128]

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124. *Ibid.*, p.198.
125. Letter, William Forbes to the presbytery of Edinburgh, March 1634, in *SBC*, pp.256-257.
126. *Ibid*, p.257.
127. Johnston, *Diary*, p.206.
128. *Ibid.*, pp.207-208.

The words suggest that 'the supposed idolatry ordered under King James of kneeling at the sacrament' was much more than just 'a dark shadow of [Wariston's] youth experience'.[129] Wariston deliberately sought out kirks where the minister ignored the offending article, and never once (according to his own extant account) attended communion at St Giles or Greyfriars, where it was enforced. It is thus quite wrong to suggest that in 1638 he witnessed 'for the first time in an important Edinburgh church the communion service 'purly' ordered'[130] - since Wariston *did* attend communion at Edinburgh's West Kirk, where the service had been consistently 'purly' ordered since at least 1578.[131] Indeed, the very fact that Forbes found it necessary to *enforce* kneeling in 1634, probably indicates that - at the very least - 'mixed' sittings were the order of the day in most Edinburgh kirks. That Wariston still refused to attend, in line with his opinion quoted above, suggests that he had little personal tolerance for an adiaphoristic stance.

In any event, whilst one anonymous author was advising the populace of Edinburgh to 'awake', or face 'Gods wrath, thy wracke, & black idolatrie',[132] Wariston heard Robert Douglas (minister of Kirkcaldy, Fife) preach on Habbakuk, 'O Lord revive thy work nou in the midst of trouble'.[133] 'In the kirk', Wariston noted, he and others of like mind 'sang by particular providence'

> Except the Lord the house doe mak,
> Quhat men doe build it cannot stand...[134]

Three years later, when Hannay introduced the *Service Book*, Wariston was in the congregation at Currie, and his opinion on innovation in the kirk had not changed. His views on 'the present defection' were

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129. Donald, *Wariston*, p.123.
130. *Ibid.*.
131. *Fasti*, I, pp.93-95.
132. NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, 8vo. XXVII, No.5.
133. Johnston, *Diary*, p.235.
134. *Ibid.*.

> that this was [God's] service quhilk is nou to be abolisched,
> and the worship of man, if not of the sins invention,
> to be sett up... [135]

Like many others, Wariston had been forewarned of impending riot, and stayed well clear of St Giles. He was also well enough aware of the tribulations of Scotland's religious history to note with some satisfaction that 'this uproar was greater nor the 17 of December', an event which occurred fifteen years before he was born.[136] James VI might have turned in his grave at *that* remark. At least as far as the development of Wariston's 'passionate belief..in Scotland's relationship with God' was concerned, the appointment of William Forbes in 1634 was a far greater 'political imprudence' than the introduction of the *Service Book* in 1637.[137]

IV

That Wariston should have been influenced not only by the work of his fellow Scots, but also by English puritans, Genevan 'divines', and even a Spanish monk, suggests that his interests extended beyond purely Scottish affairs. The point seems especially pertinent because - in the opinion of at least one commentator - Wariston 'was intensely committed to opposing what had come to Scotland by anglicising and ungodly means'.[138] Yet nowhere is there an attempt to place his own political and religious thought, as opposed to the *National Covenant* itself, in the 'British context'. In order to establish the origins and nature of Wariston's 'passionate belief' in Scotland's special relationship with God,[139] it is necessary to compare his thought and ideas with those of other Scottish presbyterian theorists.

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135. *Ibid.*, p.266.
136. *Ibid.*, p.265.
137. MacInnes, *op.cit.*, p.169; Russell, *British Monarchies*, p.47.
138. Donald, 'National Covenant and British Politics', p.91. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.197-199, 228. Luis de Granada, *Of prayer and meditation; wherein is conteyned fowertein devoute Meditations for the seven dais of the weeke*, London, 1592. The latter work was highly thought of, and recommended by, among others, the puritan John Dod.
139. MacInnes, *op.cit.*, p.169.

The intention of the original reformers, according to Knox, was to restore 'the grave and godlie face of the primitive kirk', and even by 1560, Scotland was widely regarded as a country where 'not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left', and as on a par with the 'best reformed kirks' of Europe.[140] Such claims were consistently maintained over the next eighty years. In 1609, Alexander Hume - citing the authority of Knox[141] - challenged the onset of episcopacy by comparing the purity of the kirk of Scotland to that of certain other 'weill reformed Kirks' in Europe, 'whair papistrie is banysched'.[142] Likewise, David Calderwood attempted to persuade the parliament of 1621 to reject the 'Five Articles' by asking its members to consider if there was

> ever any realme since Christ's incarnation [which] professed Christian religion so universally...in such puritie, discipline, and publicke worship, with such liberties and for so many yeares together, as our realme has done...[143]

In 1624 Alexander Leighton made a final appeal to James to reverse the trend towards 'popery' with a return to the purity of reformation Scotland, 'where there was not so much as one hoof of the beast left'.[144] It is unlikely to have been mere coincidence that Wariston expressed an identical sentiment at the appearance of the *Service Book*. Nowhere, he noted, had God

> had his kingly office honorabler erected, spiritualar establisched, and longer practised [than] heir...[145]

As has been asserted above, Wariston was almost certainly aware of Hume's work - and if Leighton required a publicist in Scotland,

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140. See Kirk, *op.cit.*, pp.334, 338-339.
141. Alexander Hume, 'Ane Afold Admonition to the Ministerie of Scotland', in *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, ed. D.Laing, Edinburgh, 1844, I, pp.567-590. In this work, completed just before his death in 1609, Hume acknowledges the influence of John Knox, John Craig (author of the *Short Confession* [1581]); John Row (father of the historian of the same name); and John Spottiswood (father of the archbishop and historian).
142. *Ibid.*, p.581.
143. David Calderwood, *Quaeres concerning the state of the church of Scotland*, [1621], Edinburgh, 1638, p.3.
144. Quoted in Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.118.
145. Johnston, *Diary*, p.270.

he found one in William Laud.[146] Wariston rose to the challenge of the new liturgy 'reading knoxs',[147] and composing alongside Calderwood.[148]

Such men (and on the evidence of at least one case, women) considered themselves prophets, and saw themselves as the Daniels and Jeremiahs of 'this fals and iron age'.[149] In 1603, Elizabeth Melville issued an impassioned plea:

> Awaik, O Lord, quhy sleipist thou sa lang?
> We have na strenth agains our cruel fo,
> In sichs and sobbes now changit is our sang,
> The warld prevails, or enemies ar strang,
> The wickit rage, bot wee are puir and waik:
> O *shaw thy self, with speid revenge our wrang...*[150]

Unsurprisingly, given the social attitudes of the day, God chided Elizabeth to 'play the man, thou neids not trimbill so', before taking her by the hand and promising to be her guide.[151] She was thus able to assure Scotland that 'It is to cum that I beleifit was past', and that the 'iron age' would soon be over. At London, in 1606, Andrew and James Melville[152] were also convinced that 'God hes sume pairt to play with us on this theatre', and Andrew - at least - was equally certain that the act must be played out, whatever the consequences of the final scene:

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146. See above, Chapter IV.
147. Johnston, *Diary*, p.288.
148. See above, p. 165, n.129.
149. Elizabeth Melville, *op.cit.*, p.185.
150. *Ibid.*, p.187.
151. The line is taken from the Apocrypha, II Esdras, X, 33; 'Stand up manly, and I wil give thee exhortacion'. This chapter appears to be part of the inspiration for her work, as it relates a dream vision with the angel Uriel as a guide.
152. 'thos worthy servants of God [who] wer confyned and condemned as traitors for holding Aberdeins Assembly and declyning the councíl'; Johnston, *Diary*, p.379.

> my heart is full and boldenit. I will be glaid to half ane occasione to disburdein it and spiek all my mynd plainely to thame for the dishonoring of Chryst and wrack of sua many soulis...[153]

Following Melville, Alexander Leighton's own divinely inspired 'purpose' in 1624 was 'to point out the remedy, and the physician;[154] namely, that *plain-dealing word*,[155] from the mouth of the *man of God*.[156] Just as 'plain-dealing' sent Melvillle to the Tower in 1606, and Leighton to the stocks in 1630, so it was said to have been the cause of Wariston's visit to the gallows in 1663.[157] But for now (in May 1637), God had 'put forth his hand and toutched [Wariston's] mouth', and he too became a prophet, 'notwithstanding som scruple I had that it could not be extended to any uther nor the ministerial calling'.[158]

The prophecies of Andrew Melville, Leighton, and Wariston were remarkably similar, both in tone, and content. Melville was well aware of James' determination to silence the 'phanatic spirits' of presbyterianism,[159] but - he said - if 'madness accompanies my disease [the stone]',[160] then he would gladly 'return demented to

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153. James Melville, 'True Narration of the Declyneing State of the Kirk of Scotland', reproduced in David Reid, *The Party-Coloured Mind: Selected prose relating to the conflict between Church and State in Seventeenth Century Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1982, p.30.

154. Leighton gained the degree of M.D. at Leiden, c.1619. He was, however, refused a licence to practise medicine in London; see J.Goodall, *An historical account of the Colleges proceedings against empirics*, London, 1684, p.401.

155. It was the duty of all presbyterians to speak 'plainely' [see the similar comment by Andrew Melville, above n.153]. *Cf.* 1.Timothy, V, 20; 'Them that sinne, rebuke openly, that the rest also may feare'.

156. Quoted in Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.117 [italics in the original].

157. See Kirkton, *op.cit.*, pp.167-168.

158. Johnston, *Diary*, p.257. There was precedent here, however. Melville, for instance, did not receive ordination as a minister, although he preached by right of his principalships of Glasgow and St Andrews universities. Leighton ministered privately and unlicensed in England, after having failed to obtain a ministry in Scotland. He was briefly minister of Utrecht (Netherlands) in 1629, but resigned after only a few months in office because of a dispute with a colleague over the observation of 'festival days'; see W.Stevens, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, Edinburgh, 1833, p.339.

159. J.Craigie (ed.), *The basilicon doron of King James VI*, Edinburgh, 1944-50, I, pp.74, 78-79.

160. The 'stone' grew in the bladder, was very hard, and had a smooth appearance - as if it had been 'dressed'. The complaint was common, invariably

these rocks [presbyterianism]'.[161] Using this medical metaphor, Andrew reiterated to his brother the role allotted to him by God.[162] The stone 'cut without hands' was also the symbol of the true church. Not only did it provide shelter for the faithful, but it would eventually become 'a great mountaine [filling] the whole earth', thus cleansing the world of evil.[163] In the same vein, Leighton also forecast (in 1624) that

> except the deadness of Sardis, and the lukewarmness of Loadicea be really repented of, the Lord will pull them out of that cliff of rock...[164]

In 1637 Wariston mused on the fact that a 'Christian' possessed 'ane strong toure of refuge to hyde himselth in the day of evil', that 'strong rocke' which was the 'fondation' of all man's lawful hopes and desires. All 'other wor[l]dly retreats' he noted, were 'bot aegiptian reeds', which grew on 'sandie foundations', and would be pulled up and cast aside.[165] For each of these prophets, there could be no forward movement without first going back. The purity of the Reformation settlement was all-important.

The British context is more than evident here, since for all of the prophets and purists mentioned above, the source of Scotland's problems lay in England. John Knox died in 1572, still fearful of the consequences of religious association with a country of impure reformation, where faithful souls were 'depryvit fra ecclesiastical

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fatal, and the pain was enough to drive a man 'mad'. In 1622 an autopsy on the puritan preacher Nicholas Byfield revealed a stone 'being of a solid substance 16 inches compasse the length way, and 13 inches compass in thicknesse, which weighed 35 ounces averdupois weight' [*DNB*]. The dimensions were confirmed by independent witnesses.

161. See Reid, *op.cit.*, p.30. Melville was quoting 'Ovidis verses' [Ovid, *Tristia*, 2, II, 15-16; *Cf.*. Reid, *op.cit.*, p.203]. But the author misses the significance of the hidden medical metaphor, and the biblical prophecy which it contains. Melville spoke to his nephew in code because their conversations were reported to the king; *Cf. Ibid.*, p.25.

162. 'As for me, this secret is not shewed me for anie wisdome that I have...but onely to shewe the King the interpretacion, and that thou might knowe the thoughts of thine heart'; Daniel, II, 30. This task Melville regarded as his true calling.

163. Daniel, II, 34-35.

164. Quoted in Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.118.

165. Johnston, *Diary*, p.271.

functioun and forbidden to preach'.[166] In 1566, the reformer had employed decidedly apocalpytic overtones in advising 'the Bischops and pastours of Ingland', that

> if surp-claithes, cornett cap, and tippet has bein badges of idolaters in the verie act of their idolatrie,[167] what hes the preacher of Christian libertie and the open rebuiker[168] of all superstitioun to doe with the dregges of that Romish beast..[169]

Neither did circumstances allow Andrew Melville to confine his vision of a crusading Scotland to his native country. Detained in London in 1606, Melville attacked everything from the vestments of James' English bishops ('Romish ragis and a pairt of the Beastes mark'),[170] to the calumny of their books (i.e. Richard Bancroft's '*Scotiseing genevating Discipline*').[171] The same tone was evident in Hume of Logie's work, who warned in 1609 that whilst some in Scotland might be tempted to accept the English 'order' ('the undowted discipline and ensigne of the Roman Antichrist') and have cause to rejoice, they did so against God's wishes. In 1614 Calderwood was continuing to making the same points as Knox, Melville and Hume.[172]

The latter minister also likened episcopacy to the whore of Babylon, the 'monster' which had destroyed the work of the Reformation, before crying prophetically

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166. Quoted in Kirk, *op.cit.*, p.340.
167. Knox is here referring to the act of kneeling when administering the sacrament.
168. As with Melville and Leighton, Knox's duty lies in 'rebuking all degrees' of men who sinne, even kings; *Cf.*, Timothy, V, 20.
169. The letter is reproduced in Calderwood, *History*, II, p.333. *Cf.* Revelation, XIII-XIIII.
170. As with Knox, the apocryphal warning is clear; *Cf.*, Revelation, XIII - XIIII.
171. See Reid, *op.cit.*, p.26. *Cf.* Richard Bancroft, *Dangerous positions and proceedings, published and practised within this Iland of Brytain*, London, 1593. Melville 'estemit [Bancroft] the captaine enemie of all churches reformit in Europe' [Reid, *op.cit.*, p.26], hardly a parochial view.
172. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', ff.23v-24r (citing Knox's letter, see above, n.169). Hume, 'Admonition', pp.572, 581.

> O Scotland! what was then thy felicity? Then didst thou sing with the voice of joy. God wil arise and his enemies shall be scattered; they also that hate him shall flye before him... [173]

By 1624, yet another 'exquisitely wicked...malitious [and] brainsick'[174] Scottish presbyterian had taken up where Hume and Melville had left off. Armed with his *Looking-glasse of the holy war* Leighton took his quarrel directly to the king. His point was that James had more than once spurned the truth of the scriptures, and the advice of his ministers, listening instead to his sycophantic bishops.[175] Taking a leaf out of Buchanan's *History*, Leighton first cited the cases of past princes who had succumbed to the poor counsel of evil and immorality, and their inevitable fate.[176] But the king's responsiblity extended beyond a care for his own welfare, for the disease of episcopacy was leading the entire nation towards destruction. As evidence Leighton pointed his finger towards the current popularity of stage plays,[177] the

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173. David Calderwood, *The First and Second Book of Discipline*, Amsterdam, 1621, preface.

174. 'The Information is for framing, contriving, printing, and publishing of a most malitious, scandalous, libellous, and seditious book, entitled An Appeale to the Parliament, or Sions Plea against the Prelacye.', in *Speech of Sir Robert Heath, Attorney-General, in the Case of Alexander Leighton, in the Star Chamber, June 4, 1630*, London, 1875, p.4.

175. In 1606 Andrew Melville had made the same point, informing Bancroft that he 'would profess him enemie and in all such proceidingis to the effusioun of the last droppe of all the bloud in his body; being uncessantely grivit at his verie heart to sie such a man half the kingis ere and to sit so hight'; Quoted in Reid, *op.cit.*, p.26.

176. This was a common theme amongst Scottish historians. Both Hector Boece and George Buchanan adopted the same tactic; see R.A.Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians', in R.A.Mason (ed), *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603*, Cambridge, 1994, p.118.

177. Alexander Leighton, *A shorte treatise against Stage Players*, Amsterdam, 1625. This topic was also a pointer towards the lax morality of the day, which episcopacy and its trappings encouraged, and remained a point of contention in 1638: 'A Minister cloathed in such apparell, as these that ar the devils pairt in a play, may teach that by nature we ar the children of Sathan, and firebrands of hell, who might wear womens apparell and women mens'; [?David Calderwood], Twelve General Arguments', f.29r. The charge that theatre itself was 'papist' was common, as its *modus operandi* was the visual extravagance which presbyterians eschewed. The theatre invited its audiences to love outward spectacle and turn away from the inner illumination of faith. In general on this subject see J.Philips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*, California, 1973; S.Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage*, Chicago, 1988.

proliferation of sabbath breaking, and the sport of scoffing at the preciseness of the true man of God.[178] John (The Thunderer) Davidson would have noticed little difference from the 1590s.[179]

There can be few Scottish presbyterians less acerbic than Leighton, or more firmly established in the apocalyptic mould.[180] He undoubtedly inspired others to maintain and intensify their resistance. The historian John Row, for example, admired both the man and his sacrifice, even to the extent of describing Leighton's tormentor, William Laud, as the beast incarnate.[181] Leighton unashamedly formed his rhetoric from the Book of Revelation, prophesying that although episcopacy might 'draw together all the waters of the whore on which she [England]' sitteth:

> the Lord's wrath shall dry them up...her wound shall not be cured, she shall be burned with fire, she goeth to utter destruction...[182]

Yet Wariston could rival even Leighton for sheer apocalyptic bile. In 1637 he railed against those 'forged dispensators [the bishops]' who did not

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178. See Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.119.

179. Davidson was widely credited with authorship of the letter to Elizabeth in 1590 that English 'stageplays' portrayed Scottish presbyterians in a poor light; see NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, ff.88-89.

180. It has been remarked that 'among the presbyterian leadership only James Melville would propose a competing apocalyptic' to that of Napier [A Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI*, Edinburgh, 1979, p.94. Leighton, like Melville, was an admirer of Thomas Brightman's *Revelation of the Apocalyps* [Middleburgh, 1608]. The work was avidly read by 'all the truelie learned and godlie in Europ', where it was a 'voice sounding mightilie as it were, from the dead, against that sacreligious and accursed heirarchie'. Melville believed 'Mr Brightmans Apocalypse [had] more cleerenesse and spirituall force of demonstratioun for the truthe in solide and learned sort, then all the hellish Jesuits and worldling formalists against the same' [Letter, Melville to William Scot, 1609, in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.51]. In 1614, Calderwood also referred his readers to the 'testimone of...bright manus'; Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.30r. Clearly others amongst the presbyterians did 'propose a competing apocalyptic'.

181. 'his name VVIL. LaVD is just 666, the number of the name of the beast'; Row, *History*, p.369.

182. Quoted in Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.119.

> feed the people with the spiritual manna of Gods word... bot with the earthly husks of human rites which before we had vomited forth; then this forsaiking of God, digging broken cisternes, licking up our vomit, and breaking the oath of our covenant...to fil full the cupe of our iniquities and Gods judgments to the brimme...[183]

Consequently, Wariston looked forward to witnessing the 'casting doune of Antichrysts Kingdome quhilk some cursed miscreants wald restore in this land'. Scotland required 'purging...from hir drosse, cleanging...from hir menstrous clouts, and purifying...as ane blotless and blaimles spous'.[184] For Leighton in 1624, as for Wariston later, the only prophylactic to such ills was a presbyterian polity, and if this was not adopted

> that thereby we provoke God, that he can bear no longer, but that he must needs spew us out of his mouth; which if he do, it is to be feared that we are such a loathsome thing, that he will never take us up again, but make a new people to himself...[185]

Thirteen years after Leighton, Wariston recalled, 'the Lord ingraived in my mynd that of the prophet, Thair is poison in the pot',[186] and

> it come in my mynd that, if we licked up this vomit of Romisch superstition again, the Lord in his wrayth wald vomit us out, and was not, lyk man, to return to his vomit againe....[187]

The apocalyptic message was thus still issuing forth in the late 1630s.

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183. Johnston, *Diary*, p.270.
184. *Ibid.*, p.275.
185. Quoted in Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.118.
186. Johnston, *Diary*, p.267. *Cf.*, 2 Kings 4, 40. The authorised Version of the Bible refers to 'death in the pot'. Wariston's reference to 'poison in the pot' is from the Geneva Bible. G.M.Paul's comment [Johnston, *Diary*, Introduction, pp.xviii-xix] that 'the Bible read by [Wariston] was the Authorised or King James's version' must therefore be treated with care.
187 Johnston, *Diary*, p.267.

By 1628 it had become obvious to Leighton that Charles was held tightly in the grip of the bishops.[188] He thus despaired of the hope of royal intervention, and appealed directly to the estates of parliament (as the representatives of the people) to be the king's guide.[189] Even then, such a plea was not new. John Knox based his appeal for earlier reformation in Scotland not only on an *Appellation* to the nobilty, but also on a *Letter to the commonality.*[190] As the English presbyterian movement entertained the exiled Andrew and James Melville in London in 1584-85, an anonymous author issued - on behalf of the 'commonality' - *a supplication to the high court of Parliament for a learned ministry.*[191] Its author appealed to the English parliament, then sitting, to pave the way for John Field's vision of a *Reformation of the Church of England.*[192] It hardly seems coincidental that the third section of the *National Covenant*, a document conceived and drawn up by Wariston, began with an appeal to the 'Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons', asking them to dissociate themselves from the

> corruptions of the public government of the kirk, or civil places and powers of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free Assemblies and in Parliament...[193]

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188. Leighton, in common with all such controversialists, was reluctant to blame the king directly for the nation's ills. Thus the bishops became the target, a choice made easier because of the association of the office with 'poperie'.

189. Leighton, *Appeal to the parliament*, dedication. The appeal was made to the English parliament, then in session.

190. John Knox, 'The Appellation from the sentence pronounced by the Bishops and Clergy', in D.Laing (ed.), *The Works*, Edinburgh, 1846-55, IV, pp.461-520; John Knox, 'A letter addressed to the Commanality of Scotland', in *Ibid.*, pp.521-538.

191. *A lamentable complaint of the commonality, by way of supplication to the high court of parliament for a learned ministry*, [?London], 1584. See P.Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, London, 1967, pp.274-276, who states that in 1584-85 'the conflict between presbyterians and prelates', was 'one struggle on both sides of the border'; *Ibid.*, p.275.

192. John Field, *A briefe and plaine declaration concerning the desires of all those faithfull ministers that have and do seek for the discipline and reformation of the Church of England*, London, 1584.

193. '[The] Confession of Faith 1581, & how subscribed 1638', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, 8vo. XXVII, No.7.

The appeal did not go unheard over the border. When Leighton had spoken of removing 'the fuel of..national sin', he meant in Great Britain, not simply in England, and he said as much - 'Great Britain had best look to her vine'.[194] In 1638 Wariston, in similar terms to Leighton, sought to 'perfect' the 'utter overthrou and ruyne of Episcocie', in order that this 'neu step of reformation' might

> be a paterne to uther nations of the puritie of doctrine and worschip, and libertie of discipline, and gouvernment in Gods house and churche...[195]

The 'neu reformation', Wariston mused, would 'beginne [Gods] work of destroying that chaire of Antichryst in the world', and the starting point for such a quest was not far away. For both Wariston and Leighton episcopacy was the 'great whore'[196] whose 'many waters' were no protection against internal strife, and her 'utter destruction' was a *British* problem.

V

It has been noted elsewhere that 'not until 1641 would men of all ranks' respond to such appeals as Leighton's 'in any great numbers'.[197] This comment ignores the case of Scotland altogether, as by October 1637 the first four of these 'ranks', inspired by Wariston, had 'met, advysed, and consulted, and at last subscryved every on[e] the supplication against the service book', and within six months the 'commonality' had joined them.[198] To bring such a situation about, Wariston exploited the unrest created by the introduction of the *Service Book*, which had

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194. See Christianson, *op.cit.*, pp.119-120.
195. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.346-347.
196. 'that great grand-mother of al our corruptions, novations, usupations, diseases and troubles'; Johnston, *Diary*, pp.347-348. *Cf.*, Revelation, XVII, 1-3. The 'great whore' or 'beast' is described in the marginal comment as 'ye ancient Romery woman that sitteth thereon, the newe Rome which is the papistrie'. For Wariston, as for Leighton, the 'chaire of Antichryst' was in England.
197. Christianson, *op.cit.*, p.123.
198. Johnston, *Diary*, pp.270-271.

resulted - tellingly - in riots 'greater nor the 17 of december'.[199] The notion that man might combat the temptations of religious innovation by a renewal of his personal covenant with God had occurred to the young advocate as early as 1634, and - in line with his duty - he had attempted to show the way by example. The advent of the new liturgy, coupled with providentially organised riot, provided the opportunity for Wariston to shift his ideas from an individual to a collective format, the inspiration for which was rooted in Scotland's presbyterian history.

At the Reformation, Knox had claimed that 'the solemn oath and covenant' which made God one with 'his people Israel', also conferred a 'duty [on] every man' to 'declare himself enemy to that which so highly provokes the wrath of God'.[200] This covenant, he claimed, conferred an obligation on the people of Scotland to 'remove such enormities from amongst them as before God they know to be abominable'.[201] Eighty years on, Wariston conducted his campaign against the *Service Book* 'aunsuerable to ane paterne set doune in Knoks chronocle'.[202] In September 1637 (some six months before the *Covenant* itself was drawn up), Wariston had 'expounded' the merits and meaning of the *Shorte and generall Confession* of 1580 to his family.[203] The oath contained therein, he said, had been

> sworne too be almost all of [the] people, and the King himself in 1580-1581-1582. As was done in the days of asa..[204]

In line with Knox, Wariston claimed that the *Confession* represented a covenant and 'solemn promise to god absolutlie', which bound all men 'out of a common dutie' to 'disclaime all that

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199. *Ibid.*, p.266.
200. Knox, *Appellation*, pp.500, 503.
201. *Ibid.*, pp.505-506.
202. Johnston, *Diary*, p.284.
203. *Ibid.*, p.269.
204. Archibald Johnston, 'Confession of Faith - and some reflections upon it'; NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, 8vo., XXVII, No.4, f.35. Wariston is citing the same scriptural authority as Knox; see II Chronicles XV. *Cf.*, Knox, *Appellation*, pp.500-503.

had no end or warrand in the word'. Neither the passage of '60 yeares', or the 'doolfull oppresioune of our tymes', could change that basic fact.[205] The *Confession* was an oath which 'hath the force of ane obligatioun' in three parts: firstly, to bind the subject to 'the honor of God and his Majestie'; secondly, 'to make known the people's affection'; and lastly, to 'purge you of all suspition of heresie or error'.[206] The counter-argument, that 'the ceremonies in question [and] the discipline of the church are indifferent things and therfor cannot be sworne to', had been refuted by the king himself in 1590, 'for, said [the king], the Inglishe...Liturgies is ane ill-said Masse'.[207] Thus, noted Wariston,

> if the matter of the aforesaid oath be puritanisme, as the violatores of the oath termes it, soe then was the King, [and] the wholl church, not only puritans bot also sworne puritans, from the beginning of the reformation.[208]

Wariston justified his claim with an appeal to scripture, long-established practice, and Acts of Assembly. Within days he had also set out to discover and add the authority of parliamentary statute.[209] Here he followed a course already charted by the 'old non-conformists of blessed memory' in 1586.[210] Thereafter, each attempt to make inroads into the 'liberties of the [Scottish] kirk' was consistently met with appeal to parliamentary statute. In 1596 David Black's declinator of the authority of the Privy Council was supported by a memorandum citing all past Acts of Parliament in favour of the kirk, and Patrick Simson's *Protestation* of 1606

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205. Johnston, *Reflections*, ff.35r, 36r.
206. *Ibid.*, f.36r.
207. *Ibid.*, f.36v. See also Calderwood, *History*, V, p.106.
208. *Ibid.*, ff.36r & v, 37v.
209. Johnston, *Diary*, p.271.
210. Scottish ministers, including Melville, were present at attempts to establish a presbyterian discipline in England in 1584-86. English presbyterian appeals for help from the parliament of 1584-85 were accompanied by *An abstract of certain Acts of Parliament* which claimed to prove the illegality of episcopal proceedings; see Collinson, *op.cit.*, p.274. In 1586 Melville was appealing for parliamentary ratification of the presbyterian 'consitution' of 1586 in Scotland [Wodrow, *Miscellany*, I, p.438], and copies of 'Certayn articles reasoned and Concluded by the generall assemblie' of 1586 soon reached England; see BL, *Harleian MSS*, 7004, No.6, f.10.

appealed to the 'Golden Acts' of 1592, as did Calderwood's *Perth Assembly* of 1618. Thomas Hogg's *Greivances and Petitions* of 1633 took its authority from the coronation parliament of 1567.[211] Following past practice, Wariston linked the *Confession* of 1581 with certain favourable 'Acts of Parliment', and this combination later formed the first two 'heads' of the *National Covenant*.

The 'Band' (or third 'head') emphasised the duty of all men, from commoners to magistrates, to look to their duty to restore the purity of the ancient kirk by renewing their covenant with God. As Wariston himself noted, such public acts of spiritual 'renewal' had been a matter of course prior to 1614.[212] Until the latter date, the *Confession* was also

> subcrybed and sworne too in all Colledges by all those [who] commenced [Masters] of Arts befor they wer made [Ministers], and also by thos [who] retirned from ther educatioune in forraiagne countries if they wer suspected in ther religion...[213]

In Wariston's view, a 'national' covenant, with the confessional oath at its heart, already existed. James had subverted the entire process by substituting Mockett's *God and the King* for Craig's *Confession*, and altering the oath to one which emphasised the primacy of allegiance to the king.[214] In 1638 Wariston reversed James' actions by reviving the 'oath' at the heart of the *Confession*, under which the first duty of all men - including the king - was to God and the true religion. The oath was then incorporated into both the *Exhortation to the Lords of the Council*, and the 'Band' of the document itself. In 1637 Wariston acknowledged that he was

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211. See below, Chapter VI, and references there cited.
212. Johnston, *Reflections*, f.35r.
213. *Ibid.*.
214. Richard Mockett, *God and the King: or, a dialogue shewing that King James, being immediate under God doth rightfully claime whatsoever is required by the oath of allegiance*, London, 1614. The move was ratified by the General Assembly in 1616, but so-called 'radical' presbyterians regarded the meeting as illegal; see Calderwood, *History*, p.229. In 1622 students at Glasgow University swore to 'Regard and govern the orders of King and Church', thus giving primacy of place to royal authority; see H.M.B.Reid, *The Divinity Principals of the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1917, I, p.216.

doing no more than 'adhaering to thos Protestations, Greivances, and Supplications maid of old to Assemblies, Parl[iaments and] Counsels, against thes corruptions'.[215]

In the light of each of the arguments offered above, it appears that Wariston's own political and religious thought was influenced, not so much by any *particular* theorist, but by a *tradition* of resistance theory which had its roots in the history of presbyterianism itself. Given that he had been 'chosen' (like Knox, Melville, and Leighton before him) to complete Scotland's reformation, his task was threefold: to project the necessary image of personal piety, to inform the people of impending disaster, and, lastly, to provide a political alternative to a corrupt government. Knox, Melville and Leighton had all suffered publicly for their religious beliefs, and consequently their piety and commitment to the faith were a matter of record. Wariston's inspiration was drawn from the example of such men, and also from the experiences of matrons and ministers such as Elizabeth Melville and Alexander Hume.

Not all the influences on Wariston's early life and thought were Scottish. He also drew heavily on the works of English authors, both puritans and bishops, for advice on his career, religion and everyday life. Certainly, Wariston appears to have been deeply affected by the experiences and sufferings of such men and women, and he was undoubtedly an emotional man. But the evidence suggests that once he learned to control those emotions, he was able to use them to considerable effect. Overall, the impression created by the *Diary* is not that of a man in the grip of manic depression, but rather that of a man struggling to understand himself and the upheavals occurring around him.

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215. *Ibid.*, p.379.

In this context it is apparent that 1634 was of far greater importance as a milestone in Wariston's life than 1637. The young advocate did not subscribe to the tenets of the 'Five Articles', and neither was he prepared to adopt an adiaphoristic stance when receiving the sacrament. Indeed, it is clear that many ministers and their congregations continued to practise their religion after the old manner. As has been noted above, the imposition of the 'conforme' minister William Forbes upon the populace of Edinburgh in 1620 was a gross miscalculation on the part of James. It was pure folly for Charles to repeat the mistake in 1634, and that error was compounded by the consecration of Forbes as bishop of Edinburgh. The creation of this new bishopric, taken together with renewed instructions for the observance of the 'Five Articles', once again caused uproar in the Scottish capital. If Wariston needed an excuse to consider active resistance to the crown, then it was provided by the events of 1634, not those of 1637.

Wariston's appreciation of the history of the sufferings of the kirk of Scotland ensured that there was a British context to the Scottish revolution. Ever since the time of Knox, presbyterians north of the border had perceived anglicising tendencies in the attitudes of the crown towards the reformed religion. Alexander Leighton's *Appeal* to the English house (as with that of Calderwood to the Scottish parliament) might have failed, but the lesson was learned. The answer, as proposed by Wariston, was the Scottish *National Covenant*. Nevertheless, he realised - as did Leighton - that without religious reform in England, the re-establishment of presbyterianism in Scotland would never be secure. To this extent the *British* context was ever-present.

The main task of this chapter, therefore, has been to discover Wariston. An understanding of his thought, together with an appreciation of thoroughly presbyterian credentials, is essential for an appreciation of the development of resistance in the 1630s.

The Prayer Book was the the occasion of riot in 1637, but it was not - as the next chapter discusses - the cause of revolution.

Chapter VI

Protest and Petition:

continuity of conscience and resistance in the kirk.

ye may pype as ye will, I will dance as I please...

James Law, 1628.

In 1585, when presbyterian ministers pressed for 'an act for the establishing of discipline' to be ratified by Parliament, James Melville complained that the king:

> would have us contented with an interpretation of his, and declaration dyted by himself, the which he alledges should be as good for us as an act of Parliament...[1]

Despite such a belief, the king appeared to accede to the demands of his ministers with the 'Golden Act' of 1592, but the key question of exactly where religious sovereignty lay (with king or minister?) remained unresolved.[2] For presbyterians the answer was to be found in the notion of 'twa kingdomes', as expounded by Andrew Melville. The king reigned supreme in the civil estate, but in that of 'Christ Jesus, and his kingdome the kirk' he was 'not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member'.[3] In 1592 Melville informed the king bluntly that it was John Knox and George Buchanan who had 'sett the crowne upon his head', and alluded to the premise that the representative power which had placed it there could just as easily facilitate removal.[4] James's reply, that his crown 'came by successioun and not by anie man' impressed few amongst the ministry - least of all Melville himself. From that moment James clearly perceived the obdurate presbyterian leader as Knox 'risen againe'.[5] Such exchanges took place against a background of

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1. Letter James Melville to James Carmichael, 2 Jan. 1586; in R.Wodrow, *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, ed. D.Laing, Edinburgh, 1844, p.438. Most of the ministers exiled over the 'Subscription Crisis' of 1584 had returned victorious in late 1585, but Carmichael - minister of Haddington - stayed in London for some months, returning in 1587 [*Fasti*, I, p.369]. He assisted the English presbyterians, led by Thomas Cartwright, in their own struggle. On the crisis of 1584 see A.R.MacDonald, 'The Subscription Crisis and Church State Relations, 1584-1586', *RSCHS*, XXV, 1994, pp.222-255.

2 For a more detailed discussion of the issues raised here see R.A.Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians', in R.A.Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*, Cambridge, 1994, esp.pp.120-126.

3. Calderwood, *History*, V, pp.439-40.

4 *Ibid.*, V, p.159.

5. James later wrote that Buchanan's notions of popular sovereignty had 'made transition in them that hoardes their bookes, or maintaines their opinions...even as it were there authours risen againe'; *The basilikon doron of James VI*, reproduced in (ed.) J.Craigie, Edinburgh, 1950, I, p.150. It seems more than probable that he had Melville in mind. On the political theory of Buchanan,

renewed fears of a Spanish invasion,[6] which - enhanced by the crown's failure to pursue the sentences of forfeiture pronounced on the papist Earls of Huntly and Errol - had reached fever pitch by 1596.[7] In that year some 400 'clergy and other persons'[8] renewed the covenant at Edinburgh with 'suche sighes and sobbs...the like of [which] day was never seene in Scotland since the Reformatioune'. Following this demonstration of godliness, the General Assembly of the kirk went on to accuse the king of 'universal neglect of justice both in civil and criminall causes', and of failing to execute 'good lawes made against vices, or in favour of the kirk'.[9]

Mere words, or expressions of ministerial solidarity, may not in themselves have been overly harmful, but by 1596 the unique nature of Scotland's consistorial system of kirk government[10]

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and its importance to 'Melvillian' ideology, see Mason, *op. cit.* and R.A.Mason, '*Rex Stoicus*: George Buchanan, James VI and the Scottish Polity', in (ed.) John Dwyer, *New perspectives on the politics and culture of early modern Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1982, pp.9-33.

6. Ministers did not hesitate to play on such fears in order to maintain popular support for the presbyterian cause; see, for instance, James Melville, *The Description of the Spainyarts Naturall...with sum exhortations for warning of Kirk and Countrey*, Edinburgh, 1592; James Anderson, *Ane Godly Treatise...shewing breifly our native Blindness, wherein we were misled by Popery, and the clear Light of the Gospel now manifested*, Edinburgh, 1595. Melville (nephew of Andrew, and minister of Kilrenny in Fife) was banished to Berwick in 1606, and Anderson (minister of Kettins in Angus) died in 1603; *Fasti*, V, pp.212-213, 263.

7. For an highly atmospheric account of the troubled relationship between king and ministers in 1596 see *RPCS*, V, pp.285-286.

8. *Ibid.*, p.285.

9. For accounts of the assembly of 1596 see *BUK*, I, pp.423-439; Calderwood, *History*, V, pp.394-420. Its members were here referring to the act of 1592 which required the kirk to 'enquyre diligently of nauchtie and ungodly personis', and to 'bring thame in the way agane be admonitioun or threatening of goddis Judgementis or be correctioun' [*APS*, III, pp.541-542]. The kirk had pronounced sentence of excommunication upon the papist earls, but the king had yet to wield the civil sword.

10. According to Calderwood only the 'kirk of France', which 'will not conforme to ye policie of the roman church, howbeit duelling in the midst of hir enemies', approximated to the purity of Scotland's church in matters of doctrine and polity; Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.17r. Gordon Donaldson saw little similarity between the Scottish general assembly and the French national synod, but James Kirk thought the same 'too obvious to be overlooked'; see G.Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, Cambridge, 1960, p.143; J.T.Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp.85-87. The church in the Low Countries had possessed a consistorial structure since the 1570s, but a national synod, along the lines of Scotland's

posed singular problems for the king. For James the one saving grace of such a system was that its governing body, the 'generall counsell', met but once 'in the yere',[11] and under legislation passed in 1584 the right to nominate time and place pertained to the king.[12] The presbyterian 'constitution' of 1585-86 had made no explicit provision for a broadly representative standing committee which might deal with matters arising between assemblies, although the presbytery of Edinburgh (presumably because of its proximity to court) had powers of commission to act as senior advisory body both to the king and its sister presbyteries.[13] In October 1596 however, an 'extraordinary meeting of the Comissioners of the kirk at Edinburgh' rectified this oversight by setting up a 'central council', ostensibly to deal with problems arising out of the 'papist' crisis.[14] The council was formed by dividing the country into four 'quarters', with one minister from each quarter resident in Edinburgh, and periods of 'duty' subject to monthly rotation.[15] This inner council of four ministers was to

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General Assembly, remained 'a pious hope'; A Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands 1561-1618', in M.Prestwich, *International Calvinism 1541-1715*, Oxford, 1986, pp.121-122. See also above, p.172, n.154-155.

11. According to the presbyterian 'constitution' of 1586; see 'Certayn Articles reasoned and Concluded by the generall assemblie concerning the policie and discipline of the churche...from the 10 of may until the 22 therof 1586', BL, *Harleian MSS*, 7004, No.6, f.10. In practice however, the assembly often met twice in the year.

12. This was a matter of considerable dispute, as presbyterian ministers regarded that power as residing in the assembly. The issue is discussed in greater detail below. The 'Black Acts' of 1584 were passed during the ascendancy of the Arran administration, and reaffirmed the supremacy of the crown over the kirk. Ministers were required to subscribe the act; see n.1 (above), and references there cited.

13. A.R.MacDonald, 'Ecclesiastical Politics in Scotland: 1586-1610', unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh, 1995, pp.99-100.

14. *RPCS*, V, p.327.

15. Nth Qtr: George Gledstaines, min. of Arbilot (Arbroath); James Nicholson, min. of Meigle (Meigle); Peter Blackburn, min. of Aberdeen (Aberdeen); Alexander Douglas, min of Elgin (Elgin). Mid. Qtr: Perth: Alexander Lindsay, min of St Madoes (Perth); James Melville, min. of Kilrenny (St Andrews); Thomas Buchanan, min. of Ceres (Cupar); William Stirling, min. of Kincardine (Dunblane). Sth Qtr: John Clapperton, min. of Coldstream (Chirnside); John Knox, min. of Melrose (Selkirk): George Ramsay, min. of Dalkeith (Dalkeith); James Carmichael, min. of Haddington (Haddington). West Qtr: John Porterfield, min. of Ayr (Ayr); Andrew Knox, min. of Paisley (Paisley); John Howison, min. of Cambuslang (Hamilton); Robert Wilkie, min. of Louden

sit in permanent session, using Edinburgh presbytery as its consultative committee. As is indicated by Map 1 (overleaf) such a structure ensured that the presbyterian leadership at Edinburgh maintained open lines of communication with sixteen key presbyteries throughout Scotland, which in turn could quickly disseminate information to their own localities.

For James, such an adjustment to the government of the kirk had serious political implications: firstly, it went some way towards legitimising the claim of the presbyterian leadership to be representative of the whole kirk; and secondly, it threatened the organisation of widespead political protest against unpopular royal measures. James's response to an event which he felt further blurred the 'marches of jurisdiction' between the secular and religious estates of his kingdom, was to demand that liberty of speech from the pulpit be severely limited, and that the extra arm of the kirk's consistorial system be disbanded.[16] Under the circumstances a head-on clash between the two sides became inevitable, the pretext for which was the riot at Edinburgh in 1596. In this context James's seminal tract on *The trew lawe of free monarchies* [1598], or the relevant passages from *Basilikon doron* [1599], were as much a response to the 'great confusion' of the events of 1596, as they were to the 'extraordinarily wrought' and equally confused nature of the Reformation.[17] Certainly James did not ever forget or forgive his citizens and ministers of Edinburgh, and over two decades later was still reminding them of the fact - once again vowing to 'roote out the town of Edinburgh, and the memorie of it, lest he gett obedience'. By 1619, and despite the erection of episcopacy, James was little nearer to

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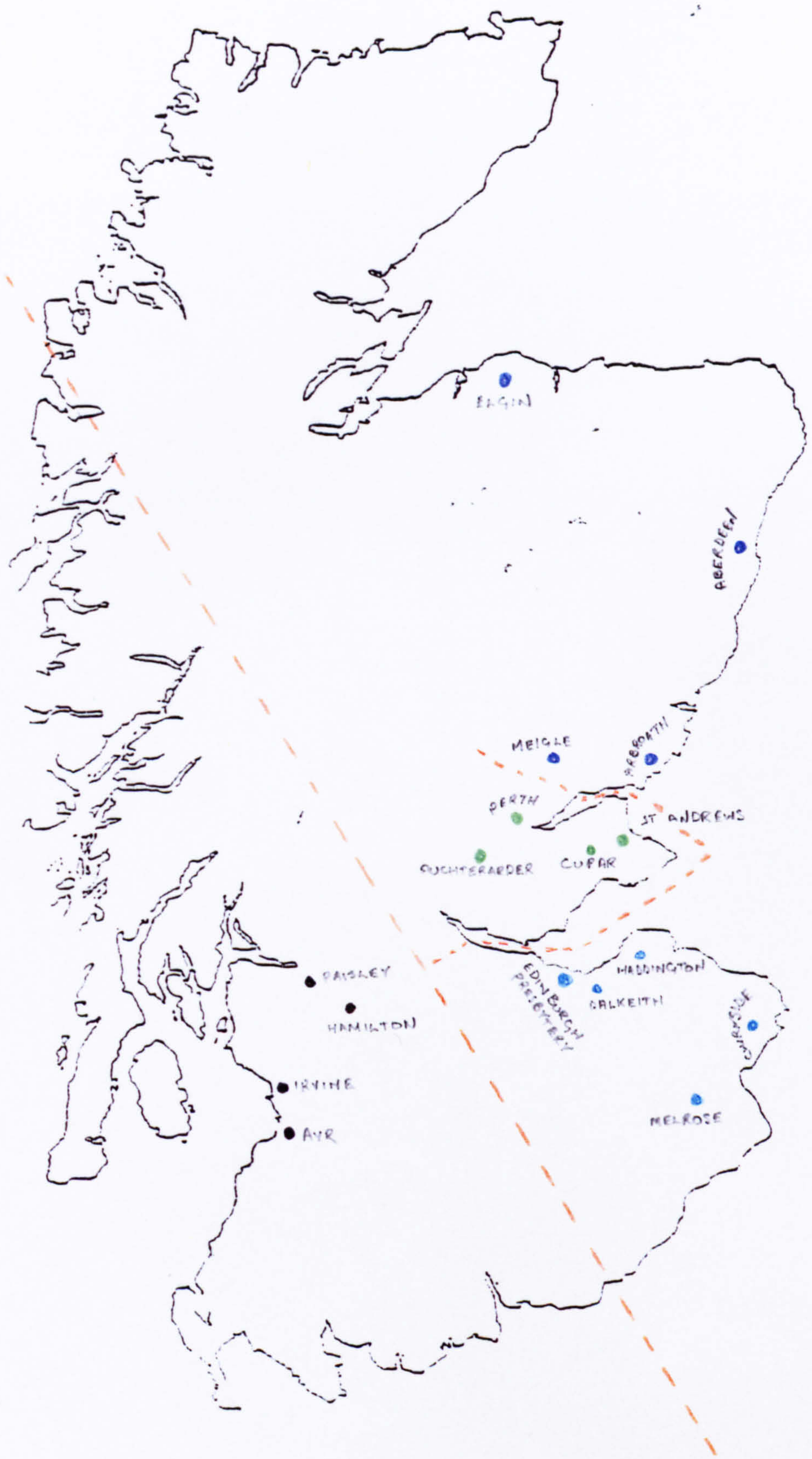
(Irvine). *Fasti*, I, pp.328, 369; II, pp.40, 187; III, pp.5, 234-236; IV, p.245; V, pp.130-131, 232, 270, 420; VII, pp.412, 350-351; *RPCS*, V, p.327.

16. *Ibid.*.

17. James VI, *Basilikon doron* , esp.p.75. R.A.Mason views the work as a 'revealing' and 'prejudiced' account of the 'Reformation in Scotland' ['James VI and the presbyterians', p.120], and whilst this is undoubtedly true, it seems unlikely that James's pen could have been oblivious to more recent events. 'Popular tumult and rebellion' continued to threaten the 'destruction of our policie' [*Basilikon doron*, p.75] in 1596, as is instanced by the riot at Edinburgh in that year.

Map 1

Quarters and Central Council of the Kirk — 1596



● North Qtr: ● Mid Qtr: ● South Qtr: ● West Qtr

achieving his treasured principle of royal supremacy over the kirk. In 1625 - as in 1585 - the ageing king was still obsessed with bringing the men and women of Edinburgh to heel, and continued to hold to the conviction that once this task was complete, the rest of the country would follow the capital's lead.[18]

In 1625 James died, and his son succeeded to the throne. Yet despite the obvious problems which were bequeathed Charles I by his father, historiography continues to lay the blame for the revolution of 1637 firmly on the son's shoulders. In a far from untypical summary of the events of 1625 to 1633 in Scotland, David Stevenson recently made the following remarks concerning Charles I:

> Death of James VI: Charles I inherits his thrones. A well-meaning, earnest man, but too much concerned with principle to be a good politician. Central to his concerns are increasing royal power, and imposing his ideas on the churches of the three kingdoms. In Scotland unease at his rule is intensified by the fact that though of Scottish royal blood the new king is essentially English in attitude, and tends to assume that Scotland should be anglicised...[19]

If the opening sentence of the above passage were omitted, one would be hard-pressed to decide if the author had written a *resume* of the first few years of the reign of Charles I, or an epitaph on the last two decades of the rule of James VI. Indeed, it is

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18. James never succeeded in his attempts to cleanse Edinburgh of presbyterianism. As has been suggested, his efforts had a long history. In 1584 several ministers were exiled, their houses in the capital seized by the crown, and their womenfolk evicted. James adopted a similar course of action after the riot at Edinburgh in 1596, by imprisoning or warding the town's troublesome ministers, and confiscating their houses. On this occasion he went a step further with the removal of the court and session to Linlithgow, thus endangering the livelihood of the minister's lay supporters; *RPCS*, V, p.357. The king was threatening to repeat the medicine in 1606 [see below]. By 1610 Alexander Hume (minister of Logie near Stirling) remarked upon the regularity with which the events of 1596 were 'castin in our teethe'; see 'Ane afold admonition to the Ministerie of Scotland by a deing Brother', in Wodrow, *Miscellany*, I, p.586. In 1619, as his words to James Cathkin demonstrate, the king was still obsessed with such a task; see 'A Relation of James Cathkin his imprisonment and examination about printing of the Nullitie of the Perth Assemblie. By Himself', in *BM*, I, p.211. James' desire to complete the job was still apparent in 1625; see Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.622.

19. D.Stevenson *King or Covenant? voices from the civil war*, Melksham, 1996, pp.xiii-xiv.

difficult to discern which of the son's 'principles' were different from those of his father, or who was more 'rigid' in his application of the political and religious policies to which they so fervently adhered. Both men believed in the absolute nature of royal power, and that episcopacy was necessary for the maintenance of such a system. Absolute power meant absolute obedience, and that meant the absolute dependence of the religious estate upon the crown. It has been rightly said that Scottish bishops 'remained very different' from their English counterparts, but there could be no difference in the latter respect. Presbyterianism, as well as patronage, was apt to make a 'bogle' of kings.[20]

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The catalyst of riot in 1596 was a sermon by David Black, minister of St Andrews. In September the king gave his consent to an act allowing the catholic earl of Huntly to 'returne or remane in Scotland',[21] an action which incensed his presbyterian ministers. Preaching at Edinburgh, Black told his all too attentive audience that 'all kingis wer the devillis childrene, the devill wes in the courte, in the gydaris of the courte, and in the heid of the courte'.[22] Following a precedent set by Andrew Melville thirteen years earlier,[23] Black subsequently declined the authority of the

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20. James advised his son to 'aquente youre self sa with all the honest men of youre barronis and gentlemen as maye make them pert to maike thaire awin suitis to you thame selfis, without making a bogle [fool] of you in making the great lordis thaire intercessouris'; James VI, *Basilikon doron*, ed. J.Craigie, Edinburgh, 1944-50, I, pp.84-85. Presbyterian ministers did not accept that they held office of the king, and this made presbyterianism as pernicious as patronage. On Charles's 'personal rule', see K.Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, London, 1992, p.974. Sharpe argues that Charles was a man who 'stuck too rigidly to his principles', and that this failing led to his downfall. On the difference between Scottish and English bishops, see J.Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', in J.Morrill (ed.), *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, Edinburgh, 1990, p.8. On Morrill's analysis Charles himself was an 'unimaginative man' with a tendency towards 'naked authoritarianism'; *Ibid.*, p.6.

21. *RPCS*, V, p.328.

22. *Ibid.*, p.335. For good measure Black also attacked the queen ('scho [sic] will nevir do us gude') and Elizabeth of England ('ane atheist'); *Ibid.*.

23. In 1583 Melville, after a sermon attacking royal policy towards the kirk, told the council that it had no right to judge in spiritual matters, and therefore 'declyned the judicator of the king and council, [he] being accusit upon na civill

Privy Council to take him to task over his offending sermon, and claimed the right to be tried *in prima instantia* by the kirk as the 'onlie juge competent'. The minister's first line of defence was biblical authority, and for 'warrand...oute of the worde of God for materis spokin aganis a Christeane magistrat', Black appealed to the 'First of Timothie'.[24] Secondly, and in reply to the assertion that 'the Act of Parliament...in the lxxxiiii yeir' (the 'Black Act') made the king 'juge ordinair' in such cases, Black cited 'ane uther Act...in the lxxxxii year' (the 'Golden Act').[25] This latter legislation, claimed Black, had repealed the former. Finally, and with words reminiscent of Melville's defence of 1583, the offending minister told the king that:

> his Majestie sould be a complenair in the first instance
> as a Christeane and member of the kirk, and not as a King...[26]

To rub salt into the wound, the presbytery of Edinburgh exploited its newly established 'central council' to provide each presbytery[27] with a copy of Black's declinator to the Privy Council, accompanied by a memorandum of all past acts of parliament and Council in favour of the kirk.[28] In addition, John Howison (minister of Cambuslang, and member of the 'central council') persuaded the king's printer, Robert Waldegrave, to produce 'forty or fifty copies' of a pamphlet entitled *An Act for abolishing the Acts contrar to the Libertles of the Kirk* [1596]. This work, which claimed to prove that the 'Golden Act' of 1592 had abolished the earlier 'Black Act',

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cryme or transgression but upon his doctrine uttered from the pulpit'; James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville*, ed. Robert Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1842, p.142.

24. *RPCS*, V p.326. The nature of, and the need for, such sermons - as Black pointed out [*Ibid.*] - was determined by scriptual authority, 'Them that sinne, rebuke openly, that the rest also may feare'; I Timothy, V, 20.

25. *RPCS*, V, p.326.

26. *Ibid.*.

27. It is difficult to be precise about the number of presbyteries in existence by 1596, but Calderwood listed forty-seven in 1593 [Calderwood, *History*, III, pp.799-800], and it is quite probable that the total had reached fifty by the former date; see W.R.Foster, *The Church before the Covenants*, Edinburgh, 1975, pp.85-88.

28. 'Copie of the minute buik of the actis maid be the commissioners of the generall assemblie sen the 20 of October 1596 to the 24 of november thairof; NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Qto XX, No.18, ff.166v-167r.

was also circulated.[29] As a result of this intense lobbying the declinator attracted some 400 signatures from amongst the many sympathisers still gathered at Edinburgh, and who had earlier renewed the covenant with such vigour.[30] Faced with such opposition the king backed down, and although Black was tried and found guilty on the charge of having libelled the queen of England,[31] James did not pursue his original intention to have the minister arraigned for treason. The attempt to use Black's trial as a means to establish the principle of royal supermacy over the government of the kirk had failed.

The king's determination to ignore the pleas of even 'moderate' ministers - such as Robert Pont - not to 'prejuge the liberties, previlegeis and jurisdictioune of the kirk',[32] was thus a major factor in the unrest of 1596, as ministers whipped up popular sentiment in favour of Black. Both king and kirk were to draw on the experiences gained at the trial for years to come. Such an analysis however, sits uncomfortably with the conclusion of recent research which has suggested that the 'defiance of a relatively small number of the most reactionary ministers [in 1596]...alienated many of their brethren from opposition to the crown'.[33] Certainly it cannot go unremarked that many of those who rallied to the support of David Black also believed that the riot of December took matters too far. Alexander Hume, minister of Logie near Stirling, pointed an accusing finger at his fellow ministers, who had:

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29. In 1597 Howison was imprisoned for circulating the work, although he denied being its author; *Fasti*, III, p.235.
30. William Scot, *An Apologetical narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1846, p.72.
31. As in the original summons see NLS, *Advocates Mss*, 29.2.8., f.109. Black was warded, and subsequently translated to the parish of Arbilot, near Arbroath, thus giving the king at least the semblance of a victory. He died in 1603; *Fasti*, V, p.420-421. See also *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland*, ed. M. Giusppi, Edinburgh, 1952, XII, pp.383-386.
32. Minister of St Cuthberts (Edinburgh). Pont was highly respected by both king and kirk. He 'assisted' Black in his defence before the Council, and attempted to mediate between the two sides; *RPCS*, V, p.335; *Fasti*, I, pp.93-94.
33. MacDonald, 'Ecclesiastical Politics', p.51.

> raschlie behaved them selfis in that tumult at Edinburgh, the 17 day of December 1596, to the gryte grief and disgrace of the prince...[34]

The presbyterian cause was just, opined Hume, but 'the forme [riot] wes informall and indecent'.[35] Nevertheless, to present this reaction as a triumph of the moderate majority over the radical minority is to miss the point. It is true that many ministers were anxious to placate an angry king, and undoubtedly those same men perceived concessions over the issue of ministers voting in parliament to be the way forward.[36] However, no assembly between 1597 and 1602 - despite the king's frequent promises to plant empty kirks and enhance minister's stipends - conceded the vital first principle of the kirk's right to retain *control* over its *elected* 'Commissioners'. The point is indicative of the fact that, even in the aftermath of 1596, the kirk remained united on this crucial issue. Certainly some ministers were distrustful of the king's ultimate intentions,[37] and reluctant to enter into any discussion at all. But although such men lost that particular argument, this did not in itself lead to the loss of the case. In the event, James's insinuation of four of his own nominees into

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34. Hume, *Ane Afold Admonition*, p.586.
35. *Ibid.*.
36. MacDonald ['Ecclesiastical Politics', *passim*] has convincingly demonstrated that the assemblies of 1597-1602 were relatively 'freely' convened, and not packed by the king. However, the point only serves to highlight the essential continuity of presbyterian thought on the issue of ministers voting in parliament, since one of the loudest complaints of the assembly of March 1596 was for the reform of a system which continued to allow 'sacriligious persons, as abbots, pryours, [and] dumbe bishops' to vote in parliament 'in [the] name of the kirk'; *RPCS*, V, p.286.
37. In 1598 David Ferguson (minister of Dunfermline) warned the synod of Fife against allowing the issue to become the 'busking up of the brave horse for the overthrow of Troy' [*Fasti*, V, p.26]. John Davidson (minister of Prestonpans) informed the king roundly at the assembly of 1598 that.'busk him, busk him as bonnily as ye can, and bring him in as fairly as ye will, we see him well eneuch, we see the horns of his mitre' [*Ibid.*, I, p.388]. He had previously submitted a protestation to the assembly, in which he argued that the gathering was illegal; 'Mr John Davidsons protestation in the general assembly, March 1598', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLII, No. 43. Calderwood claimed that as many as eighty ministers appended their signatures, *History*, V, pp.697-699. Patrick Simson (minister of Stirling) preached a sermon before the king in the same year, in which he exhorted James to beware 'lest he drew on himself secret wrath by setting up manifest idolatry'; *Fasti*, IV, p.318.

parliament in late 1600[38] contravened an agreement reached with the kirk literally days before,[39] and settled the matter. This exercise of the forbidden prerogative, together with James's failure to deliver the promised commission to review stipends in 1597,[40] pushed many 'moderates' straight back into the arms of the 'radicals'.[41] The appointment of George Gledstaines (by now titular bishop of Caithness, but still in retention of his parochial charge at St Andrews) to the Privy Council in 1602 inflamed matters further,[42] and ensured that the question of the royal supremacy remained firmly on the agenda of the kirk. Articles put before the assembly at Edinburgh decried the fact that the 'cautiones sett downe for avoyding of corruption in the Commissioners' votes in Parliament' were ignored, and continued to complain bitterly that ministers were summoned

> before his Heines Secret Council, *in prima instantia*, for doctrine and discipline, qwhilk is ane great incouragement to the enemies [of the kirk]...[43]

For James, the real success of the period - as discussed below - was the subversion of the 'central council' of the kirk, and its alliance with Edinburgh presbytery. Nevertheless, such success

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38. George Gledstaines, titular bishop of Caithness 1600 (archbishop of St Andrews 1604): Peter Blackburn, titular bishop of Aberdeen 1600: Alexander Douglas, titular bishop of Moray 1600: David Lindsay, titular bishop of Ross 1600. *Ibid.*, VII, pp.329-355.

39. For the final agreement reached between the king and a committee empowered by the assembly of Montrose in 1600 to 'defyne a parliament, and what it is to vote in parliament', and which imposed stringent conditions as to the election and accountability of ministers thus employed, see Calderwood, 'Reasons', pp.516-517.

40. *Calendar of State Papers Scotland*, XII, pp.478-479. Further evidence of James's pique over the failure to get his own way is provided by the fact that the proposed commission to improve stipends did not materialise until 1606, and even then was conditional upon parliament's acceptance of an act 'anent the Kingis Majesteis prerogative'; see also Chapter I, and references there cited.

41. James's exercise of his prerogative in 1600 militates strongly against MacDonald's thesis that the king had 'found an acceptable *via media*' with the ministry 'after 1596'; A.R.MacDonald, 'The Example of the Kirk and the Union of 1603', unpublished conference paper (A.S.H.S., Perth, 1996), p.2.

42. *Fasti*, VII, p.326. As Alexander Hume later informed Gledstaines *et al* 'your calling is not lawfull, because ye haif it not of the kirke, bot of the King'; Hume, *Ane Afold Admonition*, pp.580-581.

43. 'The Articles of the Synod of Fyffe' [1602], in *The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, ed.A.Peterkin, Edinburgh, 1839, pp.514-515.

left James, for the moment at least, in control of Edinburgh and not of the kirk. Even Andrew Melville admitted that 'distractione in opiniones different from that consent of hearts qwhilk hes bene in the Kirk before' existed,[44] but that which cost presbyterians dear after 1596 was not so much these 'distractiounes', as the lack of a substantial power base in the political estate. Simply put, the movement lacked the strength of noble patronage.[45] In 1584, when Melville himself had preached against subscription to the 'Black Acts', he noted that such 'absolute power [was] never heard of in anie just government', before appealing to the nobility to correct the situation 'according to the lovable custome of the kingdome of Scotland from the beginning thereof.[46] Melville's plea was answered on this occasion, albeit somewhat ironically, since one of the leaders of rebellion in late 1585 was John, eighth Lord Maxwell, a catholic.[47] But there was no longer a constant and well-placed 'ministers king'[48] to influence affairs after 1588, and the ministers' erratic flirtation with the earl of Bothwell was brought to an abrupt end with his subsequent exile. With no powerful patron to give 'token of the profession of the truth', the *intermediate* machinery of the kirk's 'remedies sett downe againes apprehendit dangers'[49] was highly vulnerable to the carrot of personal preferment, or the stick of intimidation. Of the four bishops appointed in 1600, three were members of the kirk's 'central committee', and another three were soon to follow in their

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44. *Ibid.*.
45. On this theme see K.M.Brown, 'In search of the godly magistrate in Reformation Scotland', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40, 1989, pp.553-581.
46. Quoted in A.H.Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture*, Edinburgh, 1974, p.72. Melville's appeal to 'lovable custom' followed Knox in that the nobility had inherited from antiquity 'powers ordained of God' as 'magistrates of the realm', and it was their duty to to protect the people 'against the rage of tyrants'; see John Knox 'The appellation from the sentence pronounced by the bishops and clergy', in D.Laing (ed.), *The Works*, Edinburgh, 1846-55, IV, pp.461-520.
47. See Brown, *op.cit.*.
48. Archibald Douglas, eighth earl of Angus, who died of a mystery illness in 1588. He was widely believed to have been a victim of witchcraft, and was sorely missed by the presbyterian party; see Melville, *Diary*, p.225.
49. 'Articles of the synod of Fife', *op.cit.*.

footsteps.[50] In addition, as the synod of Fife noted, the loss of the 'pastors of Edinburgh'[51] and the 'alteratione of the ministry thereof,

> qwhilk was the chief watch-tower of our kirks, hurts
> greatly the cause of religion and encourages [our] enemies...[52]

In adopting such tactics the king risked advancing the few, at the cost of alienating the many, and the vexed question of ecclesiastical supremacy remained unresolved as James journeyed to London in 1603. Nevertheless, the argument offered here is not intended to deny the existence of a division in presbyterian ranks between 1597 and 1602 - such differences were no secret, especially to contemporaries. But it does suggest that even if ministers were less troubled with politics than they were with 'surviving on meagre stipends in a time of high inflation',[53] they were not prepared to concede the key issue of ecclesiastical supremacy. If the post-1597 'moderate' reaction loosed the grip of 'Melvillian' supremacy on the general assemblies of the kirk, it did not grant that power to the king.

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50. George Gledstaines, titular bishop of Caithness 1600 (archbishop of St Andrews 1604); Peter Blackburn, titular bishop of Aberdeen 1600; Alexander Douglas, titular bishop of Moray 1600. Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles 1605; James Nicholson, bishop of Dunkeld 1607, but died August of that year; Alexander Lindsay, bishop of Dunkeld 1607. Of the other ten members of the 'central committee', four were imprisoned or confined, whilst three had died by 1604. James Melville (Kilrenny), opposed the king and was banished 1606; John Clapperton (Coldstream) was confined to his own parish, 1596; John Knox (Melrose) opposed the king and was outlawed 1606; John Howison, (Cambuslang), imprisoned 1597; Thomas Buchanan (Ceres) died 1599; John Porterfield (Ayr), died 1604; Robert Wilkie (Louden), died 1601. The remaining three returned to their respective parishes. See n.15 (above), and references there cited.

51. Michael Cranston (Cramond), imprisoned for 'stirring up a tumult and uproare', 1596; John Davidson (Canongate) confined to Prestonpans, 1598; James Balfour (St Giles), 'put to the horn', 1596; Robert Bruce (St Giles), banished Edinburgh, 1600; William Watson (Old Kirk), translated to Burntisland, 1601; John Hall (St Giles), inhibited from preaching 1600; William Aird (St Cuthberts), 'in the utmost privation' for opposing king in 1602; Walter Balcanquhal (St Giles), fled to England, 1596; *Fasti*, I, pp. 10, 53-55, 69, 74, 100, 125, 387-388.

52. 'Articles of the synod of Fife', *op.cit.*.

53. MacDonald, 'Ecclesiastical Politics', p.249.

II

It has long been claimed that the struggle between king and kirk during the period 1596-1610 centred around control of the General Assembly. In line with such a notion, historians continue to emphasise an inherent *discontinuity* between the religious and political controversy which recurred prior to the union of the crowns, and the problems which followed. Recent research (for instance) has considerably weakened the thesis that James - exploiting the conservatism of ministers from the north of Scotland - had conquered presbyterian 'radicalism' by the latter date, but nevertheless continues to insist that the kirk was 'at peace' in 1603.[54] Problems are apparent however, in the difficulty which either argument has in explaining the causes of the considerable furore which arose over the 'illegal' assembly of Aberdeen in 1605.

James's immediate reaction to the fact that ministers met at Aberdeen in defiance of his instructions was to order his Privy Council to punish 'thair unrewlie and seditious contempt'. In response the accused issued a declinator insisting that the 'approbation or disallowance of ane Generall Assemblie hath bein and sould be a matter and cause spirituall, and alwyse cognosced and judged by the kirk', and that they had therefore to

> declyne your Lordships judgments as nawyse competent in the cause above specifeit....seing we are most willing to submit ourselfis to the tryall of the Generall Assemblie [as the] only judges competent...[55]

From the outset of the dispute battlelines were obviously drawn using precedents set in 1583 and 1596. James confirmed the fact by taking up the challenge on the ministers' home ground, and attempting to disprove the kirk's 'warrand of conscience [scripture], warrand of law, [and] the due observation of thair awin

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54. MacDonald, 'Example of the Kirk', p.3; G.Donaldson, 'Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in G.Donaldson, *Scottish Church History*, Edinburgh, 1985, pp.191-203.
55. *RPCS*, VII, p.199.

customes and liberties'.[56] Thus he was anticipating (and simultaneously attacking) precisely the type of tripartite defence adopted by David Black in 1596. In the first place, claimed James, the kirk could 'alledge no warrand for General Assemblies bot that Convention of the Apostles at Jerusalem',[57] which was an 'Universall Counsall of the haill church'[58] and 'nawyse like unto ane particular Scottis Generall Assemblie'. Sure precedent was to be found in the 'Primitive Church', where only 'Emperours (how sone thai became Christians)' had authority to call 'Generall Counsalls'.[59] How, asked James, could such authority be denied a 'Christian Monarch in the assembling of ane Nationall Counsall of his awin subjects'?[60] Secondly, James appealed to 'the

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56. 'A Declaration of the Just Causes of his Majesties proceiding against those ministers who are now lying in prison attainted of high treason' [Edinburgh, 1606], in *Ibid.*, VII, pp.189-202. Probably compiled by Thomas Hamilton, Lord Advocate in 1606. The section from which the following notes are taken was however written (as 'our [James VI's] awne schorte Declaratour maid by oure awne selfe...the last year') in the autumn of 1605 by the king himself; see *Ibid.*, p.202.

57. Actes, XV, 4-8.

58. This conception later proved a source of much controversy, since Scottish presbyterians such as John Durie looked to both James and Charles to take the lead in creating just such a European-wide 'council', based upon the Scottish example. James demonstrated some pretensions towards such an end at the Synod of Dort in 1619, but the failure of either monarch to build on this initiative helped to solidify Anglo/Scottish resistance in favour of an enforced solution to political and religious problems in Scotland as a necessary first step; see above,Chapter IV.

59. James appears here to have been drawing on his own authority. In an earlier pamphlet [*The questions to be resolvit at the convention of estaits and generall assemblie*, Edinburgh, 1597] he based his right to call assemblies on the 'lovable Example of the Christian Emperours of the primitive Kirk' [p.2].

60. Presbyterian thought on this issue was defined partly by appeal to scripture - as James stated - but also on the premise of the purity of the Reformation, against which an appeal to 'antiquitie' was no defence. John Davidson reminded James at the assembly of 1598 that he attended as a Christian and fellow member, not as an emperor [Calderwood, *History*, V, p.683]. As Alexander Hume [*Ane Afold Admonition*, pp.576-579] later put it, 'What have we now to do with theis lawes and ordinances of Empreours...which the warld may sie to contene gryte abuse and iniquitie', and which the Reformation had rejected. If James saw himself as a 'godly Constantine presiding at a Scottish Nicaea' [Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*, p.81], presbyterians did not agree (Sse also below, p.244). Thus the 'threat from an imperial monarchy' [K.M.Brown, *Kingdom or Province - Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715*, London, 1992, p.118] was apparent long before the reign of Charles. On this topic see also Williamson, *op.cit.*; J. Morrill, 'A British Patriarchy? Ecclesiastical Imperialism under the Early Stuarts', in A.Fletcher and P.Roberts (eds), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge, 1994.

limitations of that priviledge that is cleirlie set doun in the first Act of Parliament in the fourscore 12 year of God [1592]', which stated that an assembly could not lawfully meet 'bot by our or our said Commissioners appointment'.[61] Finally the king turned to that which concerned him most, the real reason for the ministers' 'arrogant and seditious disobedience...in contempt of our authoritie royall'. The excuse offered for the irregular convention of the assembly (so the ministers claimed) was no less than:

> the straitness of these evill dayis (quhairin thai live) compellit thaim to omitt diverse of thir ancient and lovable customes [and] that can not bot implye ane direct accusation of our tirranie...[62]

For James the case was no different from that of Andrew Melville's trial in 1583, or that of David Black in 1596, and he chose to deal with it in the same manner.

It has been argued that the king's refusal to allow ministers to convene at Aberdeen in 1604 was occasioned by fear of the assembly becoming a forum of opposition to the union. Certainly the earl of Huntly wrote to James to that effect, and the king subsequently prorogued the latter meeting, and also that of 1605.[63] But such a thesis further highlights the essential continuity between the events of 1604-5 and those of the 1590s, since Huntly was hardly a disinterested party, and very much part of the problem. In justification of the fact that ministers had met in defiance of the king's wishes, Peter Blackburn (one of the 'tulchan'[64] bishops of 1600) informed James of the concern of the kirk over the abuses caused in 'this province'

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61. This same question had been addressed by John Howison in 1596; see above.
62. 'A Declaration', *op.cit.* This is an allusion to presbyterian political theory, which held such interference with the liberties of the kirk ('lovable custome') to be a manifestation of 'absolute power', and therefore tyrannical; see above, n.46, and references there cited.
63. MacDonald, 'Example of the Kirk', p.4.
64. A derisory term refering to the fact that their office was merely titular.

by great men and others under them...sparfling [spreading] Hamiltoun's blasphemous new book[65] amongst them, seducing them everyway that are simple...[66] That, when the ministry of the Synods of Aberdeen and Murray labours by the censures of the kirk to reduce the Lord Marquis of Huntley and Earle of Errol to the acknowledgement of the truth, and leaving of Papistry, they are continoually discharged by your Majestys letters of horning...[67]

Huntly was no Bothwell, and his catholicism was an issue which had lain unattended to for over a decade by 1606. In the interval between the assembly of 1602 and that proposed for 1604, John Forbes of Alford had been appointed to represent the synods of Aberdeen and Moray against Huntly, and had been dispatched to London to put the case before the king.[68] Huntly was therefore well aware - as was James - that if the assembly was allowed to meet, it would demand action against him as the price of further concessions to royal policy.[69] As neither man was prepared to meet such a bill, especially with delicate negotiations over union in progress, the only sensible option was to postpone the gathering. The next officially sanctioned assembly was at Linlithgow in 1606, and far removed from Aberdeen.

Whatever the truth of Huntly's motives in 1604, his letter proved more of a success than that of Peter Blackburn two years later.

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65. John Hamilton, *A Facile Traictise, contenand first ane infallible reul to discern trew from fals religion: next, a declaration of the nature, number, vertue and effects of the sacraments, togider with certain prayares of devotion*, [?], 1600. Hamilton was a catholic exile, living in France, and the work was dedicated to James.

66. The situation was little changed in the 1630s, according to John Forbes of Corse (son of Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen), who wrote that ministers in remote parts of the north remained poor, and amongst 'the most incapable or degraded of men'. As a result their congregations were still 'a ready prey to Sathan, I am ashamed to say': quoted in J.K.Hewison, *The Covenanters: A history of the church in Scotland from the Reformation to the revolution*, Glasgow, 1913, I, p.213.

67. Letter John Strachan (Kincardine O'Neil, moderator of the synod of Aberdeen) and Peter Blackburn (bishop of Aberdeen), and Robert Reid to James VI, '20...February, 1606', in *SBC*, p.76.

68. *Fasti*, VI, p.117. At Alford Forbes (who was later moderator of the assembly of 1605) had come 'into conflict with the powerful sept of the Gordons' [*Ibid.*], and was therefore in a vulnerable position from the outset of the troubles.

69. Huntly's whispered gossip of opposition to the union may thus have been a smoke-screen.

To make matters worse for himself, the bishop - albeit in somewhat careful terms - had indicated his support for Forbes and the other accused ministers, adding to his condemnation of Huntly the footnote that:

> an great number of kirks in this country are left altogether desolat, by the long continouing in ward of their pastors (Mr Forbes, Mr Welsh, Mr Firm, &c)...[70]

And as further evidence that this latest complaint had only served to exacerbate old grievances, Blackburn remarked tellingly that this last situation was made all the worse 'seing the most part of other kirks are unplanted'[71] - a clear reference to the broken promises of 1596 and 1597. Blackburn, already in bad odour with the king,[72] was ordered before the Privy Council for his pains in sending the letter, whilst the presence of his son and son-in-law was required for attending the gathering itself.[73]

James's determination to have his 'royall authoritie' recognised in 1605-06 had succeeded in uniting all shades of opinion within the kirk against royal policy. The Privy Council, only too aware of the extent of the opposition, summoned at least thirty ministers (seventeen (57%) of whom were from the 'conservative north')[74] to appear before it as the king had instructed. However, it required only that the accused declare the assembly at Aberdeen unlawful, thus submitting to the king's will. Fourteen (seven from the north) declined the Council's authority, and were imprisoned to await the king's pleasure: whilst at least one of the remainder

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70. SBC, p.76.
71. *Ibid.*.
72. He had admitted John MacBirnie to the ministry at Aberdeen without consulting the king. MacBirnie had supported the assembly of 1605, and was accused of preaching against bishops and constant moderators in 1607; *Fasti*, VI, p.14.
73. Archibald Blackburn and David Rait; see Table 4 (below).
74. The phrase is that of Donaldson, 'Conservative North'. His definition of the 'north' as 'north of the Tay' [p.191] appears rather arbitrary, however. Donaldson followed Mathieson in this respect; see W.L.Mathieson, *Politics and Religion in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1902. All references to the 'north' in this present chapter are based on the kirk's own geographical definition of 1596, which divided Scotland into four distinct quarters; see above, Map 1.

admitted only that the king's version of events might be *presumed* correct, subject to the ruling of 'a future assembly'.[75] Displeased - to say the least - with such an outcome, James deliberately escalated the situation by demanding that his Privy Council punish this:

> proud presumption....in propounding the said declinator without any respect of the Act of Parliament made in May 1584, or any pain quhich thai incurred by doing thereof (quhilch wes that any persone, aither spirituall or temporall, presuming to declyne the judgement of his Majestie and his Council in any matter quhatsumever...) [should] incurr the pain of treassoun...[76]

With those ministers who had refused to submit to the king's will now liable to 'incurr the pain of treassoun', the similarities with the prosecution of Andrew Melville in 1583/4, or David Black in 1596, become undeniable. James appears to have decided on a third trial of strength, for he surely had not forgotton the tribulations of previous years. In what the king regarded as a test case, six ministers were tried and convicted of treason.

The trial took place against a background of popular sympathy, and with the Privy Council itself divided over the issue.[77] In protest at the king's blatant disregard for the liberties of the kirk, the ministry of Edinburgh - led by Robert Pont - 'took protestation at the cross...in name of the whole kirk'.[78] Other petitions followed, including the *Protestation* penned by Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling. This document was signed by forty or more ministers, representing twenty-one presbyteries, or 41% of the total number then in existence.[79] As Table 4 (overleaf) demonstrates, the signatories of Simson's petition were drawn from all four quarters of the kirk. Support was at its strongest in

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75. Robert Reid of Banchory (Kincardine O'Neil).
76. 'A Declaration', *op.cit.*, p.199.
77. 'For had all that wer of the counsell thair knowne the eirand, some had been absent'; see *RPCS*, IX, pp.163-166.
78 *Fasti*, I, pp.125-126.
79. Based on an estimate of 51 existing presbyteries in 1605; see W.R.Foster, *The Church before the Covenants*, Edinburgh, 1975, pp.85-86.

Table 4

Subscribers: 'The protestation drawn up by mr Patrick Simson...July 1606' (by Quarters).

Area	Area	Presbytery	Parish	Minister
Nth	Moray	Forres	Forres	John Strachan
Nth	Aberdeen	Ellon	Ellon	Robert Mercer
.....		.....	.....	John Mitchell
Nth	Angus	Meigle	Meigle	Colin Campbell
.....		.....	.....	John Ogilvie
Nth		Dundee	Murroes	Henry Duncan
.....		.....	Mains	William Rait
Nth		Brechin	Brechin	John Weymes
Mid	Perth/ Stirling	Stirling	Stirling	Patrick Simson.
.....		.....	Alva	John Gillespie
Mid		Auchterarder	A'terarder	Will. Buchanan
.....		.....	Stragieth	James Burdon
.....		.....	Muthill	John Davidson
Mid		Dunkeld	Logiebride	James Mercer
Mid		Perth	Perth	William Couper
.....		.....	Perth	John Malcolm
.....		.....	Forteviot	James Ross
.....		.....	Kilspindie	James Row
.....		.....	For'denny	William Row
.....		.....	Perth	William Young
Mid	Fife	Cupar	Kettle	Will. Cranston
.....		.....	Cupar	William Scot
Mid		Kirkcaldy	Kinghorn	John Scrimgeour
.....		.....	B'ntisland	John Michaelson
Mid		Dunfermline	Culross	Robert Colville
.....		.....	Carnock	John Row
Mid		.....	Kinross	John Colden
.....		.....	Cleish	Edmond Miles
Mid		St Andrews	Kilrenny	John Dykes
.....		.....	Kilrenny	James Melville
.....		.....	University	Andrew Melville
.....		.....	Dunino	William Erskine
Wst	Glasgow	Irving	Kilwinning	David Barclay
Wst		Wigtown	Whithorn	James Davidson
Sth	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Leith	James Muirhead
Sth		Linlithgow	Linlithgow	Adam Bannatyne
Sth	Lothian	Haddington	Tranent	Robert Wallace
Sth		Dalkeith	Dalkeith	James French
Sth	Borders	Jedburgh	Jedburgh	John Abernethy
.....		.....	Crailing	David Calderwood
Sth		Chirnside	Ayton	William Hogg

Source: - 'The protestation drawn up by Mr Patrick Simson, Minister at Stirline...July 1606', in Wodrow, *Biographical Collections*, II, App., No.211; Scott, *Fasti*, I-VII, *passim*.

the 'mid' sector, where representatives from all (100%) of the region's eight presbyteries signed the protest. Ministers representing five (23%) presbyteries from the north quarter registered disquiet over the affair, as did delegates from six (55%) in the south. There was less apparent enthusiasm in the west, with only two presbyteries (17%) registering a protest.[80]

The *Protestation* insisted that the 'Golden Act' [1592] had abolished the 'Black Act' [1584] under which the prosecution proceeded, a claim which was tantamount to an accusation of 'tiranie' against the king. That James was prepared for just such a reaction is evidenced by the fact that he now ordered his 'awne schorte Declarator' to be printed and circulated (the *Declaration* appeared in April 1606, some six or seven months *after* the original had been written).[81] The Privy Council however, was reluctant to enter into further conflict with just the *Declaration* as armour. Consequently, when the king called for another eight ministers to be tried on the same charges the Council's members all but rebelled, informing the king bluntly that he would:

> find this fyre, kindlit amang a few number, so overspredding the hole country, except wyslie it be prevented...[82]

Such fears were not without foundation. By the end of 1606 the king and his council had been forced to prosecute at least forty-one ministers in connection with the affair. As detailed in Table 5 (overleaf), eighteen (44%) came from the north quarter of the country: nine (22%) from the mid sector; a further nine (22%) from the south; and five (12%) from the west. Again, it was this latter sector which appeared as the least enthusiastic quarter, rather than the north.

The 'conservative north' was not, therefore, the area of least resistance in Scotland at the turn of the century. It is significant

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80. The possible reasons for this apparent lack of support in the west are discussed below.
81. *RPCS*, VII, p.202.
82. *Ibid.*, pp.166-169.

Table 5

Ministers prosecuted in connection with the Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605 (by Quarter).

Area	Presbytery	Parish	Minister	Sentence
Nth	Dornoch	Tain	John Munro	Banished.
Nth	Aberdeen	Aberdeen (East)	James Rose	Admonished.
.....	.....	St Nicholas	Arch. Blackburn	Admonished.
.....	.....	St Machars	David Rait	Admonished.
.....	.....	Skene	Alex. Scroggie	Admonished.
.....		Nigg	John Roche	Admonished.
Nth	Alford	Alford	John Forbes	Banished.
.....	.....	Clatt	Rob. Youngson	Banished.
.....	.....	Tough	James Irvine	Banished.
.....	.....	Towie	Will. Forbes	Banished.
Nth	Deer	Fraserburgh	Chas. Ferme	Banished.
.....	.....	St. Fergus	Dav. Robertson	Admonished.
.....	.....	Rathen	Will. Davidson	Admonished.
Nth	Garioch	Inverurie	James Milne	Admonished.
.....	.....	.....	Jms Melville	Admonished.
Nth	Kincadn O'neil	Banchory	Robert Reid	Admonished.
Nth	Meigle	Blair	John Ross	Imprisoned.
Mid	St Andrews	Anstruther	Rob. Durie	Banished.
.....	.....	Crail	And. Duncan	Banished.
.....	.....	University	And. Melville	Banished.
.....	.....	Kilrenny	Jms Melville	Banished.
.....	.....	Kilconquhar	Jms Carmichael	Confined.
Mid	Cupar	Kilmany	John Sharp	Banished.
.....	.....	Creich	Alex. Strachan	Banished.
.....	.....	Cupar	Will. Scot	Confined.
Mid	Kirkcaldy	Burntisland	Will. Watson	Confined.
Wst	Ayr	Ayr	John Welsh	Banished.
.....	.....	Craigie	Nathan Inglis	Imprisoned.
Wst	Irvine	Loudon	James Greig	Banished.
.....	.....	Beith	John Young	Admonished.
Wst	Wigtown	Whithorn	Abrm Henderson	Admonished.
Sth	Edinburgh	St Giles	Robert Bruce	Banished.
.....	.....	Canongate	Henry Blyth	Imprisoned.
.....	.....	St Giles	Jms Balfour	Banished.
Sth	Jedburgh	Hawick	Thom. Abernethy	Admonished.
Sth	Dalkeith	Dalkeith	Arch. Simson	Admonished.
.....	.....	.....	Arch. Dunbar	Admonished.
.....	.....	.....	Robert Mure	Admonished.
.....	.....	Inveresk	Adam Colt	Confined.
Sth	Haddington	Tranent	Rob. Wallace	Confined.

Source:- *R.P.C.S.*, VII, pp.xlviii - lx; Scott, *Fasti*, I-VII, *passim*

that following the unsatisfactory conclusion to the assembly at Montrose (North Quarter) in 1600, the king did not object to the appointment of Burntisland (Fife) and Edinburgh as the respective sites for the next two assemblies. As David Calderwood later noted, it was the assembly at Montrose which marked James' decision that 'ather no General Assemblie sould be at all, or suche onlie as sould be dressed to prosecute the purpose in hand'.[83] Thereafter, as the synod of Fife protested in 1602, meetings were no longer 'ordinarly keepit...but the dyats therof alterit without the knowledge of the presbyteries and synods'.[84] Certainly, about twenty of the members of the assembly at Edinburgh in 1602 were from the north.[85] But under the new legislation of 1598 regarding attendance at assemblies, the northern quadrant (with twenty-two working presbyteries in 1602) was entitled to send sixty-six delegates.[86] If the king was attempting to 'pack' the assembly with northern ministers[87] then he was singularly unsuccessful, as fewer than one-third of this number were present. Amongst those that did attend were John Strachan (moderator), John Forbes, Archibald Blackburn, and David Rait. The latter three ministers were all prosecuted over their support for the assembly of 1605, and Strachan was a signatory of Simson's *Protestation*. Such men were not present in 1602 because of their willingness to concede royal policy, but, as has been argued above, because they wished to see long-standing grievances settled.

It is unsafe, therefore, to base a case for the 'acquiescence' of many ministers after 1596 on the king's 'skilful manoeuverings' with regard to the 'conservative north'. As illustrated by Map 2 (overleaf), those who were either prosecuted over - or supportive of

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83. Calderwood, *History*, VI, p. 1. See also Chapter I, n.86.
84. 'Articles of the synod of Fife', *op.cit.*.
85. On the assembly see *BUK*, III, pp.974-979. Donaldson ['Conservative North', p. 196] gives a figure of twenty-six, but this includes the representatives from Perth, which was in the kirk's mid-quarter and not the 'north'.
86. As Calderwood reminded the king in 1617, it had been 'ordained' at Dundee in 1598 'with your majesties owne consent, your majestie being present, that ther sould be commissioners chosen out of everie presbyterie, not exceading the number of three'; Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.1v.
87. Donaldson, 'Conservative North', p. 196.

Map 2

Protest/ prosecution in support of Aberdeen Assembly (by presbytery) - 1605.

1. Forres
2. Deer
3. Ellon
4. Garioch
5. Alford
6. Aberdeen
7. Kincardine O'Neil
8. Brechin
9. Meigle
10. Dunkeld
11. Dundee
12. Perth
13. St Andrews
14. Cupar
15. Auchterarder
16. Kinross
17. Kirkcaldy
18. Dunfermline
19. Stirling
20. Linlithgow
21. Edinbugh
22. Dalkeith
23. Haddington
24. Chirnside
25. Jedburgh
26. Irvine
27. Ayr
28. Wigtown

- the Aberdeen Assembly of 1605 represented twenty-eight presbyteries (55%), from Forres in the north to Wigtown in the south-west. In particular, the north-east corner of Scotland demonstrated strong support for the gathering, and there appears to be an *east/west* - rather than *north/south* - divide. There were two major factors at work here, not the least of which was the slow development of presbyteries in the south-west, which in 1606 was home to only five courts, at Irvine, Ayr, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries. These five presbyteries were responsible for an area - in geographic terms - roughly equal in size to Scotland's north-eastern corner, which at the same date could boast over twice as many (twelve) such courts. If the two areas are compared on the latter basis, three out of five presbyteries (60%) registered resistance to royal policy in the south-west, whilst seven out of twelve (58%) did likewise in the north-east. Thus both areas broadly reflected the national trend (55%). The single pocket of apparently solid support for the king originated from the presbyteries centred around Glasgow, and this is probably a measure of the authority which John Spottiswoode (archbishop of Glasgow 1603-1615) had imposed on that area, and its adjacent presbyteries, even in 1606. David Hume of Godscroft noted the not so veiled threats which had quietened dissent within the presbytery of Peebles in December. When the court demurred at the imposition of a 'constant moderator', Spottiswoode reminded the assembled ministers of both his presence and power. 'Heir sit I, Archbishop of Glasco, I sall garre you', he warned. There were many other examples, said Hume, of

> terrors given out...minassings used...hornings threatened, and some put in practise from the beginning of [the bishops] proceidings...[and] such lyke speeches at Glasco, not sifting and examining things to find a trueth, nor seeking consent, but impyring and commanding...[88]

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88. 'Mr David Hume his elleventh letter to Mr James Law', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p. 144.

It was no mere coincidence that the assembly of 1610 - which agreed to the re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland - met at Glasgow.

Even so, victory was won on the back of four years of considerable intimidation and extensive bribery. As Hume of Godscroft recorded, James operated a sustained campaign against leading dissidents from 1606. Opponents of episcopacy were either removed from the scene altogether, or confined to their parishes and interdicted from attending church courts until after the assembly had met and the parliament of 1612 had ratified its decisions. Of these ministers, James and Andrew Melville, together with six other ministers,[89] were banished from the country. James Balfour of St Giles was confined to Alford (Aberdeen), where he died in 1613. The historian William Scot was confined to his parish of Cupar, whilst John Carmichael of Kilconquhar (St Andrews) suffered a similar fate and was interdicted from preaching and from attending church courts. The restrictions placed on the movements of both ministers were not lifted until 1614. Robert Wallace of Tranent (Haddington) was still confined to his parish at his death in 1617. William Row (Perth) was warded at Blackness in 1607, and not released until 1616. John Fairfoul (Dunfermline) was confined at Dundee in 1609, a sentence which was not relaxed until 1613. The highly regarded minister William Livingstone (Lanark) was confined to his parish in 1607 and his movements remained restricted until 1613.[90] David Calderwood and George Johnston of Jedburgh

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89. Robert Durie, Anstruther; John Welsh, Ayr; John Sharp, Kilmany; Andrew Duncan, Crail; John Forbes, Alford; Robert Youngson, Clatt.

90. *Fasti*, I, pp.63,396, III, p.306-307, IV, p.209; V, pp.142, 203. There are numerous other examples. With specific exceptions, the ministers under the jurisdiction of St Andrews, including John Row (Carnock), John Carmichael (Kilconquhar), William Scot (Cupar), William Watson (Burntisland), and John Scrimgeour (Kinghorn) were relieved from ward by order of the Privy Council in 1614; *RPCS*, X, p.258. Those under the jurisdiction of Glasgow were 'relaxed' by proclamation 'at the croce of Edinburgh' in the same year; Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.1r.

were confined to their parishes in 1607, and that order remained in force in 1617.[91]

Although Alexander Hume of Logie had not hesitated to lay at least part of the blame for such a state of affairs on the way in which such men had conducted their campaign of opposition after 1596,[92] he - like Hume of Godscroft - saved his real venom for the bishops. They ought to have been

> aschamed to ryde to Parliament magnifickly mounted and apparelled, in ranck befoir monie of the nobilitie...[or] to put a note to the names of suche and suche of your brethren in the Buikes of Assignation, that thai suld not be ansuerd of thair stipends...[93]

Of the bishops. only 'Mr Peter Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen', noted Calderwood, declined to paticipate in this parade of shame. He

> thought it not becoming the simplicity of a minister to ryde that way in pomp, therfor he went on foot to the Parliament House...[94]

None of this show of support for the king was achieved cheaply. In 1606 40,000 merks made the journey from London to Linlithgow, to be awarded to the 'most needy and clamourous of the Ministrey'. Two years later some £14,000 sterling was rumoured to have arrived at the same venue, and at least another 10,000 merks was forwarded to Glasgow in 1610. Spottiswoode was to divide this latter amount 'among suche persons as [he] sall holde fitting'.[95] Nevertheless, not everyone was pleased with the windfall. Hume of Godscroft wrote disparagingly of the minister

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91. *Ibid.*, f.2r.
92. See above, pp. 225-226.
93. Hume, *An Afold Admonition*, p.572. In 1607 James had passed control over the provision of stipends to the bishops.
94. *SBC*, p.77.
95. *The Historical Works of James Balfour*, Edinburgh, 1824-25, II, pp.17-18; Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.254; *O.L.*, I, p.425; John Spottiswoode, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, eds M.Russel & M.Napier, Edinburgh, 1847-51, III, pp.205-208.

who 'complainit that [he] gott but nyne pund, ten shilling' for his efforts on the part of the bishops at the Glasgow assembly,

> 'though I voted', sayes he, 'als weill as others'...[96]

In adopting the dual policies of repression and bribery, James had gained the acquiescence of many ministers by 1610, but not their consciences.

III

The actions of both king and ministers therefore contain more than a germ of continuity with earlier years. One of the High Commission's first victims in 1611 was 'Johne Stratoun [Strachan] minister of Foresse', who was summoned for preaching against bishops. Not only did Strachan decline the authority of the Commission, but he also had the effrontery to 'sett doun his exercise in writt', and:

> his text fell by course to be in the beginning of the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to Timothie...[97]

Thus Strachan followed exactly the precedent set by David Black at Edinburgh in 1596, which had been circulated to all presbyteries in the form of the latter's 'declinator' fifteen years previously. The outspoken minister was imprisoned in the castle of Inverness, and died there in 1613. Such intimidation of their number produced a simmering and widespread resentment amongst the ministry, and the king could do little to combat its effects. The crown lacked the resources to increase stipends on a truly universal scale, and did not possess the political weight in the localities to ensure that even inadequate provision was regularly paid.[98] In 1611-12 the presbytery of Cupar (for

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96. Hume, 'Elleventh letter', p.144.
97. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.160; *Fastt*, VI, p.421. 'Now ye Spirit speaketh evidently, that in ye latter times some shal departe from the faith...Which speake lyes through hypocrisie, and have their consciences burned with an hote yron'; I Timothy, IV, 1-2.
98. See above, esp. Chapter I.

instance) was continuing to present ministers to its parishes without the bishop's consent,[99] and in 1612 the presbytery of Stirling was still electing its moderator bi-annually.[100] James' bishops bore the brunt of criticism against the new regime, and accusations that they had departed from the true faith stung William Cowper (bishop of Galloway) into producing his *Apologie* of 1613. As a result, a full-blooded historiographical war over the origins and lawfulness of episcopacy had broken out within a year.

Both Hume of Godscroft and David Calderwood replied to the *Apologie*,[101] and Cowper produced a more extensive justification of his acceptance of a bishropic with his *Dikaiologie* of 1614. In turn this caused a further *Admonition* from Hume and the appearance of Calderwood's *Confutatioun* in the same year.[102] It is doubtful if Cowper's departure from presbyterianism after 1610 can be explained as a reaction against the formerly notorious 'disorderly proceedings in church courts'.[103] In 1598 the king's proposals to limit the number of delegates which any particular presbytery could send to lobby the general assembly had been accepted by the kirk. Even Calderwood did not contest this ruling.[104] As Alexander Hume noted, both the riot of 1596 and the 'disorderly

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99. See *Fasti*, V, pp. 123-175. The assembly of 1610 had conferred full right of admission on the bishop of the appropriate diocese.

100. Wayne Pearce, 'Stirling presbytery and the Re-imposition of an Erastian Episcopacy, 1604-1612', [n.d., unpublished], pp.6-7. I have to thank Wayne for bringing the above to my attention. The assembly of 1606 had imposed Patrick Simson of Stirling as the presbytery's 'constant moderator', a position which he regarded as unlawful, and therefore refused to accept; *Fasti*, IV, p.318; *BUK*, III, pp. 1032-1034, *RPCS*, VII, pp.301-302.

101. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.13r. The minister's *Confutatioun of ye Apologie* was 'barnt' by Cowper. No copy has thus far been discovered. Hume of Godscroft's reply took the form of an 'admonitorie letter' [*Ibid.*], which was Hume's preferred form of disputation; see the series of letters from Hume to Law in Calderwood, *History*, VI, pp.727-731, 747-751, & VII, pp.64-90, 139-150. Hume's letters to Cowper have not survived.

102. Mullan [*op.cit.*, p.116] notes that 'Hume replied to the *Dikaiologie* ', and adds that 'one is awed to think how lengthy it might have been'. But it is clear from the *Confutatioun* that Hume's reply was not in the form of a single volume [see n.101 above]. There is, in any case, no extant copy. Calderwood's *Confutatioun* is thus the only surviving reply to the *Dikaiologie*. Mullan appears to have been unaware of the existence of Calderwood's contribution to the debate.

103. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.118.

104. See above, n.86.

proceedings' of the assemblies had been 'indecent'. But with those particular points conceded, and the remedy in place, presbyterians did not accept that further reform was either necessary or desirable.[105] Indeed, in 1606 Cowper himself preached a sermon 'befoir the estates of parliament' in which he urged them to put 'away'

> that ordour that bred the romane hierarchie, [and] the tyrrannie of the antichryst. As Bishops has brocht furth the pope, so the pope hes brocht forth antichrystian Bishops...[106]

It bordered on the ridiculous, said Calderwood, for Cowper to attempt to reconcile that statement with the later claim that his acceptance of a bishopric was due to 'his majesties cair in fensing [the kirk] against tyrannie, libertie, sloath, bribrie, and other evills'.[107] For on the basis of the bishop's own testimony, the 'papacie' was anti-christian, and was itself 'bred of the Bishops': *ergo*

> certain it is, the remedie wes worse nor ye disease...[108]

It is possible that, by 1610, Cowper had come to believe that episcopacy could adequately defend the kirk against the 'papacie'.[109] But even so, it remains the case that presbyterian thought consistently equated the office of bishop with the 'romane hierarchie', which was held to be a tyrranical form of church government. As Hume of Godscroft had previously informed James Law (bishop of Glasgow), 'ministerial paritie' was the very '*essence*' of presbyterianism, and it defied logic to claim that this vital organ of the pre-1610 kirk polity could be removed and replaced with an hierarchy of bishops, whilst at the same time leaving 'nothing altered...in anie essentiall point or part of our

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105. See Hume, *Ane Admonition*, p.586.
106. Calderwood. 'Confutatioun', f.23v. Cowper did not deny that he had expressed such sentiments; see Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.
107. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.14r. *Cf.*, Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.117.
108. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.16r.
109. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119. According to Mullan, Cowper 'finally believed' that 'presbytery...had nothing to lose and everything to gain' from further co-operation with the king.

discipline'. Adopting much the same argument as Hume, Calderwood noted that Cowper

> askes if anie censure of admonitioune, suspensioun, or excommunicatioun be taken away, but that is not the question. For imprisonment, banishment, and confiscatioun of goods is not taine away when either aristocracie or democracie is changed into monarchie, and yet thir things differs substaciallie, for thay ar different *specifique* formes of policie...[110]

The minister was not slow to remind Cowper of his own sermon in 1606, in which the bishop had made precisely the same point. 'It wes not fit', he had then warned parliament, 'to circuit the lords of Jerusalem with the walls of Babell'.[111] For presbyterians (as even Cowper himself had previously admitted), there could be no 'hybrid' position between episcopacy and presbytery.

Equally, Cowper's assertion that 'he wes movit to [accept the office] to comfort the king' was nonsense. At best, said Calderwood, it was dangerously naive to follow blindly the direction of kings in religious affairs. For,

> neither is kings immortall, nor his virtewes hereditary to his syccessor...[112]

James had (at least in Calderwood's opinion) not thus far proved himself a born again 'godly' Constantine, who, as Cowper opined, would be 'carefull out of his rare piety and wisedome to see [episcopacy] used unto the right end'. Cowper, said the minister scornfully, 'assures us wher gritt and weightie causses requyre, the prince will not refuse ane generall assemblie'. But:

> What gif the prince judge not yr mater weightie? What if he be cairles of the churches weill? Know we the disposition of all the princes that ar to govern hereafter?...[113]

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110. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', ff.25r-25v. 'Mr D.Humes letter to the Bishop of Orkney' [1608], in Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.749; 'Mr David Hume to Mr James Law [1610]' in *Ibid.*, VII, p.65-66.
111. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.16r.
112. *Ibid.*, f.14r.
113. *Ibid.*, f. 26r; Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.138. *Cf.*, Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.120. Cowper's authority for such an assertion was Patrick Adamson, *A declaratioun*

In any case, it was not possible to use episcopacy 'to the right end', because the office of bishop confused temporal and spiritual jurisdictions, and - as all men knew - 'temporalities devour spiritualities'.[114] Had not Cowper himself agreed that the appearance of the bishops at the court of Constantine was 'vyll to look to'? Had he not 'said in his sermon aforementioned':

> ar they not manifestlie convincid that now forbeir the ye superfluitie of garments, not withstanding that by thame they know manie brethren offendit...[115]

Taking each of the above arguments into account, the notion that Cowper 'never myslyked ye office itself' prior to 1606 was hardly credible. The minister would rather

> creddit ye brether of ye synode qauhairwith he lifted up hands. [There] he exhorted the rest to stand to ye maintenance of that present discipline. He stood in defence of our policie befoir ye estaites of parliament *anno* 1606, and what policie he meant ye protestatioune then subscryvit be him declares: howbeit now he be not ashamed to his awin turpitud to alledge that he never red it..[116]

Calderwood could be forgiven for appearing especially incredulous over this last statement. The main charge of Simson's *Protestation* (which Cowper had indeed signed) was that the 'pre-eminence of bishops is that Dagon which once already fell before the ark of God in this land'.[117] That phrase was on the lips of every presbyterian in 1606.[118] Even if Cowper had signed the document without

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of the Kings majesties intentioun and meaning toward the lait Actis of Parliament, Edinburgh, 1585. Adamson likened James to Constantine, a 'bishop of Bishops, and universal Bishop within his Realme' [sig. Ci]. See also Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.24r; Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.149.

114. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.14v. Corruption was the inevitable result of mixing temporal and spiritual jurisdictions, since the 'advancement' and 'great pompe' of 'some few' could only be gained at the expense and 'regrate of the rest'; *Ibid.*.

115. *Ibid.*.

116. *Ibid.*, f.14r.

117. Calderwood, *History*, VI, p.488.

118. John Welsh, one of the six ministers under threat of banishment and imprisoned at Blackness, had written a letter which his prospective martyrdom caused to be widely circulated in Edinburgh. In it he likened episcopacy to Dagon, a god of the Philistines, and prophesied that the bishops 'shall not stand

reading, and believed that it contained 'no more than a supplication for the continuance of Church-government, that then was',[120] he could hardly have been unaware of the type of polity to which it referred. In the light of such evidence, it is difficult to disagree with Calderwood that Cowper's defection was due to the simple fact that he felt it foolhardy to cross the king after 1610, and that conviction, combined with the offer of the bishopric of Galloway, was what finally brought about Cowper's 'second light'.[121]

Thus 'presbyterian broadsides' with regard to the defection of the bishops had much substance to them, and were not merely 'the expressions of anguished and frustrated spirits'. To accuse men such as Calderwood and Hume of Godscroft of 'deprecating' the talents of the bishops is to miss the point.[122] Certainly Hume did say that the bishops had 'noe excellencie of anie gift' beyond those of the ministers 'now dominated and oppressed'. But Hume was seeking justification from James Law (bishop of Orkney) for the placing of 'sole power' ('impyring and domineiring over the rest of the brethren') in the hands of one man.[123] In 1614 Cowper put forward the same argument as Law. Was it, he said,

> not meitter that some one man, havin comissioun from the governour and counsellours of ye citie, sould have the keyes of ye ports, [rather] then that everie one in ye citie sould have libertie to open and shutt?...[124]

Presbyterian 'paritie', said Cowper, (following the king's own thoughts on the matter) was the very 'Mother of confusion'.[125]

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before the ark of the Lord', and that the 'wrath of an everlasting God' would once again fall' (as God had destroyed Ashdod) unless the 'blasphemy' of episcopacy be prevented; *SB*, I, p.27. *Cf.*, I Samuel, V, 1-6.

120. See Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.117. *Cf.*, Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.14r; Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.112.

121. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.116.

122. *Ibid.*, pp.121-122.

123. Hume, 'The Twelth letter', in Calderwood, VII, p.148.

124. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.16v. *Cf.*, Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.97.

125. Quoted in Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.117. He fails to note, however, that the phrase is drawn from James' own *Basilikon doron*, I, p.77. Cowper's *Apologie* was directly addressed to the king. Law had previously taken the same line,

Calderwood countered with a restatement of the presbyterian position on the subject:

> Is it not better that all the sones of the Jerubbaall governe ye flock of chryst, in ther joynt powers of presbiteries, synods, and generall assemblies?...Quhair one hes zeall, another wisdome, the third learming, ye fourt utterance, and ye fift sinceritie...ther dyvers gifts and graces ar mixed and temperid together in ye joynt powers, *and maks up a more excellent gift or vertue nor can be found in anie one man*. That everie one in our church had libertie, at his auin pleasure, to open and shutt is a plaine calumnie... [126]

Neither Calderwood nor Hume was making a personal attack on the intelligence or intellectual ability of Cowper or Law. They were merely making the point that the 'excellencie of anie gift' did not automatically raise them above other men, especially in the context of kirk government. By the same token, Hume was not speaking 'disingenuously' when he referred to Law as 'one whom I count of to have greattest abilitie amongst them of that opinion'. [127] Hume was certainly contemptuous of the episcopal system, but like Calderwood, he retained a great deal of respect for the intellectual ability of his opponents.

Nevertheless, the controversy did raise tempers. In 1614 the Privy Council passed an Act commanding that all subjects celebrate communion on the same day, and this was followed by a proclamation ordering the celebration of communion at Easter. Under such circumstances, one would be disappointed *not* to find Calderwood raging that 'sume bastard brethren, ane unworthie bramble [and] cruell abimeth' should 'rule over us'. [128] But the fact that the issue continued to exercise dissident pens throughout 1613 and 1614 is demonstrative of the depth of the attachment of

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refering to presbyterian 'paritie' as 'unorderlie and confused'; see Hume, 'Another Letter', in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.79.

126. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', ff.16v-17r [my italics]. Hume offered much the same argument, claiming that 'wisdome himself made choice' of 'paritie', to provide 'ballancing and counterposing where imperfectiouns and infirmiteis are, rather than to concredit the governement therof ather to one or to a few'; Hume, 'Another Letter, p.76.

127. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.118.

128. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.16v; *RPCS*, X, pp.215-216.

presbyterians to their system of local, regional, and national assemblies. Map 3 (overleaf) demonstrates that presbyteries were firmly established throughout the country by 1610, and that their number continued to grow throughout the period in question. In 1615 the High Commission prosecuted John Malcolm (minister of Perth) over his request that the banished ministers of 1606 be recalled. Malcolm claimed that 'they were more faithfull subjects to his majestie than those who had received great benefices at his hands'. With the suppression of presbyteries, the bishops (he complained) were presenting 'unqualified and unsanctified men' to parishes, and as a result 'corruption [was] brought into the kirk'.[129] In response to this continued stubbornness, the king insisted upon the introduction of a new catechism (based, rather unwisely, on Richard Mockett's recently published *God and the King*).[130] He also proposed measures for the revision of the *Confession of Faith*, and the compilation of a new set of canons. In 1616 the general assembly met to consider James' proposals, but did little more than remit each of these measures to individual committees. The first, comprising Patrick Galloway, John Hall, and John Adamson (all ministers of the presbytery of Edinburgh) was appointed to produce the catechism. A new catechism had, in fact, been a pet project of Hall and Adamson for some years, and their earlier work was revised, and accepted.[131] Hall, Adamson and Galloway, together with Peter Hewat (Edinburgh), Robert Scott (Glasgow), and William Erskine (Dunino, Mearn) were deputed to produce a revised *Confession of Faith*. It included a paragraph which stated that

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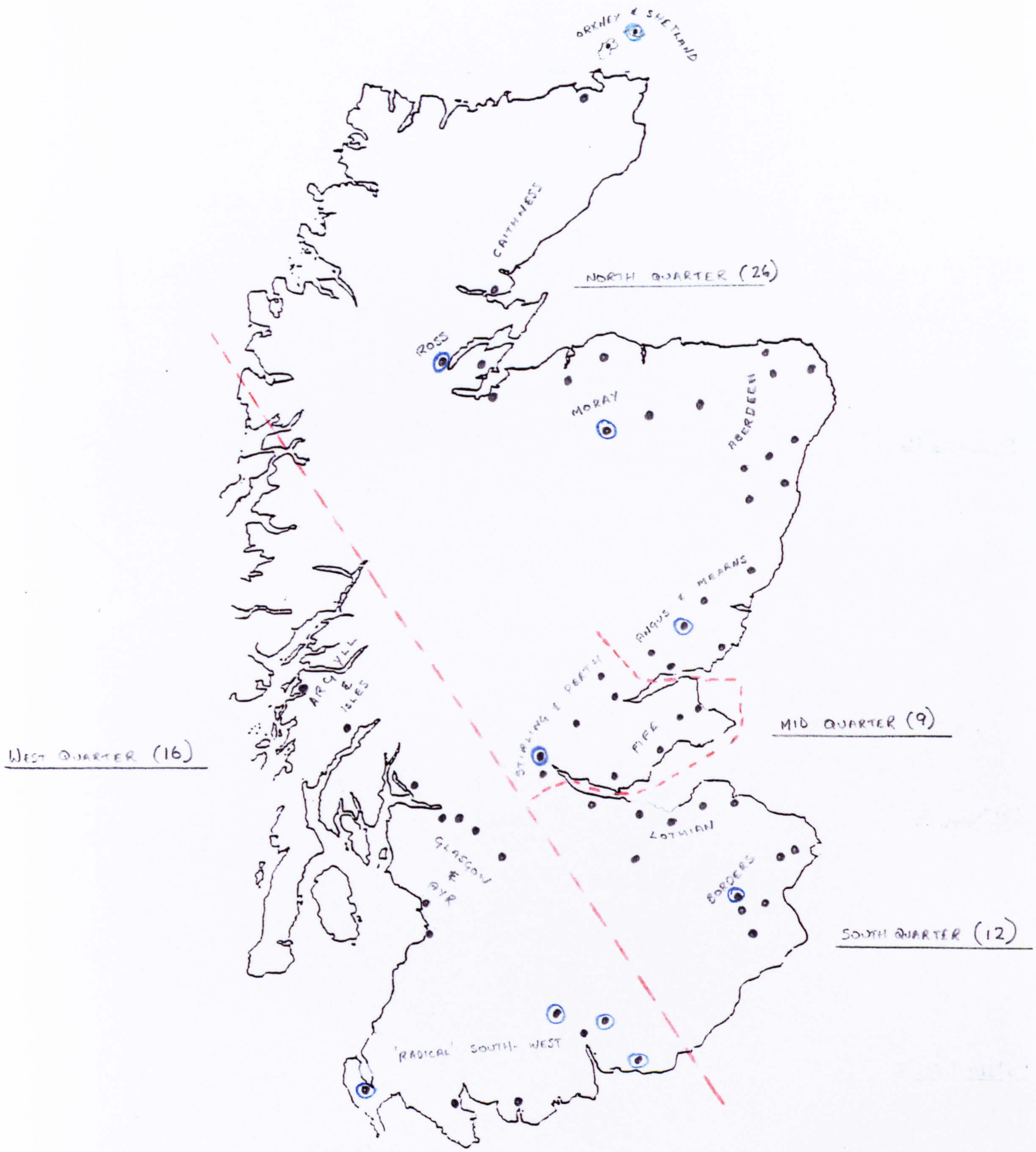
129. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.201-202.

130. Mockett was an English cleric, who dedicated the work to James. Its full title was *God and the King: or, a dialogue shewing that King James, being immediate under God doth rightfully claime whatsoever is required by the oath of allegiance*, London, 1615.

131. It does not, however, appear to have sold very well. Both ministers and individual households were ordered to purchase a copy [see *RPCS*, 1613-16, pp.534-538], but the work's association with the 'Five Articles' seriously inhibited distribution. Edinburgh's town council still had 1500 copies in 1620, and was bemoaning the fact; *ERBE*, 1604-1626, p.187.

Map 3

The Development of Presbyteries: 1610 – 1638



◉ Not 'working' in 1610: ● 'Working' by 1638: - - - Regional boundaries.

> the Kirk of Scotland...is one of the most pure kirks under heaven *this day*, both in respect of trueth in doctrine and puritie in worshipe...[132]

As ministers swore the *Confession* on admission to the ministry, this amounted to a 'test' approving of episcopacy, but in the event hackles raised by the new oath were as nothing compared to the controversy which arose over the proposed 'Five Articles'.[133] The committee to compile the canons of 1616 had a membership of just two, James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, and William Struthers, minister of Edinburgh, but their task - in the event - was deferred. The reason for the smallness of the committee on the canons soon became clear, as James had produced five 'articles' for them to consider. These were kneeling at communion, private communion, private baptism, commemoration of holy days, and confirmation of children by bishops.[134] Not surprisingly, both Law and Struthers demurred at the prospect of being held responsible for such innovations, and Spottiswood was forced to write to the king, informing him - in effect - that if he wanted this particular job done, he would have to come to Scotland and do it himself.[135]

For historians of the period, all else has paled into insignificance in the face of the furore which erupted over the 'Five Articles', particularly the article which insisted on kneeling at communion.[136] For Calderwood, however, the issue went beyond the question of liturgical change, since it also represented yet

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132. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.241 (my italics); see also,*BUK*, III, pp.1125-1129.
133. See Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, p.209; Cowan, I.B., 'The Five Articles of Perth', in D.Shaw (ed.), *Reformation and Revolution*, Edinburgh, 1967, *passim*.
134. See *BUK*, III, p.1165.
135. Spottiswood, *History*, III, p.529. On his arrival, James attempted to bypass the assembly altogether, but even his personal presence in 1617 could not get the necessary legislation through parliament, and a further assembly in 1617 simply remitted the problem to a later date.
136. See, for instance, G. Donaldson, 'Emergence of Schism', p.208; where the author states that with 'the imposition of liturgical requirements or of changes in public worship...feeling was much more profoundly stirred than it had ever been'.

another attempt by the king to impose royal supremacy on the kirk. The minister happened upon a meeting at St Giles, where he

> come in be accident to seek some brethren...I protested that these meetings in the tyme of p[ar]liament to assist the byshops with ther advyse[,] sould not inferr any approbatioune of yair sittings and votings in p[ar]liament[,] for they had sitted and so voted hithertill with out consent of the kirk, becaus the kirk never consented to without oversight[,] als qck they had broken[,] and had usurped the place...[137]

The problems of 1617 thus directly reflected James' failure to gain the agreement of the kirk to measures first proposed in 1597, and his blatant disregard of the cautions of Montrose set down by the assembly in 1600. The passage of two decades had done little to calm tempers over the fact. Even the king's tactics had not altered, with ministers held 'busie all the tyme of the p[ar]liament with provyding stipends that they [the bishops] myt steall a dint'.[138] Calderwood rounded upon the ministers present at the meeting,

> and desyred them to have a care of the Common Cause and not to consumme tyme with carving of stipends. That it wer a shame to ministers in silks and sattins to cry povertie, povertie, in the meantyme when puritie was going away. I professed I beleaved not the promises of byshops for we had experience of yair fair promises thir sextene yeirs bygone...[139]

As a result Calderwood, William Struthers, and Peter Hewat met to discuss 'ane article' to be ratified by the forthcoming parliament 'which was like to cutt the cordes of the remanent liberties of our kirk'.[140] The latter two ministers produced 'protestations', and a larger gathering was convened to discuss their presentation. The form of the meeting provides an insight into the astute political mind of Calderwood, who thought the one petition too strong, and the other too mild. He advised that a single protestation, consisting of the broad framework of Hewat's composition, with 'two clauses taken out of the forme penned by Mr William' be

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137. Calderwood, 'Trew relatioun', f.9r.
138. *Ibid.*.
139. *Ibid.*, f.9v.
140. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.252.

drawn up. This united the supporters of both camps. But the affair had attracted other ministers who had 'resorted not before' to such gatherings. To win these men over, Calderwood 'desired some clauses, importing a yeilding to the bypast innovations made by the usurping prelates, to be putt out of the protestation'. By the end of the day Calderwood had the concurrence of fifty-five ministers.[141] The resulting petition did not attack episcopacy or ceremony, but hit out at that which presbyterians had always perceived to be a manifestation of arbitrary power. It was prejudicial to the kirk that:

> your Majestie...sall in all tyme coming have full power to advyse and conclude in all matters decent for the externall policie of the kirk, not repugnant to the Word of God; and that such conclusions sall have the strength and power of ecclesiastical laws...[142]

This 'simple point of protestation' pleaded only that the 'libertie of our kirk' be protected against the arbitrary use of the royal prerogative, by which means 'the power of publict meetings and General Assemblies' and the 'comlie order and decencie of the same', were like to be 'utterlie overthrowne'.[143] Calderwood's chosen battleground of 'the freedome of our kirk and discharge of our conscience' was the one thing guaranteed to unite the kirk, and at the same time reduce the king almost to apoplexy. As is indicated by Table 6 (overleaf) the fifty-five signatories of the protestation of 1617 represented twenty-four presbyteries, ranging from Strathbogie, in Moray, to Dumfries in the south-west. Both the north and mid quarters continued to register dissent, but there was clearly a predominance of ministers from the southern sector. What is significant about this petition, however, is that it was signed only by those ministers present at the above mentioned 'convocation' at St Giles, or those who happened to be present in Edinburgh. It was probably intended to circulate the petition beyond the capital, but subsequent events prevented this

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141. *Ibid.*, pp.252-253, 256.
142. 'The True Copie of the protestation', in *Ibid.*, pp.253-256.
143. *Ibid.*.

Table 6

Subscribers to the protestation for the 'liberties of the kirk' - 1617 (by quarters).

Qtr	Area	Presbytery	Parish	Minister
Nth	Moray	Strathbogie	Huntly	George Chalmer
Nth	Aberdeen	Turriff	Kinedward	William Guild
.....		Ellon	Methlick	John Mercer
Nth	Angus	Brechin	Kinnaird	John Weymes
.....		Dundee	Dundee	James Robertson
Mid	Perth/ Stirling	Perth	Dunbarney	William Black
.....		.....	Methven	Robert Murray
Mid		Stirling	Gargunnock	William Justice
.....		.....	Stirling	Henry Livingstone
Mid	Fife	Cupar	Cupar	William Scott
.....		Kirkcaldy	Auchterderran	John Chalmers
.....		.....	Kinghorn	John Scrimgeour
.....		Dunfermline	Culross	Robert Colville
.....		.....	Inverkeithing	Robert Roche
Sth	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Duddingston	Charles Lumsden
.....		.....	St Giles	Thomas Sydserff
.....		.....	St Giles	Patrick Galloway
.....		.....	St Giles	William Struthers
.....		.....	St Giles	John Hall
.....		.....	St Giles	Peter Hewat
.....		.....	St Cuthberts	William Arthur
.....		.....	Kirknewton	Andrew Balfour
.....		.....	Greyfriars	Andrew Ramsay
.....		.....	Canongate	Henry Blyth
.....		Linlithgow	Uphall	Alexander Keith
Sth	Lothian	Dunbar	Innerwick	Patrick Hamilton
.....		Haddington	Haddington	George Grier
.....		.....	Prestonpans	John Ker
.....		.....	Bolton	James Lamb
.....		Dalkeith	Newbattle	John Aird
.....		.....	Penicuik	James French
.....		.....	Dalkeith	Archibald Simson
.....		.....	Lasswade	James Porteous
.....		.....	Carrington	Lucas Sonsie
.....		.....	Cockpen	William Knox
.....		Peebles	Peebles	Theodore Hay
.....	Borders	Chirnside	Coldingham	William Douglas
.....		Melrose	Channelkirk	Francis Collace
.....		.....	Lauder	James Burnett
.....		.....	Selkirk	Patrick Shaw
.....		.....	Melrose	John Knox
.....		Kelso	Roxburgh	William Weymes
.....		.....	Yetholm	John Balfour
.....		.....	Maxton	John Smyth
.....		Jedburgh	Minto	Alexander Forrest
.....		.....	Crailing	David Calderwood
.....		.....	Longnewton	William Jameson
Wst	Glasgow/ Ayr	Glasgow	St Mungo	Robert Scott
.....		Irvine	Kilmarnock	Michael Wallace
.....		Ayr	Ayr	George Dunbar
.....		.....	Dailly	James Inglis
.....	South-west	Dumfries	Dryfesdale	Robert Herries
.....		.....	Moffat	Walter Whitford
.....		.....	New Abbey	Adam Simson
.....		.....	Annan	Simon Johnston

Source: - Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.253-256; Scott, *Fasti*, I-VII, *passim*.

occurrence. The petition is therefore not a reliable guide to opinion in the north, but - as with the protestation presented to the parliament of 1606 - all four quarters of the country were represented.

Prosecutions over the petition followed, and James adopted similar tactics to those of 1606, summoning the 'ringleaders' of protest before the High Commission. David Calderwood and Archibald Simson of Dalkeith were deprived and exiled,[144] but James's resolve to have his royal authority confirmed proved an immediate setback to his own plans to have only 'conforme' men within the burgh of Edinburgh. Six of the prominent ministers of the capital summoned before the king to answer for their actions had previously supported his policies.[145] It soon became evident that James could now rely on the unqualified support of just three - Andrew Ramsay of Greyfriars, and Thomas Sydserff and Patrick Galloway of St Giles.[146] All three men, after due 'consideration', declared themselves satisfied by James's promise to drop the offending article. William Struthers, however, remained unconvinced, fearful of the rumoured liturgical changes to come.[147] To make matters worse, Peter Hewat remained

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144. Archibald Simson, who appears to have been responsible for the distribution of the petition (which was thwarted by his arrest), was sentenced to 'internal' exile at Montrose; see Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f. 1r.

145. Andrew Ramsay, Patrick Galloway, William Struthers, John Hall, Peter Hewat, and Thomas Sydserff.

146. Galloway had been a zealous supporter of presbyterianism prior to 1603, and had fled to England with Melville *et al.* in 1584. He refused, however, to support the ministers of the 'illegal' Assembly of Aberdeen, and was rewarded with a benefice at St Giles in 1607. His son, James Galloway, was Master of Requests under James VI; *Fasti*, I, 53-54. Ramsay was appointed one of the ministers of St.Giles in 1613, and following his eventual support for the king in 1617 became minister of Greyfriars and Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University; *Ibid.*, p.70. Sydserff was then a young man, but was eventually rewarded with the Deanery of Edinburgh in 1634, and became bishop of Brechin in 1635; *Ibid.*, VII, p.334.

147. James' failure to pursue the case against Struthers was probably due to his immense popularity amongst the citizens of Edinburgh. Even this failed to impress Calderwood, who believed Struthers to be a 'pensioner' of the king, even though he preached a sermon against the proposed 'Articles' in 1616 [Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.242]. There was some truth in Calderwood's comment, since Struthers accepted the Deanery of Edinburgh from the king, a gift probably bestowed to buy his silence. As mentioned above, however, the

obdurate, and was deprived. Hewat's support in 1610 had been rewarded with a gift from the king of the Abbey of Crossraguel, and his 'defection' in 1617 particularly angered James.[148] John Hall (also rumoured to have been the author of the offending petition of 1617) 'withdrew his protest', but demitted his ministry in 1619 and became an implacable opponent of royal policy.[149] The minister had hoped that his resignation would safeguard his pensions, a not unrealistic tactic, since the Town Council was still paying Hewat's stipend in 1619 - two years after he had been deprived. Accordingly the Privy Council was ordered to inquire into why Hewat continued to be 'interteyned be the towne of Edr. as thair minister', and also into the case of Hall, who had 'laitlie demitted his ministrie under pretence of his aige and infirmitie'.[150] Action thereafter was swift, Hall being warded in Montrose, and Hewat confined to Crossraguel. Hall was still being hounded by the Council in 1625 over the matter,[151] and at the time of his death was owed £12,000, much of it in unpaid stipend and pensions. It is also worthy of note that at the time of his death Struthers was owed almost £14,000, again much of it in unpaid stipend and pensions. Struthers' only *realisable* asset in 1633 was his substantial library, worth some £2,000, and Hall's saleable goods in 1627 were worth less than £420. By contrast, Patrick Galloway, who had conformed, had realisable assets in 1626 of over £6,000. It seems odd to base the thesis that prosperity led to conformity on such evidence, since the reverse appears to be true.[152]

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minister consistently refused to insist on the observance of the 'Five Articles', as they eventually came to be known.

148. Hewat was deprived 'simpliciter', i.e.with little likelihood of the sentence ever being recalled - a punishment reserved for only the worst offenders. He died at Maybole in 1645; *Fasti*, I, p.64.

149. *Ibid.*, I, pp.55-56.

150. *RPCS*, XI, p.549; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.355-357; *Fasti*, I, pp.53-54, 64. To suggest that the ministers of Edinburgh 'largely conformed' [see Mullan, *op.cit.*, esp.Ch.5] to the 'Five Articles' is therefore - to say the least - stretching the point. Certainly James had intruded 'conforme' ministers in the room of Hall and Hewat by 1624, but this only served to heighten the controversy.

151. *RPCS*, (2nd ser.), I, p.202.

152. See above, Chapter 1, and references there cited.

James had, therefore, to begin rebuilding his troublesome ministry at Edinburgh just at the point where most of his former chickens were coming home to roost. To pursue a programme of liturgical change at such a time was a serious error of judgement. The king, on consulting some of the more conciliatory ministers who had signed the protestation, agreed to forgo his royal pleasure over the proposed article, and put the proposed 'innovations' before an assembly.[153] Even so, the consequent furore was a propagandist's dream, and the argument over the imposition of 'ceremony' continued unabated until James's death in 1625.

Even James's bishops were divided over the consequences of royal policy. Moderate opinion held that those with scruples against the innovations should be treated with forbearance.[154] 'A diversity of ceremonies wer consistent with [kirk] unity', proclaimed Patrick Lindsay, bishop of Ross, 'unless [that] diversity ran close to the Constitution of the Church'.[155] In other words, the issue of ceremony became a problem only in the enforcement, not if left to conscience. To this argument David Lindsay, one of the king's most ardent supporters and bishop of Brechin,[156] replied:

> It [has] been well reasoned on the other side...that unity in religion might well consist with diversity in ceremonies...[but] when one side held things indifferent, and the other necessary, the one must needs be a heresy, and therefore not to be tollerat in the same Kirk...[157]

But Lindsay of Ross feared the implications of completely alienating the presbyterian faction. He had no difficulty with the notion of ceremony in itself - which might be admitted as

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153. James was particularly swayed by the argument of Theodore Hay of Peebles, a much respected minister. Hay had conformed in 1610, and was proposed as minister of Edinburgh in 1621, but not chosen; *Fasti*, I, p.286.
154. A conference was convened at St Andrews to dicuss the issue in November 1619; see *SBC*, p.167.
155. *Ibid.*, p.168.
156. In 1619 Lindsay's uncompromising *Reasons of a pastors resolution, touching the communion*, London, 1619 was published, a work which was hardly intended to calm matters.
157. *SBC*, p.168.

adiaphora - but foresaw great problems in enforcing the same, as the only way in which this could be done was through the royal prerogative. The latter meant changing the constitution of the kirk, which was precisely the cause of the problem. The key lay in keeping the two issues separate, not - as Lindsay of Brechin insisted - on making the one a condition of the other. Otherwise, thought Ross, the unity of the kirk would be stretched to breaking point. By 1620 such a threat appeared very real, with widespread prosecutions for non-conformity running at the equivalent of one every nine days. The situation had progressively worsened since 1617, and the controversy had penetrated well beyond the capital itself. As Table 7 (overleaf) indicates, between 1617 and 1624 the High Commission and Privy Council prosecuted over one hundred cases of non-conformity amongst the ministry and their lay supporters, forty-two of them in 1620 alone. The geographical extent of these prosecutions is illustrated by Map 4 (overleaf), which shows that dissent in the mid quarter remained strong, whilst all of the south's eleven presbyteries were now involved, and the incidence of non-conformity in the west was growing rapidly. Of the thirty-three presbyteries which comprised the mid, west, and south sectors, twenty-three (70%) had registered dissent by 1624.

It was only in the north that support appeared to be falling away, and some comment needs to be made on this point. In 1617 Patrick Forbes, laird of Corse, succeeded his cousin Alexander in the see of Aberdeen.[158] Patrick claimed, in a similar vein to Cowper, that he had accepted the see only after 'great anxiety of mind', and because of the likelihood that a refusal would 'incurre his Majesties wrath'.[159] With controversy over the 'Five Articles' already evident, Forbes nevertheless protested to Spottiswood that he was 'unwilling to enforce the ceremonies upon others'.[160]

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158. Alexander Forbes succeeded Peter Blackburn in the see of Aberdeen in 1616, but died a year or so later.
159. Forbes to Thomas Mitchell [minister of Udny], February, 1617, in *The Funeral Sermons of Patrick Forbes*, Edinburgh, 1845, p.205.
160. SBC, p.88.

Table 7

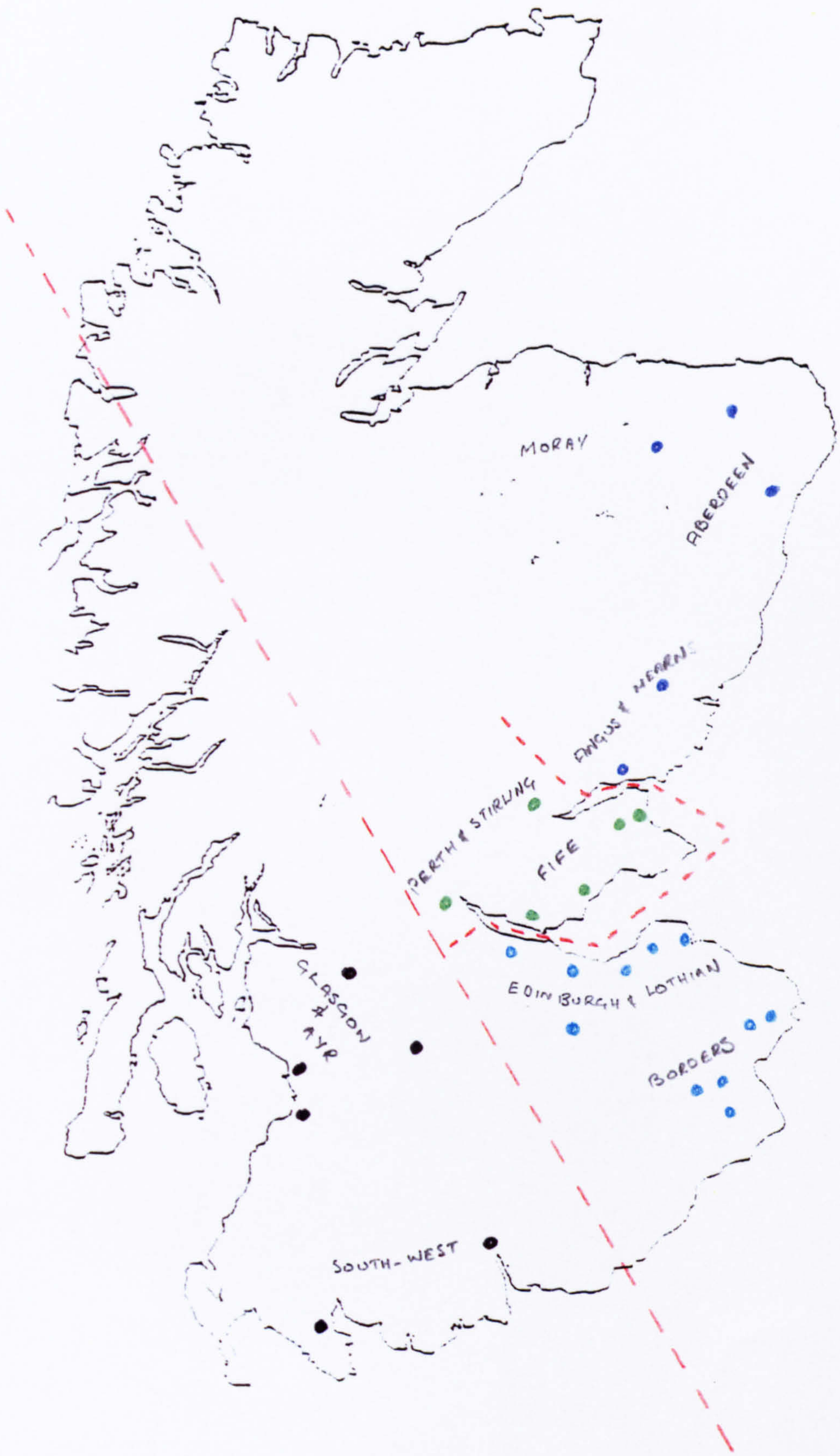
Prosecutions for non-conformity 1617-1624 (by quarters)

Qtr	Area	Presbytery	Total 1617-24	Total 1620
Mid	Fife	St Andrews	08	05
.....		Kirkcaldy	07	03
.....		Cupar	06	03
.....		Dunfermline	06	02
Mid	Perth	Perth	01	00
Totals			28	13
Sth	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	38	09
.....		Linlithgow	01	00
.....	Lothian	Dalkeith	03	02
.....		Haddington	02	01
.....		Dunbar	01	01
.....	Borders	Duns	05	04
.....		Melrose	05	02
.....		Jedburgh	05	00
.....		Chirnside	04	03
.....		Kelso	01	01
Totals			65	23
Wst	Glasgow	Glasgow	05	02
.....		Irvine	01	00
.....		Ayr	04	02
.....		Lanark	01	01
.....	South-west	Dumfries	01	01
.....		Wigtown	02	00
Totals			14	06
Overall Totals			106	42

Source: Calderwood, *History*, VI & VII, *passim*; Row, *History*, passim; Scott, *Fasti*, I-VII, *passim*; *R.P.C.S.*, Series 1 & 2, *passim*; G.I.R.McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission 1610-38', in *R.S.C.H.S.*, XV, III, 1965, *passim*.

Map 4

Protest & Prosecution - 1617 - 1624



● NORTH QTR: ● MID QTR: ● SOUTH QTR: ● WEST QTR

Forbes' personal philosophy was that it was possible to obey the letter of the law without acknowledging the substance of the matter to be right or wrong. In this way (at least in his own opinion) one could avoid schism in the kirk, whilst at the same time satisfying the pangs of conscience. Indeed, Forbes advised Calderwood at his trial to adopt the same stance, for

> ye may sayes ye obey an unjust sentence, howbeit ye do not acknowledge it...[161]

Later, at the 'privie conference' of St Andrews in 1619, Forbes once again 'urged the brethren only to give way for the present, for the kings satisfaction'.[162] Forbes' views were shared by others amongst the northern bishops, such as the above mentioned Patrick Lindsay of Ross,[163] George Graham of Orkney,[164] and John Abernethy of Caithness.[165] In fact, of the northern bishops, only David Lyndsay of Brechin adopted the 'hard-line' approach. Forbes believed that the 'generalitie wer possessed with such prejudices' against the articles that

> their introduction would be the occasion of mobbs and confusions in the nation, and schismes and contentions in the church...[166]

Thus unless the northern bishops received a direct order to enforce conformity in the dioceses, they were unlikely to go out of their

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161. Calderwood, 'Trew relatioun', f.4v.
162. William Scot, *An Apologetical narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1846, p.270.
163. See above, p.254.
164. Graham disclaimed episcopacy at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, and retired to his estates in Perthshire; *Fasti*, VII, p.353.
165. Abernethy, bishop of Caithness from 1618 to 1639, was notorious for his non-residence; Scot, *Apologetical narration*, p.321; Calderwood, 'Trew Relatioun', f.9r. The bishop lived on his estate at Jedburgh (Borders), where his brother, Thomas, was also minister of Eckford. Thomas was ordered before the High Commission in 1622 (at the instance of Andrew Lamb, bishop of Galloway, whose support for royal policy was unconditional) for failing to observe the 'Five Articles'. John Abernethy delayed the case for over a year, until it was eventually 'passed over'; *Fasti*,, II, p.110. Thus ties of kinship coupled with issues of conscience were capable of effectively negating royal policy in the localities, and in the process could set bishop against bishop.
166. *SBC*, p.94.

way to do so and thereby cause unrest. For his part, James was obsessed with the situation in Edinburgh, and remained so until 1625. In addition, between 1617 and 1621 the attendance of his northern bishops was constantly required at the capital for conferences, assemblies, sittings of the High Commission, and the two parliaments. The conclusion to be drawn from such a scenario must be that the evidence of High Commission prosecutions are of little use as a guide to the situation regarding conformity (or non-conformity, as the case may be) in the kirk's northern quarter during this period.[167]

What is known is that at Edinburgh in 1619 the kirk session was in uproar over the issue, with conformist ministers under siege as 'apostats' who had 'left the trueth'.[168] The meeting had been convened on the complaint of Alexander Clerk - baillie of the city - that several of the burgh's deacons were refusing to assist at the tables in the presence of kneeling communicants. As John Inglis put it, 'men cannot serve contrarie to their mynd', and to command them to do otherwise - added John Mein - smacked of the 'tyrannie' of 'lordlie government'. That these men were merchants, not ministers, demonstrated the extent to which such arguments had penetrated society. Just as in the assembly, all men were 'but a sessioner heir', and Mein refused to be expelled by the king's ministers. 'Let them putt me out that putt me in heir', said Mein, 'and I sall not cummer you: as for anie particulare man, I will not acknowledge their discharge'. This amounted to a repudiation of the king's authority, and Patrick Galloway (the king's senior minister) noted it well, warning Mein that:

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167. G.I.McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission 1610-38', *RSCHS*, XV, pt.III, 1965, remains the only authoritative text to be produced on the courts of High Commission in Scotland. Nearly all the cases he cites during the reign of James, however, are drawn from Calderwood's *History*. McMahon did not give the dates of the cases he cited, but with two exceptions (those of John Malcolm and Henry Livingstone) all of the prosecutions occurred between 1617 and 1624, and by far the majority between 1617 and 1621.; see *Ibid.*, pp.200-201.

168. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.362.

> the kings Majestie sall be informed: there cannot be a king in this countrie if this be suffered...[169]

In Glasgow the episcopalian establishment was in hardly less turmoil, with the high-profile prosecution of the University's Principal, Robert Boyd. In his letter of resignation Boyd informed James bluntly that what 'the whol kirk of this kingdome' had approved, the king alone could not change, and denied the legitimacy of the 'pretended Assembly' of 1618.[170] The University's rector, Robert Scott, followed Boyd's lead and was hauled before the High Commission for refusing to recognise the 'Five Articles'. Scott, an erstwhile 'moderate' presbyterian, had been minister of the city's High Kirk - St Mungo's - since 1604, but had signed the Protestation of 1617.[171] Faced with such opposition, James Law, archbishop of Glasgow, re-iterated the sentiments of the bishop of Ross in an impassioned sermon to the synod of Glasgow. 'Wheras before the zeal of the house of God ate up Christ', said Law, now:

> the zeal of the people eats up the kirk, and as Christ was crucified betwixt two theives, so is his kirk now betwixt Papists and Schismaticks [presbyterians]...[172]

The truth of the matter was, the archbishop informed his audience, that 'the things in question in our kirk were neither commanded nor forbidden in Gods word but left indifferent'. They were mere 'trifles', and the 'pamphleteers pamphlet that called kneeling idolatry was but a false lie'.[173] But creating presbyterian martyrs over the issue, warned Law, was counter-productive, because - even if the 'zeal' of the people was 'blind' - they:

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169. *Ibid.*, p.363. Mein was later prosecuted for his non-conformity. On Mein and Inglis see also Chapters II and III.
170. Quoted in Reid, *Divinity Principals*, I, p.149.
171. *Fasti*, III, p.456.
172. 'Sermon on John ii, 17', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, No.93.
173. *Ibid.*. Law is here refering to Calderwood's pamphlet on the *Perth Assembly*.

> get credit with [the] people and the[ir] purse filled...They will say that they suffer righteousness even as Diascorus, when he suffered for heresy, cried out, [']I suffer for righteousnes sake[']...[174]

As was the case with Lindsay of Ross,[175] Law sought to achieve compromise rather than conflict, before the situation deteriorated either into schism within the kirk or general revolt - or both.

Given the difficult task which faced Spottiswood and his fellow bishops by the early 1620s, James's response to his Scottish problems must have provided cold comfort. By 1625 only seven, out of a possible total of twenty-five ministers of the presbytery of Edinburgh, were unqualified supporters of the king's policies.[176] Four of the seven were post-1620 appointees: William Forbes of St Giles [1621];[177] John Maxwell of Trinity [1622];[178] James Hannay of Canongate [1624];[179] and James Fairlie of Leith [1625];[180] and they joined Andrew Ramsay of Greyfriars; and Patrick Galloway and Thomas Sydserff of St Giles. Each of these ministers was widely regarded as holding Arminian views, and in particular the sermons of Forbes caused much unrest. As John Row of Carnock later put it, such:

> a strange miscellaneous farrago and hotch potch of Popery, Arminianisme, Lutheranisme, and what not...wer never heard...till Doctor Forbes came to Edinburgh...[181]

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174. *Ibid.*. See also Spottiswood's comment on the same issue (above, p.114).
175. See above, p.254.
176. Non-conformists: James Thomson of Colinton [1598], was still refusing to accept the 'Five Articles' in 1634; Michael Cranston of Cramond[1590], a supporter of exiled ministers in 1606; Charles Lumsden of Duddingston, signed protestation of 1617; William Struthers of St Giles, openly defying the king by 1625; William Arthur of St Cuthberts, still defying the bishop's instructions in 1634; John Cranston of Liberton, son of Michael C., with many dissident connections; John Dunlop of Ratho, covenanter in 1637. No known affiliation: Matthew Leighton of Currie; Henry Charteris of Leith; John Tennant of Calder. David Lindsay of Leith needed the services of an unknown assistant in 1616 'on account of his weakness'; the situation had not changed by 1625.
177. Forbes became bishop of Edinburgh in 1634.
178. Maxwell became bishop of Ross in 1630.
179. Maxwell became bishop of Ross in 1630.
180. Fairlie was appointed bishop of Argyle in 1637, but not consecrated.
181. *SBC*, p.262.

To suggest therefore, that by 'the close of James' reign the chief opponents of the liturgical articles of 1618 had at least been intimidated and silenced',[182] is hardly correct. James's action in foisting William Forbes of Aberdeen on an Edinburgh populace still highly aggrieved over the 'Five Articles' in 1621, was something even the wisest of fools might have avoided. From the outset, Forbes preached a doctrine 'smelling of Arminian and Popish' tenets, and against the 'Catechisme and Confession of Faith' (of 1581),[183] which ensured that the controversy was maintained into the reign of Charles I. The improper manner of Forbes's election[184] to the ministry at St Giles remained a matter of dispute four years later,[185] and his adherence to the 'Five Articles' left him 'despised at Edinburgh because of his violence and passion' in enforcing them.[186] In 1623 Forbes gave a sermon which rounded fiercely on those

> unskilful and ignorant men in the ministry, who carry away the people and fill them with wind, in so far that they stood at kneeling in communicating,[187] wheras standing or kneeling wer but trifles...[188]

By 1624, William Struthers had attacked Forbes for seeking agreement 'betwixt light and darkness, betwixt Christ and Beliall, between the the kirk of God and idols', and at 'Michaelmass 1626' a reviled and snubbed Forbes begged leave from the king to return to Aberdeen.[189]

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182. McMahon, *op.cit.*, p.200.
183. *SBC*, p.250. That Forbes was having to preach thus demonstrates how little impact the new catechism and Confession of Faith had by 1621, and why Edinburgh Town Council experienced difficulty in offloading its 1500 copies; see above p.248, n.131.
184. 'ther were present 200 citizens, who wer not admitted to vote as was alwise done in elections formerly, and they wer against Mr Forbes; *SBC*, p.248.
185. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.580-631.
186. *SBC*, p.253.
187. Forbes appears to be referring to the problems of John Michaelson, minister of Burntisland and a supporter of episcopacy, who inherited a staunchly non-conformist congregation in 1616. In an effort to get them to kneel at communion, he had all the benches removed from the kirk but many of his congregation responded by receiving the sacrament standing.
188. *SBC*, p.249.
189. Forbes pleaded 'weakness of body', but such infirmity was not helped by his unpopularity; *Fasti*, I, p.69.

As a consequence of the intrusion of conformist ministers on the kirk at Edinburgh, and their consequent enforcement of the article on kneeling, people began to desert the city-centre services in large numbers. In 1623, Forbes - not for the first time - preached a sermon at St Giles which 'found great fault with the people that went out of Edinburgh and communicat at other kirks sitting'.[190] A favourite resort for troubled consciences after the introduction of such innovation was the kirk of St Cuthberts. Its ministers, Richard Dickson and William Arthur, were before the High Commission in 1619 for administering the communion in the presbyterian form, 'when many citizens of Edinburgh, leaving their own churches, were partakers'. In an attempt to discourage such activity, Dickson was deprived of his charge and imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle.[191] By 1625, however, as a result of the patronage of Anne, marchioness of Hamilton,[192] Dickson had been re-admitted to Kinneil, in the parish of Linlithgow. He was afterwards a member of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638.[193] Arthur, a long-time friend of Spottiswood, was acquitted, and continued to serve communion at St Cuthberts after the old manner. He was still refusing to 'submit to the Bishop's instructions' over the issue in 1634.[194] If Charles I inherited a kingdom at peace with the rest of the world in 1625, he did not inherit one at peace with itself.

IV

Such problems were not confined to Edinburgh and its environs. John Row of Carnock, in the presbytery of Dunfermline, was in trouble with the High Commission in 1619 and 1621, for 'non-conformity and opposition to Prelacy'. On the first occasion Row could not attend due to illness, but was represented at the hearing

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190. *SBC*, p.249.
191. *Fasti*, I, p.95.
192. Anne was a staunch presbyterian supporter, and involved in the organisation of resistance in 1637; see above, Chapter III.
193. *Fasti*, I, p.211.
194. *Ibid.*, I, p.95.

by his 'nephew' John Skene, third son to Sir John, Lord Curriehill - a man to whom 'all the bishops were much obliged'.[195] The minister was acquitted. On Row's second appearance, Sir George Bruce of Carnock, a wealthy landowner of Fife with distinct presbyterian sympathies,[196] intervened on the minister's behalf and - despite the fact that the Commission deposed two others at this hearing - Row was merely confined to his own parish. Thereafter people travelled from far and wide to hear him preach, and in 1635 the communicants at his Carnock parish occupied no fewer than seventeen tables. In 1638 Row took an honoured seat at the Glasgow Assembly.[197]

Row's example was not an isolated case. Robert Colville had been minister of Culross (also in the presbytery of Dunfermline) since 1593. He was a signatory of the Protestation against the introduction of episcopacy in 1606, and of that in favour of the 'liberties of the kirk' in 1617.[198] As genealogical tree 5 (overleaf) shows, Colville was the son of Alexander, commendator of Culross, and brother-in law to Elizabeth Melville, a fervently dissident matron and author of the highly regarded presbyterian anthem *Ane Godlie Dreame*.[199] Her husband, John Colville, owned lands at 'Lurg et Kincardin' (hence Elizabeth's more familiar title of 'Lady

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195. John Spottiswoode, *The History of the Church of Scotland: 1655*, London, 1972, p.545; Row, *History*, pp.325, 328, 336-337; *Fasti*, V, pp.7-8.

196. Sir George of Carnock mined coal deposits in the area and was said to have presented a 'weightie argument' in favour of Row, which included a promise to Spottiswoode that if he sent 'up a vessel every year to Culross...I shall see her laden with good coals' [*Ibid.*, pun in the original]. Sir George was related to Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, father of the deprived minister Robert Bruce (minister of St Giles) who died in 1631. Robert's cousin James was non-conformist minister of Kingsbarns in the presbytery of St Andrews, and a close confidant of Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars. Other members of the family who owned lands in the area included Sir John Bruce of Kingscavil (near Linlithgow), whose son Robert was minister of Aberdour in the presbytery of Dunfermline, and a covenanting supporter; *Ibid.*, I, pp.54-55, V, p.2, 215.

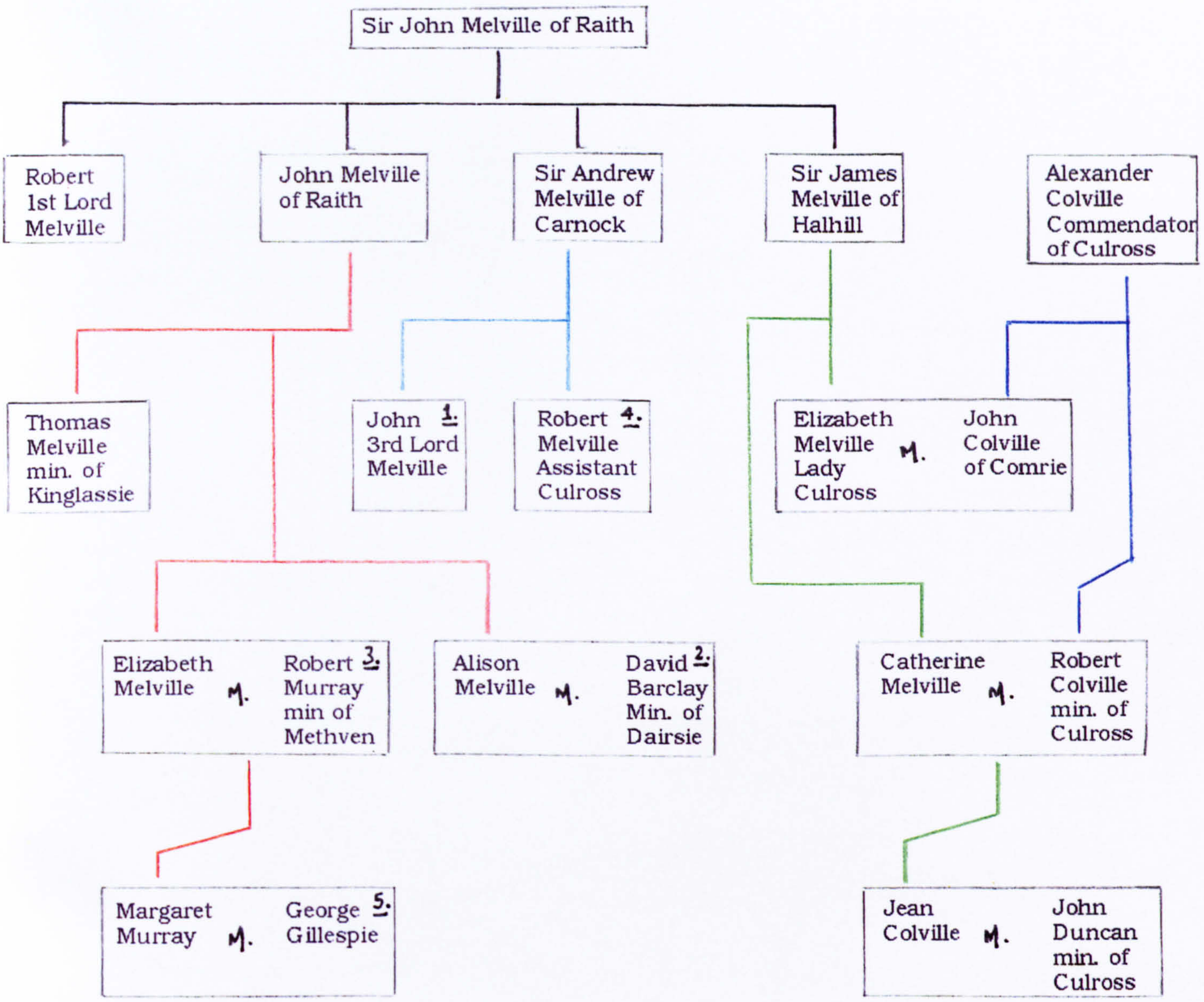
197. *Ibid.*, V, pp.7-8; Row, *History*, pp.325-326, 328, 336-337; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.519, 539, 600-601, 610.

198. *Fasti*, V, p.14. See Table 6 (above).

199. See above, Chapters III and V.

Tree 5

Local patronage and family connections in Fife.



1. Opposed episcopacy at the parliament of 1633.
2. Suspended from preaching by the High Commission in 1620.
3. Before the High Commission in 1620: signed Calderwood's protestation of 1617; member G.A. 1638.
4. Discharged from preaching 1629
5. Tutor to James (later sixth earl) Cassilis, and also John, Viscount Kenmure, both opponents of episcopacy in the 1630s. Author of *A dispute against the English popish ceremonies obtruded upon the church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1637.

Culross'),[200] and was an elder of Culross kirk session. Despite his consistent opposition to episcopacy, Robert Colville was never prosecuted. Through the influence of John Colville and his wife, the kirk session of Culross had granted their elderly and much respected minister the services of an 'assistant', Robert Melville, by 1629.[201] Elizabeth and her husband persuaded their cousin[202] to 'assist' the aged Colville, but he could not be prevailed upon to to become the minister of the parish 'without a free and lawful entry'[203] to the benefice. Melville's conscience would not allow him to be silent over the intrusion of episcopacy on the kirk.

As has been discussed above, it was common for members of an incumbent's family to succeed to the care of the parish,[204] a practice with which the bishops seldom interfered, even though the settlement of 1610 had left the final decision over presentation to particular benefices in their hands. On hearing of Melville's 'appointment', and having been informed of his 'learning, zeal and painfulnes', Adam Bellenden (bishop of Dunblane) went to hear the minister preach.[205] Not one to miss such an opportunity, Melville gave the bishop an object lesson in humility which is worth recording at length. 'We see the way wherby our Lord went to his glory was by humility and suffering', said Melville, and 'so must Christs members do', but:

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200. The lands of 'Lurg et Kincardin' formerly belonged to the abbey of Culross; *Registrum Magni Sigilli: Regum Scotorum*, ed. J.M.Thomson, Edinburgh, (various dates), IX, 1609-1620, p.4.
201. *Fasti*, V, p.14.
202. Elizabeth was the daughter of the diplomat and historian Sir James Melville, author of *Memoirs of his own time* [Edinburgh, 1865]. Robert was the son of her uncle, Sir Andrew Melville of 'Woodend and Garnock' (probably a mis-spelling of Carnock); *Fasti*, II, p.62; *SBC*, p.113.
203. For Melville this meant admission by the presbytery, after the old manner. He would not consent to being admitted by the bishop, as he regarded that office itself as unlawful. The presbytery appears to have appointed him as assistant regardless of the bishop.
204. See above, esp. Chapter 1.
205. *SBC*, p.113.

> by the contrary, the way to endles shame is when they take to themselves honours contrary to Gods word - as ye Sir! and the rest of the brethren who hes taken lordship to themselves in Gods kirk. Ye enjoy honnours indeed for a short time, but your shame and pain shall be eternall until ye repent. I speak it in love, and say it again, though I should never speak more from this place - that you and the rest of you who bear down Gods servants, and count them fools for their suffering on account of such things as they suffer for - that one day you shall count them wise, and yourselves fools, that for so short a preferment and small profites, hes brought yourselves to endles shame and torment in hell-fire, except in time ye repent...[206]

If Robert Colville - as was the case with the majority of ministers - had his retirement to look to,[207] Melville operated under no such stricture, for he possessed 'no stipend or ordinary provision'. He therefore looked for no 'favour at this or any other bishops hand', and could speak for those who had been silenced. A frustrated and angered Bellenden, who had already noted the presence of 'sundry persons there who wer opposed to bishops and one who had been silenced', discharged Melville from preaching.[208] But in reality he was powerless to oppose the machinations of the kirk session at Culross, who then appointed Robert Colville's equally non-conformist son-in-law John Duncan to be his replacement. When the bishop objected to this new source of trouble, the joint patronage of John Colville and George Bruce of Culross was brought to bear, and Bellenden withdrew to lick his wounds. Robert Melville, who protested (no doubt with genuine feeling) that 'all was in love', continued to 'assist' at Culross until accepting a benefice at Simprin, in the presbytery of Chirnside, under the covenanting administration of 1641.[209]

It was not always the case that family concerns would take precedence in the matter of presentations to benefices, especially if the latter happened to clash with powerful local patronage. At

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206. *Ibid.*, p.113.
207. It has been argued above that the majority of ministers were not 'prosperous', and that the need to safeguard their stipend and pensions was a major contributory factor to so-called 'conformity'; see above, esp. Chapter I.
208. *SBC*, p.113-114.
209. *Ibid.*; *Fasti*, II, p.62.

Scoonie, in the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, the Lamont family had ministered to the parish since 1580. Alan Lamont had six sons, all of whom were ministers, including Thomas his 'colleague' since 1614, and Walter his 'assistant' from around 1620.[210] When Lamont senior died in 1630, the presentation of his son Walter to the benefice would normally have been expected to pass almost without comment, but in this case the family's presbyterian credentials were highly suspect.[211] Thus the appointment was opposed by both William Rig of Athernie, a non-conformist of long-standing,[212] and also by the 'Laird of Durie'.[213] The two succeeded in gaining the transfer of their own nominee, the dissident Robert Cranston and a relative of Rig, from the parish of Kettle in the presbytery of Cupar.[214] Cranston had been assistant to his father - William - since 1626. The latter minister had long been opposed to episcopacy and was deprived by the High Commission in 1620.[215] William's daughter, Sarah, had now married a suitable young expectant minister - John Ramsay - and the move to Scoonie provided Robert with a charge of his own; Ramsay and his new wife with the guarantee of future employment;[216] and William with security in his old age. In 1637 there were two more ministers in debt to the power of local patronage (and one fewer in support of episcopacy, Walter Lamont having gone to Ireland). Robert Cranston was a member of the

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210. The difference here is that a 'colleague' was a full minister, possessing a 'second charge'. This was unusual in such a tiny parish as it placed the burden of an additional stipend on the community. 'Assistants' were generally supported by the minister himself

211. Lamont's eldest son Andrew was the conformist minister of the neighbouring parish of Markinch, and was deprived by the covenanting regime in 1639. Only one of the family was still ministering in Scotland after this date, and he - James, minister of Kinettles [Forfar] - was deprived in 1649; *Fasti*, V, pp. 112, 116-7, 294.

212. Rig was a merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and owned lands in Athernie, Fife. He was the brother-in-law of John Row of Carnock, and a consistant supporter of presbyterian resistance; see above, Chapters II and III.

213. Alexander Gibson, Lord Durie. He was Johnston of Wariston's uncle. See below, genealogical tree 8.

214. *Fasti*, V, p. 117. See below, genealogical tree 6.

215. *Fasti*, V. p. 158.

216. Ramsay was admitted minister on William Cranston's death in 1633, serving the charge until his own death in 1666; *Ibid*..

Glasgow Assembly in 1638, where he was able to help ensure that such a system was maintained.

This mixture of local power politics and family patronage militated against the ability of episcopal authority to 'silence' dissent and control resistance by 'intimidation'. When David Anderson (minister of Ballingry near Kinross) was asked by the bishop in 1620 if he administered the communion in accordance with the 'Five Articles', he replied simply that 'my parochiners will not receive it after that manner from me'.[217] Neither Anderson, nor his 'parochiners' were further troubled - the minister died in 1646 having served his parish uninterruptedly for forty years. In the neighbouring presbytery of Kirkcaldy, John Scrimgeour, who along with Colville, had participated in the loud protests against episcopacy of 1606 and 1617, was confined to Kinghorn following his deprivation in 1620.[218] Nevertheless, he attended services at Culross, and was doubtless the 'one who had been silenced' to whom the irate bishop of Dunblane had referred after Melville's offending sermon.[219] John Scrimgeour's colleague and reader at Kinghorn was Thomas Biggar - a cousin of Robert Colville - who as 'scribe to the session' was removed from his position for non-conformity at the instigation of the new minister, Alexander Scrimgeour, in 1621. Biggar was not alone, for the latter had also displaced several other members of the kirk session for refusing to kneel at communion. Yet such 'conforme' ministers alienated the membership of the session at the risk, as with Forbes of Edinburgh, of losing their congregations. Where local patronage went, those who depended upon the same for their livings followed. By 1622 Scrimgeour was suffering accordingly. As a result, Spottiswood was forced to attend the parish and arrange a compromise, which included reinstating the offenders to their

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217. *Ibid.*, V, p.58.
218. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.423.
219. *SBC*, p.114.

former position on the session. Thomas Biggar died 'while registrateing the proceidings of the Session' in 1641.[220]

It is interesting that Spottiswood should intrude a Scrimgeour on the parish of Kinghorn in 1620, and it seems likely that he did so in an attempt to quell local disquiet over the affair. If so, he failed: 'none of the people consenting' to the admission of the new minister, 'except John Boswell of Piteddie'.[221] As Melville's offending sermon of 1629 demonstrated, the enmity earned by the event was never forgotten, and Scrimgeour would almost certainly have been deposed by the covenanting regime in 1639 had not death intervened on behalf of the minister in April of that year. In any event such examples are testimony to the fact that so-called 'radical' presbyterianism was alive and well in Fife, and had not slunk sulkily away to the south-west corner of Scotland, been 'intimidated' into silence, or 'acquiesced' by 1624.[222] Thomas Hogg, minister of Dysart in the presbytery of Kirkcaldy from 1607, was deprived by the High Commission in 1619 for disobeying the 'Five Articles', and confined to Orkney 'during His Majesties pleasure'.[223] At his trial Hogg, adopting a line of defence first used by Andrew Melville in the 1580s, denied the jurisdiction of the court. In what was a logical response following such a denial, he then simply returned to Dysart and continued his ministry as before. At this, the Synod was instructed to take action, and in 1620 Hogg was once again deposed from his ministry and ordered to Orkney. In 1624 however, Hogg was still preaching at Dysart and the weight of the Privy Council was brought to bear. After considering his case the Council solved the dilemma by imposing upon Hogg the only sentence that it could be sure he would obey, and confined the minister to Dysart. Although thrown upon the goodwill of his parishioners for support, the Council's sentence

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220. *Fasti*, V, pp.93-94. Thomas Biggar was a member of the Wilkie 'dynasty', see above, genealogical tree 1.
221. *Ibid.*, V, p.94.
222. M. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638' in M.Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*, Oxford, 1985, p.253; McMahon, *op.cit.*, p.200; Donaldson, 'Emergence of Schism', p.209.
223. *Fasti*, V, p.88; Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.257-261.

amounted to a licence for Hogg to continue in his ministry, and by 1630 the unrepentant minister and his congregation had returned to the pre-1619 *status quo* - whilst his unfortunate and financially deprived 'successor', William Spittal, was imprisoned for debt.[224] As a consequence Spottiswood was forced into the farcical situation of having to ban his own nominee from preaching within the bounds of the parish. Spittal was finally released from the proceedings against him in 1633, but - impecunious and ignored - he had demitted his charge and departed for Ireland by 1635.

Meanwhile Hogg, although still officially deprived of his ministry, became an important cog in the wheels of resistance. In 1633 it was he who presented the *Greivances & petitions concerning the estate of the reformed kirk* to the commissioners of the parliament of 1633, a document drawn up:

> be me Mr Thomas Hogge, minister of the Evangall, in myne owne name, & in the name of otheris of the ministerie likewise greeved...[225]

In the *Petitions* Hogg outlined six 'greivances', beginning with the improper assumption of ecclesiastical power by bishops, and ranging from the illegality of ministers voting in parliament, to the failure of the king to allow yearly general assemblies. To add to these long-standing complaints, Hogg cited the unlawfulness of the use of the High Commission to censure ministers, the illegality of the 'Five Articles', and the fact that many ministers no longer swore the oath contained in the *Shorte Confession* on their entry to the ministry. With regard to the particularly contentious subject of kneeling to receive the sacrament, Hogg issued a clear appeal to the days of Knox:

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224. *Fasti*, V, p.88.
225. 'Greivances & Petitions concerning the estate of the refomed kirk...be me Mr Thomas Hogge...', NLS, *Wodrow MSS*, Fol.XLIII, f.255r&v.

> It was declared by act of parliament in the year 1567[226] that suche onlie wer to be acknowledged members of the reformed kirk, as did p[ar]ticipate of the sacraments as they wer then [latelie] ministered, which was w[i]t[h]out kneeling in the act of recieving the sacramental elements of the supper...[227]

And, the minister continued in a less than veiled warning as to what was expected of the king himself:

> that it wes statut and ordained in the same parliament that all kings sould give their oath[228] at ther coronation to maintaine the religion then professed...[229]

There appears to be no extant record of just how many ministers signed Hogg's petition, but it is apparent that the document was widely circulated.[230] At the parliament itself John, third Lord Melville, informed the king bluntly that:

> I disagrie from those articles concluded aganis the former ordour of this kirk, because your majesties father (of good memory), after he had sworn himself, caused me and all the kingdome to sweare and subscryve to the Confession of Faith that was then sett doune, wherin all thir things that now are comeing in are rejected by our kirk...[231]

As is detailed in the preceding family tree, Lord Melville's brother was Thomas, covenanting minister of Kinglassie: his eldest sister Alison was married to David Barclay, minister of Dairsie in the

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226. With the deposition of Mary in 1567, Knox sought to protect the Reformation settlement by having Parliament pass an article which subjected kings to the 'law of god alsweil in Deutronome as in [the] ellevint cheptoure of [the] secund buke of kingis'. Its purpose was to subject the young king James VI to a renewed covenant 'between the Lord and the king and the people' [2 Kings, XI, 17]; *APS*, III, p.39. It is to this act that Hogg was referring. Its authors were John Knox, John Row (minister of Perth, and father of John Row of Carnock), and John Craig (minister of Edinburgh).

227. Hogg, *Grelvances & petitions*, f.255r.

228. The regent Moray swore the oath on the part of James at his coronation in 1567, whilst Knox preached a sermon from the Second Book of Kings; M.Lynch, *Scotland: A new history*, London, 1991, p.219. In 1581 James also swore the oath contained in the *Shorte Confession*.

229. Hogg, *Grelvances & petitions*, f.255r.

230. Samuel Rutherford was responsible for circulating the document in the south-west, and he received it from Edinburgh; see above, Chapter III, and references there cited.

231. Row, *History*, p.367.

presbytery of Cupar since 1590, and a long-standing opponent of episcopacy; and his younger sister Elizabeth was married to Robert Murray, minister of Methven near Perth, and a leading conspirator in the organisation of the Edinburgh riots of 1637.

V

The legacy which James left his son was therefore the very 'confusion...of imagined Democracie' which he set out to avoid in 1596. Men such as George Bruce of Culross and William Rigg of Athernie retained a considerable amount of political power, and they used it to protect their ministers. In addition to this demonstration of dissent in the localities, recent research has concluded that tensions within the merchant community of Edinburgh 'were at breaking point over religious policy by 1624', and it has been asserted above that this was in support of - rather than despite - the city's ministers.[232]

Controlling the assembly of the kirk was only half the battle for James, as the real strength of presbyterianism lay in the presbyteries and sessions. James' twin policies of bribery and intimidation were also largely unsuccessful. He lacked the resources to purchase submission, and intimidation merely added to a simmering resentment. In 1620 John Reid of Logie-Buchan (in the presbytery of Ellon, near Aberdeen) could not reside in his parish for 'the want of peats and of a sufficient glebe', whilst even in 1639 Thomas Tullidaff 'had no better securitie [than] the soume of 400 merkes (£11 sterling) a-yeare'. The latter's two sons were schoolmasters and kirk-sessioners in Ellon, whilst John Reid's cousin Adam was minister of the neighbouring parish of Methlick. It was little wonder that Robert Reid, brother to John, attended the assembly in 1605 to ask for such defects to be remedied, or that their chosen representive to Edinburgh in 1617 - John Mercer of

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232. J.J.Brown, 'The Social, Political and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638', unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh, 1986, II, p.379. Brown also asserts that 'the town's ministers refused to involve themselves in the protests against the Five Articles of Perth' [*Ibid.*, p.370], which is clearly not the case.

Methlick - should sign Calderwood's protestation whilst there.[233] The very fact that such complaints had not been satisfactorily redressed by 1638 meant that neither Robert Reid or John Mercer had to be 'covenanters' to sign the covenant - although both did, and the latter family at least, were staunch supporters of the regime.[234]

As the above short case-study of Fife has shown, it is by no means clear that - by the 1630s - Charles I and his bishops had managed to erode significantly the screen of local patronage which surrounded the presbyteries, and protected the ministers. But the king's problems were not peculiar to Fife. Just three years into the new king's reign there was renewed dissent at Edinburgh over orders to observe communion at Easter, and in 1628 ministers 'from all quarters, except out of the North' met in the capital to draw up a petition calling for Charles to allow a 'lawful general assembly' to debate the ongoing religious problems.[235] The absence of a delegate from the kirk's northern quarter suggests no more than that the gathering was convened hurriedly (or perhaps was concerned to maintain secrecy),[236] since on this occasion there are reports of dissent in the north-east. In 1627 Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen, had found it necessary to warn the synod against rumours that there was to be 'no more din of conformity'. The bishop made it clear that he would enforce a direct order on the observance of the 'Five Articles', telling his audience to

> beguile not yourselves. I will make the best of you conforme...[237]

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233. See above, Table 6.
234. *Fasti*, VI, pp. 186-208.
235. Scot, *Apologeticall narration*, p.316-317.
236. There was concern that the meeting would be declared illegal, as had happened in 1606. Following standard practice, ministers therefore took 'instruments' declaring that their gathering was not an assembly; see *Ibid.*.
237. *SBC*, pp.88-89.

These were hardly the words of a man who rested in the comfort of a 'conforme' diocese. It appears that Forbes' warning was not unwarranted, since in 1628 a concerned Alexander Lunan, minister of Kintore (Garioch), wrote to John Forbes (son of Patrick) at Marischal College requesting his advice on eight questions raised by an adherence to the 'Five Articles'.[238] In response Forbes penned his *Irenicum*, the stated purpose of which was to allay fears amongst the ministry. Accordingly, he defended kneeling at communion in particular, and the 'Five Articles' in general, as *adiaphora*. Forbes also followed his father in pointing out that it was not expedient to resist the current ecclesiastical authorities.[239] It is difficult to see why either Lunan or Forbes should have expressed such concerns, unless the orders for the observance of communion had produced a backlash of dissent.

In any event, the meeting of ministers at Edinburgh dispatched a supplication against kneeling at communion to court in 1628. But that which was especially worrying for the crown was that support from the nobility for the 'common cause' was beginning to grow. In 1630 a petition signed by eight prominent lords was forwarded to London. It pleaded that

> since it hath pleased God to blesse the simple forme of divine Worship... free of pomp and ceremonies, with peace and purity of doctrine [and] seeing these late Ceremonies brought in upon the kirk of Scotland were urged no otherwayes but upon assurance of freedome and libertie to all good Christians to practise them as things indifferent [we] supplicat his Sacred majestie for allowance of that libertie to pastours and their congregations...[240]

The petition was signed by the lords 'Rothesse, Cassills, Seaforth, Yester, Rosse, Balmerinoch, Melvin, [and] Lowdoun', who collectively represented all four quarters of the kirk, including the

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238. *Fasti*, VI, p.168.
239. John Forbes, *Irenicum amatoribus veritatis et pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana*, Aberdeen, 1629. On the work see D.MacMillan, *The Aberdeen Doctors*, 1909, esp. Chapter III.
240. 'General grievances to the consciences of a great many of his Majesties subjects in this Kingdome...July and August 1630', in Scot, *Apologeticall narration*, p.327.

north.[241] Five of these men had a history of dissent, as Rothes, Yester, Ross, Balmerino, and Loudon had all voted against the 'Five Articles' at the parliament of 1621.[242] The opposition of the Cassilis and Melville families to the crown's religious policy during the 1630s has already been noted, and Rothes, Balmerino and Loudon were among the 'four prime noblemen' of the covenanting revolution in 1638.[243]

It is clear that from 1610 John Spottiswood had at least a conception (if not a plan) of the shape of the Scottish kirk under episcopacy. Under such a vision, presbyteries would 'evanisch', and the seat of episcopal power was to be the diocesan synod. At the same time, the general assembly would gradually come to resemble the English house of convocation.[244] But it was not - as has been opined - the imposition of the canons of 1636, or that of the Prayer Book a year later, which wrecked the archbishop's dream.[245] Ministers were continuing to meet in defiance of the crown, and the call for matters of religion to be decided by a general assembly - on both sides of the border - was consequently louder than ever.[246] Dissidents assembled at Edinburgh to lobby the parliament of 1633 to that end just as they had done in 1606, 1617, and 1621. The strength of presbyterian opposition was in its appeal to such precedent, and its strong links with real political power in Scotland, which lay in the localities. By the 1630s the same could not be said of the bishops, who had attracted the opprobrium of all sides. The imposition of William Forbes as bishop of Edinburgh in 1634 added a great deal more fuel to the fire. As in previous years, an *Admonition* (probably by

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241. North: John Leslie, sixth earl Rothes; Colin MacKenzie, earl Seaforth. Mid: John Melville, third Lord Melville; John Elphinstone, second lord Balmerino. South: John Hay, eighth Lord Yester. West: John Kennedy, sixth earl Cassilis; John Ross, sixth Lord Ross; John Campbell, Lord Loudon.
242. Calderwood, *History*, VII, pp.498-499.
243. Wariston, *Diary*, pp.318-319.
244. *OL*, I, p.235, II, pp.445-446.
245. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.
246. See Chapter IV for the call for an assembly by Alexander Leighton and John Durie in England.

Calderwood) was soon on the streets to offer advice on how ministers should react to this controversial appointment:

> Ye are not ignorant, dear brethren, that this new Dioces is not as yet erected by authority of Parliament, or consent of the General Assembly, or people of the Diocis...Therfor, you wrong yourselves, and make light account of the libertys of the kirk, if ye acknowledge him...If ye be cited before the Holy [sic] Commission, and other bishops assist him, ye know that court is not authorized by Parliament; and further, that you are discharged by an Act made May, 1584, to obey or acknowledge any jurisdiction and judgement not authorized by the King and his Estates. Will ye use no defence, though never so relevant, because you think it will not avail? Then ye wrong the cause, ye cover their tyranny, and harden them in their usurpation...[247]

The *Admonition* repeated all the claims of earlier years: the illegality of bishops voting in parliament; the unlawfulness of the 'pretended' assembly of 1610; and the attack on the 'libertys of the kirk' in 1617. 'Consider further', added its author, 'that the urger [William Forbes] is Popish'. Finally, the association of the bishops and their High Commission with tyrannical power was explicit.[248] Thus many acts of 'gross political imprudence' wrecked Spottiswood's dream of episcopacy in Scotland, and not simply the *Service Book*.

To make matters worse the majority of the episcopate had by 1635 only a tenuous connection with the regions for which they were responsible. To some extent Charles brought this latter problem on himself. In appointing William Forbes (minister of Aberdeen, and past favourite of his father) to the newly created bishopric of Edinburgh he failed to appreciate the lessons of 1620-25. As previously detailed, Forbes was hated by the populace of the capital. The one saving grace for the king was that Forbes would - given time - have become the perfect royal 'civil servant', for he was both 'professional' and reliable'.[249] Here bad luck superseded bad

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247. 'An Admonition to my revered Bretheren of the Ministry within this new Dioces', in *SBC*, pp.258-259.
248. *Ibid.*.
249. On the 'new breed' of bishops, see (for instance) J.Goodare, 'The Nobility and the Absolutist State in Scotland, 1584-1638', *History*, 78, 1993, p.176.

practice, as Forbes died within a few weeks of his consecration. The problem was worsened by the deaths of James Law in 1633, and those of William Struthers (dean of St Giles),[250] Andrew Lamb (bishop of Galloway) in 1634, and finally that of Patrick Forbes (bishop of Aberdeen) on 'Easter eve' 1635. Patrick Lyndsay ended a long association with Ross in 1633 and moved to Glasgow. He was replaced by John Maxwell later in the same year. The latter minister was a native of Nithsdale in the west of Scotland, and had little connection with his new diocese. Thomas Sydserff (who was as unpopular as Forbes, but at least had served St Giles for two decades or so) was appointed to Galloway. David Lyndsay, who had served Brechin since 1619, was moved to Edinburgh - whilst Walter Whitford, a new appointee, was given Brechin.[251]

The obvious replacement for Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen was his son, John, who fully expected to succeed his father. This would have maintained the link between the episcopate and the Forbes in the north-east which had existed since 1600.[252] The family also had substantial holdings of land in the area.[253] Spottiswood himself did appear to be aware of the need to maintain contacts between the the episcopate and the localities. Indeed, it was the archbishop who had earlier persisted with attempts to to persuade Patrick Forbes to accept the bishopric of Aberdeen, despite the minister's doubts concerning the crown's religious policy.[254] 'If I durst choose my own course', Forbes had written,

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250. Struthers ought to have been the obvious choice for the bishopric, since he was held in great esteem by the congregations of Edinburgh. In common with most ministers, Struthers refused to enforce the 'Five Articles'. However, he appears to have held to the same philosophy as William Cowper and Patrick Forbes, and on those grounds he was unikely to have refused the king.
251. *Fasti*, VII, pp.329-355.
252. On the family and patronage connections of Patrick and John Forbes, see genealogical tree 4.
253. Patrick Forbes was himself laird of Corse.
254. See above, p.255 & n.159.

> I had rather have a cottage in some wilderness...what honour could I look for by accepting a Bishoprik, whereby the minds of men, who now both honour and reverence me, above either my place or merit, shall be turned to account me a corrupted man..[255]

Nevertheless, Spottiswood was successful in his endeavours, and Forbes was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen in 1618. Seventeen years later, the archbishop wrote to John Forbes to offer his condolences on the death of Patrick, and added

> let mee say this without flattrie: Our losses are in some way recompensed in yourselfe, God hath given you both grace and learning, and the expectatioun is great which the Church hath of you...[256]

John Guthrie, bishop of Moray, saddened by Patrick's death, likewise rejoiced that 'this Church shall have a rod out of that stock, a younger...to fill the roome of the elder'.[257] And, not to be outdone in the use of superlative and metaphor, Thomas Sydserff (by now bishop of Brechin) wrote that

> God hath placed you as a star in our church...that the losse which our Churche hath sustayned by his removall may be repaired by you, and the setting of one sunne may be the rysing of another...[258]

Despite such expectations, John Forbes was passed over by the king in favour of Adam Bellenden (bishop of Dunblane) who had no connection with the area and probably little inclination to foster such a relationship. This allowed James Wedderburn, a personal favourite of archbishop Laud, to be promoted to Dunblane.[259] By 1635 the episcopate was not comprised entirely of experienced 'civil servants', as Maxwell, Sydserff, Whitford and Wedderburn were all new men, and David Lyndsay, Patrick Lyndsay, Bellenden and Sydserff were - literally - in unfamiliar territory. In addition

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255. Quoted in Mullan, *op.cit*, p.126.
256. Spottiswood to John Forbes, April 1635, in *Funeral Sermons*, p.217.
257. Guthrie to John Forbes, in *Ibid.*, p.220.
258. Sydserff to John Forbes, in *Ibid.*, p.226.
259. *Fasti*, VII, pp.329-355.

John Abernethy of Caithness was well known to be an absentee landlord.[260] None of these men, therefore, had particularly strong local links within their dioceses.

The overall effect of this reshuffle was to unbalance the episcopate at a crucial moment for kirk/ state relationships. Charles' new appointments caused much ill-feeling whilst generating little positive benefit for the crown. From the presbyterian point of view the episcopate could be swept aside in 1638 with relatively few harmful side-effects, since the majority of the prelacy were now totally dependent on the king as the source of their political power. Charles was in England, and in no position to protect the bishops, who, in alienating the nobility, were left highly vulnerable.[261] Thus the one success of the policy on patronage which both James and Charles had so persistently pursued (under which patronage would be totally devolved to the centre and not to the localities) was a major contributory factor in the bishops' downfall. Spottiswood's dream could only be realised by men such as Patrick Forbes, who maintained a balance between the localities and the centre in Scotland. Where those links were strong, as with John Guthrie of Moray, it was to take two years and an armed force to break them. But James Wedderburn was in London before the ink on the covenant was dry, and several months before the assembly met at Glasgow to remove officially him from office.[262]

Even John Spalding, hardly a pro-presbyterian commentator - noted that the lords Rothes, Cassilis, Glencairn, Traquair, Loudon, Lyndsay, Balmerino, Couper, and Lorne

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260. See Calderwood, 'Trew relatioun', f.9r.

261. The way in which the king's fiscal and political policies progressively alienated the nobility of Scotland has been well enough documented, and it is not proposed to repeat the various arguments here; see, for instance, D.Stevenson,, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644*, Newton Abbot, 1973; M.Lee, *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I 1625-1637*, Chicago, 1985; A.I.MacInnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-1641*, Edinburgh, 1991; K.M.Brown, *Kingdom or Province - Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715*, London, 1992; Goodare, *op.cit.*.

262. *Fasti*, VII, pp.338, 351. Wedderburn was a native of Dundee, but was vicar of Mildenhall (Ely) in 1628, and appointed to the prebendary of Bath and Wells in 1631.

> not [without the] advyss of the marquess of Hammiltoun... took offens at his Majesties zealous and godly government, both in churche and policie...[263]

The fact that John Stewart, earl of Traquair and treasurer of Scotland in 1636, knew of - and probably attended - clandestine meetings at which the covenanting revolution was organised has already been noted.[264] James, third Marquis of Hamilton was a close confidant of Charles, but - as has also been mentioned above - was also a friend to the covenanting cause.[265] With the addition of John (later first earl) Lindsay the group of 'four prime noblemen' who were to lead a covenanted nation into revolution was complete.[266] There is little reason to doubt that Spottiswood's dream was one of 'diocesan episcopacy untramelled with the ballast of presbytery'.[267] But his nightmare was that presbyterians, replete with their conciliar courts which complemented the old systems of patronage and localised political power, would rediscover their 'auld alliance' with the nobility. In 1637 the archbishop's fears were realised and his dreams shattered.

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263. John Spalding, *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England, AD 1624-AD 1645*, Aberdeen, 1850, I, p.76.
264. See above, Chapter III, p.129-130.
265. See above, Chapter III, p.119.
266. See above, p.271-272.
267. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.

CONCLUSION

Pens and Paradigms

Religioune must not be intertaineit after the manner it was brought into the land. It was brought in be confusioun: it it must be interteinit be order: It wes brought in the land againes auctoritie: it must be interteinit by auctoritie...

John Spottiswood, 1610

against the current of all wrytters, bothe of the reformed kirk and the popish, he affirmeth that the caling of ane generall assemblie, except upone verie urgent occasioune, does often prove more hurtfull than healthfull. He confesses it is the parliament of the church. It must needes be then, ye most potent meane to keipe in ordour all the subordinat meitings, and everie particular member of the church...

David Calderwood, 1614

This study began by noting Spottiswood's comment that the key to understanding the revolution of 1637 in Scotland lay in making men aware of 'how things went at the Reformation'.[1] That particular historiographical argument raged as long as four centuries ago, and retains its heat today. In 1614 William Cowper argued that 'ye first government that wes established be act of assemblie wes episcopal'. Knox instituted superintendents, he claimed, and they were 'no thing els bot bishops'.[2] Under such an interpretation of the intentions of the first reformers, the culmination of royal policy at the assembly of 1610 constituted the *restoration* of a Reformation subverted by Melvillian presbyterianism during the 1570s.[3] If men would only understand this basic fact, said Spottiswood in 1639, they would not have been 'moved to think that episcopacy was against the constitutions of this church'.[4]

The archbishop's presbyterian opponents, however, accepted no such argument. Calderwood conceded that there were bishops in the kirk after 1560, but argued that at the Reformation 'thay wer abroggat ye right to office'.[5] For the minister, the fact that during certain subsequent periods bishops continued to exercise episcopal authority contrary to the intention of the first reformers was not the point. Thus:

> Whether this present government differs from that of superintendents and Bishops, quhilk was abroggat, is not ye question...[6]

Rather, continued Calderwood, 'our question is this':

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1. Quoted in D.G.Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an idea 1560-1638*, Edinburgh, 1986, p.147.
2. See Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', 17r.
3. Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.80.
4. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.147.
5. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f 17r.
6. *Ibid.*.

> Whether this present episcopall government differs substanciallie from ye presbiteriall immediatlie preceding, confirmed by oathes, subscriptions, [and] daylie practise...[7]

For presbyterians it was episcopacy which was the subversive force after 1600, not presbytery.

If the above arguments have a familiar ring, it is because modern historiography has perforce to predicate its interpretation of later events on one or the other theory. The problem is that the defence of episcopacy by men such as Cowper and Spottiswoode, as Calderwood pointed out, was itself a confusion. James' own view was that the Reformation was 'made by a populare tumult & rebellion' of 'fyerie ministers' who begouth to fantasie to themselves a Democratick forme of government'.[8] For James, as for his bishops, the terms 'democracie' and 'presbyterianism' were synonymous. In 1610 Spottiswood agreed with this analysis. 'Religioune', he opined, 'must not be interteined after the manner it wes brought into the land'.[9] Thus William Cowper - just four years later - faced real difficulty in trying to justify his own acceptance of a bishopric on any other grounds but those of an historical and political paradigm created by the king.[10] That men such as Cowper and James Law should have presented the notion of 'bishop-in-presbytery'[11] as a replacement of anarchy (the 'Mother of confusion') with order (the 'Mother of unitie') is understandable,[12] for modern historiography to do the same is less so. For (as Calderwood noted in 1614) it was precisely *because* the Reformation in Scotland occurred 'without tarrying for the magistrate' that there was no 'shell...of Scottish episcopacy' into

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7. *Ibid.*.
8. *Basilikon doron*, ed. J.Craigie, Edinburgh, 1944-50., p.74.
9. James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville*, ed. Robert Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1842, p.800.
10. See above, pp.244-246.
11. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.
12. *Basilikon doron*, p.77.

which James could 'breathe life' in 1600.[13] James had to *create* an erastian episcopate in Scotland, rather than preside over its *revival.*

Certainly, the king's initial success was derived in part from the strength bestowed upon him by his new crown. But, as has been argued above, it is also the case that episcopacy was imposed at a time when the kirk lacked the patronage of the nobility.[14] The point, surely, is not (as Conrad Russell has argued) that such men as

> David Lindsay, Robert Pont, Patrick Galloway, and Peter Blackburne were all former Moderators of the General Assembly, [and] all good Jacobeans...[15]

Rather, it is that they were all former *presbyterians.* That James was able to win over a significant section of the ministry is undeniable. Promises of preferment, together with threats of deprivation and loss of stipend, and the all too apparent weakness of the kirk's own position all played their part. But whether or not these men were once moderators of the assembly is of little help to the author's case. David Mullan also appealed to the same premise, noting that Calderwood

> was in error...when he wrote that in the first fifteen years following the Reformation superintendents and bishops were never chosen to fulfil the office of moderator of assembly. Unless he meant - obscurely - that all moderators were chosen simply as ministers, not on account of some higher office, he was sadly and remarkably mistaken...[16]

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13. See C.Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, Oxford, 1990, pp.34, 48, who follows the basic analysis of the Reformation posed by James, and that such a 'shell' existed in Scotland around the turn of the century. Presbyterians, however, held that there were no bishops in the kirk after 1581, when the office was abjured by the general assembly; see Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', esp.'Cap 5'. The complete rejection of any hint of episcopacy in Scotland (so it is argued) was what the reformers of 1560 had intended should happen; see also J.T.Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: continuity and change in the Reformation kirk*, Edinburgh, 1989, esp. Chapter 5.
14. See above, p.228.
15. Russell, *op.cit.*, p.p.46.
16. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.145.

In his *Confutatioun*, however, Calderwood clearly stated that 'superintendents wer not moderatours...except at any time thay had bein chosin'.[17] The minister did indeed mean that superintendents or bishops assumed the moderator's chair only when nominated by their brethren, and not by right of office. Furthermore,

> ye power the superintendent had, as it wes from ye assemblie, so it wes measured be the assemblie, and they wer countabill for ther execution to ye assemblie. For ye supreame ecclesiasticall judicatorie wes in the generall assemblie, quhilk mett very often in the tymes...[18]

The example of Robert Pont only serves to prove Calderwood's point, since when James offered him a bishopric in 1587 he referred the matter to the generall assembly, which, as the 'supreame ecclesiasticall judicatorie' of the kirk, forbade the appointment.[19] Thus, for Pont at least, presbyterianism did not allow a 'considerable flexibility in issues of government and discipline'.[20] Of the other three ministers, Blackburn died in 1616, a few months before his attachment to the 'essentials [of] true doctrine and freedom of idolatry' could be tested. Russell does not explain how Galloway and Lindsay managed to maintain such a stance *and* submit themselves to the widely detested 'Five Articles' of Perth.[21] In any event, James did gain an erastian episcopate in 1610. But he did so in spite, and not because of, the Reformation settlement in Scotland.[22]

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17. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.19r. In the *History* [VII, p.108] Calderwood wrote that when 'bishops and superintendents were in our kirk, the first fyfteene year after the Reformation, simple ministers were chosin moderators, and not ever suoerintendents and bishops'. The point hardly seems obscure.
18. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.19r.
19. *Fasti*, I, pp.93-94.
20. Russell, *op.cit.*, p.46.
21. *Ibid.*. They were not alone in regarding matters of polity and certain aspects of doctrine as adiaphora, but it is uncertain that such views were accepted by the majority of ministers in Scotland after 1617.
22. As John Morrill has pointed out, the inconsistency of Russell's argument lies - at least in part - in that his account is neither a 'full analysis' of the origins of the Scottish revolution, nor an 'holistic approach to British history'. Rather it is an 'enriched English history'; J.Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution*, London, 1993, p.260. Its interpretation of events in Scotland follows broadly Gordon Donaldson's view of the Reformation and its effects; see

That James' intention in imposing bishops on the kirk in 1610 was to 'monitor and supervise (but not to supplant)'[23] the authority of kirk sessions and presbyteries was an argument first put forward by William Cowper.[24] But, as discussed above, for presbyterians episcopacy and presbytery could not co-exist.[25] The life blood of presbytery was 'paritie', and to drain the presbytery of its very essence by removing its primary functions of ordination and discipline left it a mere shell, and therefore altered. Hume of Godscroft made no 'radical' statement when he pointed out that the 'thrusting in of bishops, &c., is not lawful to us', and that although 'presbytereis remaine' they were but 'shadowes and shewes of our discipline'.[26] As even Spottiswood reasoned, there was no necessity for further action. Lacking 'essence', the presbytery would inevitably 'evanisch'.[27] A presbytery without 'paritie' of ministers was no presbytery at all.

Nevertheless, for modern historians to argue that there 'is no evidence of any intention to move beyond episcopacy-in-presbytery'[28] is to miss the point. In fact, Calderwood noted that there was no such thing as 'bishop-in-presbytery', since

> the bishops depute-moderator in the presbyterie has noe further power...than to moderate the censure of doctrine, and appoint a new exercise; for the presbyterie itself has noe further power...[29]

Here, said Calderwood, the ministers of the presbytery were failing themselves, as it was 'a point of negligence, or rather fearfulnes', that many presbyteries did not simply revert to the process of annual or bi-annual elections. In any case, even the 'constant

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G.Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, Cambridge, 1960; G.Donaldson, *Scotland, James V - James VII*, Edinburgh, 1965.

23. J.Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', in J.Morrill (ed.), *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, Edinburgh, 1990, p.8.
24. See Cowper, *Dikaiologie*, p.117.
25. See above, pp.34-42.
26. David Hume to James Law, in Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.68.
27. *OL*, I, p.235.
28. Morrill, *op.cit.*, p.8.
29. Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.136.

moderator' was 'one of the number of the presbyterie, and not anie incroaching stranger'.[30] Episcopal power, noted the minister, lay not in the presbytery, but in the synod, for 'our sinods now ar diocesan'.[31] Even Walter Foster's *Church Before the Covenants* concurred with Calderwood's assessment on this point. Noticeably, the author attempted to circumvent the fact that the bishops new powers 'looked very much like diocesan episcopacy' by claiming that the reconstituted court might 'well be described as a bishop *and* synod'.[32] It was, however, quite clearly intended to be 'bishop *in* synod', and therefore very close indeed to diocesan episcopacy. The intention, if not the effect, was to move beyond the so-called 'hybrid' polity of 'bishop-in-presbytery'.[33]

From within the walls of of the episcopalian historical paradigm, it is only possible to put the survival of presbyteries and presbyterianism down to the fact that 'most' ministers (either willingly or otherwise) accepted the new polity.[34] But if one steps across the divide, an alternative conclusion does present itself. Certainly, there was much resistance to royal policy, and attempts on the part of both James and Charles to head off opposition by increasing stipends failed. That such failure was due to the persistent reluctance of the nobility and lairds to finance the plan is not in doubt,[35] but it is also - to borrow Calderwood's phrase - not the question. Ministers struggling on inadequate stipends blamed the lack of adequate provision on the government of both kirk and state. As a result they attracted sympathy and support from their congregations, as did the many ministers who were confined to their parishes, or had their stipends withheld. One of the reasons why Cowper produced his *Dikaiologie and Apologie* was

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30. *Ibid.*, VII, p.137.
31. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.19r.
32. W.R.Foster, *The Church before the Covenants*, Edinburgh, 1975, p.116.
33. See also Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.
34. *Ibid.*; W.R.Foster, *The Church before the Covenants*, Edinburgh, 1975, esp. Chapter 5.
35. See *ibid.*, Chapter 8; and above, Chapter 1.

because of the oppobrium his new office was attracting.[36] Local patronage could easily render the bishop's new powers of presentation and discipline ineffective.[37] The presbytery was designed to operate as an autonomous local unit, independent of central control, and as such it complemented the systems of patronage endemic in Scottish society. There is indeed much evidence of bishops and presbyteries co-operating,[38] but little to suggest that the episcopate - in the majority of cases - was doing any more than rubber-stamping decisions which continued to be made at a local level. Consequently, it was the bishop who was forced to co-operate with the presbytery, as local conditions conspired to ensure the court's survival.[39]

On the other hand, it might be argued that Edinburgh caused the king so much trouble precisely *because* it provided well for its ministers. The men and women of the capital paid taxes to provide for their ministers, and could afford to do so, but in return they expected the privilege of making their own choice. Certainly some of them assisted their dissident ministers by funding and arranging the import of banned literature.[40] The intrusion of 'conforme' ministers caused congregations to desert their kirks, and resulted in the proliferation of conventicles. At such events banned ministers preached, whilst matrons raised fresh support and funds to further resistance.[41]

Equally, if 'bishop-in-presbytery' was such a popular concept, then - as Hume of Godscroft opined - the 'greatest questioun' was why the bishops required 'thir high commissiouns',

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36. Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.13r; Calderwood, *History*, VII, p.180; Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.118.
37. See above, Chapter VI.
38. Mullan, *op.cit.*, p.119.
39. See above, Chapter VI.
40. See above, Chapter II.
41. See above, Chapter III.

> subverting all from the ground...devolving all on bishop's hands that have them, whereby all force of all other ecclesiasticall judicatour is cleane cutt off, and so our whole discipline...[42]

Modern historians have thus far failed to answer the query. But again, as was implicit in Hume's inquiry, the point is problematic only if one remains bound within the episcopal paradigm. The identification of presbyterianism and 'Melvillianism' as synonymous draws the historian inevitably towards the conclusion that 'the presbyterian leadership' was finally 'broken' between 1605 and 1607.[43] The author of the single authoritative statement thus far produced on the High Commission in Scotland has noted only forty-eight prosecutions of ministers for non-conformity between 1610 and 1625.[44] It has been argued above, however, that these figures are flawed. They do not, for instance, include cases of non-conformity brought before the privy council, dealt with at the diocesan synod, or indeed include the prosecution of laymen before the High Commission itself during the period in question.[45]

In addition, the author records the fact that the only substantial source of information on the subject is Calderwood's *History*, but was apparently unaware that the minister had also written *Some remarks on the High Commission*, a pamphlet dedicated to the history of the court up to 1618.[46] Calderwood does not give further details of prosecutions, but he does make it clear that by 1618 the court had not achieved the accolade of being 'more efficient' or the reputation for 'giving more prompt decisions' which its English counterpart enjoyed. For common causes, people continued to resort to the presbytery 'within the bounds of ther owne province' rather than make the journey from the 'remotest

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42. Hume, *op.cit.*, p.69.
43. G.I.McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission 1610-38', *RSCHS*, XV, pt.III, 1965, pp.194-195.
44. *Ibid.*, p.201.
45. See above, Chapter VI.
46. Calderwood, 'Remarks', *passim*; McMahon, *op.cit.*, p.200.

parts of the land' to Edinburgh or Glasgow.[47] Additionally, the plethora of cases which arose over the widespread refusal to abide by the 'Five Articles' meant that the court became quickly and indelibly associated with the machinery of state repression. Calderwood was in no doubt, like Hume, that the court represented the culmination of attempts by the crown to subvert presbyterian kirk polity in favour of episcopacy. To prove his point the minister listed a catalogue of sins:

> They took as ample presentations to yair prelacies as any popish byshop of old, they accepted the place in parliament without inserting the caveats of the general assemblie in the act of yair admission. They thrust in constant moderators in presbiteries to be yair agents, [and] many worthy men of the ministrie wer banished, warded confyned, and removed out of yair way, that they might step forward the more easily. They became lords in parliament, lords of regalities, patrones of kirkes, lords in the sessioun, and in the checker...[48]

Finally the court of High Commission was established 'to mak these mightie gyants terrible enough to ye poor kirke of Scotland'. None of this was an exaggeration of the extent to which episcopacy had changed the face of the kirk.

An integral part of the presbyterian political paradigm was the theory of 'two kingdoms'. This theory also gave rise to an opposing notion, that of 'free monarchie'.[49] Today, as the episcopalian/ presbyterian paradigms once again clash, the former political position has become more familiar as 'Melvillian' political theory. It is, however, by no means certain that this is an accurate description. As has been argued above, both Hume of Godscroft ('the presbyterian party's most formidable intellect')[50] and Calderwood continued long after Melville's time to hold that the 'mixing and jumbling' of temporal and spiritual affairs was

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47. Calderwood, 'Remarks', f.101r. *Cf.*, McMahon, *op.cit.*, p.199.
48. Calderwood, 'Remarks', f.100r.
49. See James VI, *The trew lawe of frie monarchies*, Edinburgh, 1598.
50. A.H.Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of JamesVI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture*, Edinburgh, 1979, p.89.

inherently wrong, and that the two jurisdictions were - and should remain - different worlds. Scripture confirmed that the true kirk was governed by councils (presbyteries, synods, and general assembly) in which all ministers had an equal voice in decision making. In an ideal world the temporal and spiritual estates were mirror images of each other.[51] They were mutually supportive, but separate. The theory's most famous conceptualisation was that of Andrew Melville, who informed James in menacing tones that there were 'two kings and two kingdomes in Scotland', that of

> Christ Jesus, and his kingdome the kirk, whose subject King James the sixt is, and of whose kingdome not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member...[52]

Melville's point was that all men were equal in the kirk, and this interpretation was no different from that later made by Hume or Calderwood. Its origins lay in the conciliar theories advocated by Jean Gerson and John Mair, and Calderwood also cited Jesuit authorities to prove the point.[53]

It has been well said that James' celebrated aphorism, 'no bishop, no king', actually meant 'no bishop, no secular ruler'.[54] But James perceived a pliable and totally reliant episcopacy to be a counter to the levelling tendencies of the *presbyterian* political paradigm, and that was not - as has been argued - uniquely 'Melvillian'. In fact, the aphorism was designed as a defence more of the bishop than of the king, since the ultimate end of the presbyterian critique was (in James' view) the emasculation of the institution of monarchy in precisely the same way that the bishop (in the presbyterian view) rendered the presbytery a mere shadow of that which it was meant to be. Thus when Alexander Leighton called for the extirpation of episcopacy in 1629 he represented a threat to the monarchy, and was dealt with accordingly. If

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51. See above, Chapter IV.
52. Calderwood, V, pp.439-440.
53. In particular Robert Bellarmine, the Jesuit author and literary opponent of James VI; see (for instance) Calderwood, 'Confutatioun', f.25v-26r.
54. Morrill, *op.cit.*, p.8.

Charles had sought advice from his father's *Basilikon doron* he would have undoubtedly perceived the voice of Andrew Melville in Leighton's prognostication, for presbyterianism was haunting the son as it had done the father. If either Leighton's or John Durie's call for a 'national synod' had been answered, a compromise might have been reached. That Leighton should have proposed such an idea was surely no suprise, and hardly 'radical', except perhaps in the context of Russell's 'enriched English history'. As the latter author has noted, John Davidson had made a proposal which anticipated the Westminster Assembly in 1590. In the event, Laud's savage treatment of Leighton, coupled with his dismissal of Durie's proposals, simply hardened opinion on both sides of the border.[55]

It is the association of the presbyterian political paradigm with George Buchanan which gave its implications extra menace, but one must bear in mind that the theory was intended to justify the deposition of Mary Queen of Scots.[56] In reality presbyterianism did not threaten the life - or the throne - of either James or Charles. Just as with 'episcopacy-in-presbytery', Scottish presbyterianism had no need to proceed beyond the point of emasculating its opponent. A 'royal eunuch' would be no threat to Scotland's 'marriage day of the kingdom with God'.[57]

By the 1630s episcopacy had become thoroughly discredited in Scotland. It had more than just the canons of 1636 and the Prayer Book to feed on. As detailed above, the treatment of Leighton in 1630 caused a major stir, and the interference of Durie in Scottish affairs had also raised fears of English intentions.[58]

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55. See above, Chapter IV; Russell, *op.cit.*, p.38; P.Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war*, London, 1978, p.116; Morrill, *Nature of the English Revolution*, p.260.
56. R.A.Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians', in R.A.Mason (ed), *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603*, Cambridge, 1994, p.116.
57. Johnston, *Diary*,, pp.321-322; Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', p.8.
58. See above, Chapters III & IV.

Charles' coronation could hardly have been more offensive to presbyterian eyes. The ceremony took place before a

> four nuikit taffill maner of ane altar standing within the kirk, haveing standing thairupone tua bookis at leist resembling claspit bookis, callit blynd bookis, with tua wax candles, quhilkis war on lichit, and ane bassein, whairin thair wes nothing. At the bak of this altar (coverit with tapestrie) thair wes ane ritche tapestrie quhairin the crucifix wes curiouslie wrocht; and as thir bischopis who wes in service past by this crucifix, thay war sein to bow thair knee and bek, whiche with thair habit wes nottit, and bred gryt feir of inbringing of poperie...[59]

The people of Edinburgh, noted the same commentator, had never seen such a sight 'in Sanct Geilles kirk sen the Reformatioun'.[60] At the parliament of the same year dissident ministers gathered to protest once again at Charles' religious policies.[61]

In 1634 there were significant developments concerning the court of High Commission which have passed almost unnoticed by modern historiography. This is explained by the fact that

> David Calderwood, the historian and author of many tracts critical of the episcopal establishment, did not extend his *History* beyond the beginning of Charles' reign...[62]

Yet at least four tracts on the High Commission do exist, one of which, penned in 1618, has been mentioned above. Calderwood, jointly with Johnston of Wariston, wrote two more concerning the progress of the High Commission from 1610 to 1638, and these appeared in the latter year.[63] The last was written by Wariston's

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59. J. Spalding, *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England, AD 1624-AD 1645*, Aberdeen, 1850, pp.36-37.
60. *Ibid.*, p.39.
61. See above, Chapter VI.
62. McMahon, *op.cit.*, p.198.
63. David Calderwood, & Archibald Johnston, 'Further remarks on the High Commission', in *Ibid.*, No.7, 1638 [Hereafter, Calderwood & Johnston, 'Further remarks']; David Calderwood, & Archibald Johnston, 'The Lawles and exhorbitant power of the high commission' [hereafter, Calderwood & Johnston, 'High Commission'], in *Ibid.*, No.7a, 1638.

mentor, Lord Gibson of Durie, in 1634.[64] McMahon states that this last tract was the work of Wariston, but this is incorrect.[65] All the previous commissions of the court required the presence of at least one of the two Scottish archbishops, and the courts were seldom held outside of Glasgow, Edinburgh, or St Andrews. What was different about the commission of 1634 was that

> now at last commission is given to everie bishop to hold this court if he please within his diocie...[66]

This represented a considerable extension of the bishop's powers, and the reponse from Gibson was to associate the court with England and the practices of English bishops. Consequently, he cited earlier objections raised against the court in England, quoting several passages directly from the *Petition of Greivances* presented to James in London in 1610.[67] When Wariston updated the document in 1638 he also emphasised the threat posed by the adoption of English practices:

> If we would forsie what courses our commissioners will take in that court, we may learne by the proceidings of thir brethren, the high commissioners in ingland, whom they follow. ther they cite and commit men before them upon bare assumptions, fables, and suspitions, and meir malice, without any sufficient accuser or prosecuter...[68]

This tirade against the High Commission in 1634 accompanied the creation of a new bishopric of Edinburgh by Charles, and the consecration of the hated William Forbes to the see. In 1635 the court was using its new powers, and there were widespread

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64. The work was subsequently altered and amended by Wariston, almost certainly with Calderwood's help, since some of the content is obviously drawn from Calderwood's *Remarks* of 1618. On the Durie manuscript, and Wariston's reworking, see Johnston, *Diary*, p.293; *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 'Laing MSS', 72, I, p.194. See also Calderwood & Johnston, 'Further Remarks'.
65. McMahon, *op.cit.*, p.207.
66. Calderwood & Johnston, 'High Commission', f.120r.
67. J.P.Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary*, Cambridge, 1966, pp.148-155. See also G.W.Prothero, *Select Statutes, and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James*, Oxford, 1913.
68. Calderwood & Johnston, 'Further remarks', f.108r.

prosecutions, which - as detailed above - also included the prosecution of at least one 'godly' matron.[69]

Thus the national Covenant was produced against much more than just the background of the canons and Prayer Book. There is little doubt that the riot of 1637 was pre-arranged, or that the compiler of the National Covenant was Wariston himself. The presbyterian historical paradigm provided precedent for the document. Both Hume of Godscroft and Calderwood held the Confession of Faith to be an immutable oath, and the addition of a list of acts of parliament and assembly to prove the veracity of the argument was, as has been argued above, standard practice. It was part of the presbyterian paradigm that its signatories acted in defence of the king, for this was no anarchic rebellion.[70]

Wariston learned the practical lessons for the political process of reformation from Knox onwards. He 'read Knoxs' books, and acted 'according to...Knoxs praedictions', setting out the many protestations and declinators issued by the covenanters 'according to ane paterne set doune in knoxs chronicle'. It was , he said, 'the notable speeches of...Knox' which convinced him that each action he took brought Scotland closer 'to the fruition of that perfect puretie of worschip and libertie of discipline in this churche and kingdome'.[71] That Wariston should have looked to Knox for political guidance, is surely less curious than the fact that the index of the Scottish History Society's edition of the *Diary* contains no reference to Knox at all.

It has been argued above that Wariston called upon an entire tradition of Scottish presbyterianism to help achieve the aims of the revolution. Certainly, he has been described as well-connected. The extent of his connections, however, is nowhere fully revealed. He was - as is demonstrated by the genealogical trees between pages 53-54 above - a member of the Wilkie

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69. See above, Chapter III & VI.
70. See above, Chapter V.
71 Johnston, *Diary*, pp.284; p.288, 301, 344.

'dynasty'. His step-father was John Wilkie, a town councillor and burgess of Edinburgh, who also owned an estate in Foulden.[72] His close connections with Calderwood have been noted above, as have the minister's deep attachment to the Cranston family. As detailed in genealogical trees 6 to 8 (overleaf), by the 1630s the Cranston's had access to extensive patronage within the ministry, the nobility, and the legal profession. Those connections which Wariston did not already possess in 1637, he inherited fron Calderwood's close ties to the Cranston family, and from his mother's marriage to John Wilkie.

There is also evidence to suggest that the great surges of evangelical emotions which accompanied the signing of the covenant may have been stage managed. Certainly Calderwood's account of the renewing of the covenant of 1596, and Johnston's account of the swearing of the Covenant at Curry in 1638 are remarkably similar. At the assembly of 1596, the minister, John Davidson, exhorted his congregation to 'privie meditatiouns' until 'within an houre...they looked with another countenance than that wherewith they entered', and were soon

> humbling themselves for the space of a quarter of an houre, there were suche sighes and sobbs, with shedding of teares among the most part all estats hat were present...When the bretherin were to dissolve, they were stayed by the moderator, and desired to hold up their hands to testifie their entering in a new league with God...Many were wonderfullie moved...[73]

At Curry in 1638, John Charteris (Wariston informs us) preached for some time urging his congregation to 'suare unto the Lord with a loud voice', but in 'al this tyme thair was no motion nor tears in any of the congregation'. Finally, Charteris desired his 'congregation to stand up and lift up thair hands and sueare unto the aeternal God', whereupon 'thair fell sutch ane extraordinarie influence of Gods Sprit upon the whol congregation...chainging thair verry countenances', that

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72. *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, p.562; *ERBE*, 1604-1626, p.45;
73. Calderwood, *History*, V, p.311-312.

Tree 6: the Cranstons and the ministry

Sir William Cranston of Cranston

Thomas Cranston Minister of Liberton (1569-85)

Sir John Cranston of Cranston

John Cranston of Moriestoun

Robert Cranston of St Andrews

Michael Cranston Minister of Cramond (1590-1631)

Sarah Cranston M. William Lord Cranston

Andrew Simson Minister of Dalkeith (1582-90)

Patrick Simson Minister of Stirling (1590-1618)

Alexander Simson Minister of Mertoun (1597-1639)

Archibald Simson Minister of Dalkeith (1586-1628)

John Row Minister of Carnock (1560-80)

Thomas Cranston Minister of Legerwood (1601-07)

Henry Cranston M. Isobel Simson

Adam Simson Minister of New Abbey (1618-42)

William Rig of Morton M. Catherine Row

William Cranston Minister of Kettle (1589-1633)

John Cranston Minister of Sth Leith (1620-29) M. Agnes Rig

William Rig of Athernie M. Sara Inglis

Sarah Cranston M. John Ramsay Minister of Kettle (1633-66)

John Row Minister of Carnock (1592-1646)

Robert Cranston Minister of Scoonie (1632-43)

Richard Simson Minister of Sprouston (1605-56)

Tree 7 The Cranstons and the Nobility

Francis Earl of Bothwell (1563-1612)

John Laird of Cranston (d. 1617)

John Cranston of Moriestoun

Andrew 4th Earl Rothes (d. 1558)

Andrew 5th Earl Rothes (d. 1611)

Sarah Cranston M. William Lord Cranston (d. 1627)

James 7th Lord Lindsay (1554-1601) M. Euphemia Leslie

Thomas Earl of Haddington (1563-1637)

John Earl of Mar (1562-1634)

Robert 9th Lord Lindsay (d. 1616) M. Christian Hamilton

Thomas 2nd Earl Haddington M. Catherine Erskine

Elizabeth Bothwell M. James Master of Cranston

James 2nd Marquis of Hamilton (d. 1625) M. Anne Marchioness of Hamilton

John 2nd Lord Cranston (d. 1648) M. Helen Lindsay

John Earl of Lindsay (d. 1678) M. Margaret Hamilton

John 6th Earl Rothes (1600-41)

James 3rd Marquis of Hamilton

Tree 8 The Cranstons and the legal profession

William Lord Cranston (d. 1627)

Francis Earl of Bothwell (1563-1612)

Sir John Arnot of Birswick Provost of Edinburgh

Sir John Skene Lord Curriehill Clerk Register (1543-1617)

Margaret Arnot M. James Nisbet Merchant of Edinburgh

James Master of Cranston M. Elizabeth Bothwell

Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton (1538-1608)

Archibald Johnston Merchant of Edinburgh (d. 1619) M. Rachel Arnot

Elizabeth Craig M. James Johnston Merchant of Edinburgh (d. 1617)

Janet Johnston M. Sir James Skene Lord Curriehill Clerk Register (d. 1633)

Elizabeth Cranston M. Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton

Margaret Craig M. Sir Alexander Gibson Lord Durie (d. 1645)

Sir Alexander Hay, Lord Foresterseat Clerk Register (d. 1616)

Sir William Nisbet Provost of Edinburgh

Archibald Johnston of Wariston (1611-1663) M. Helen Hay

> al the people [fell] doune on thair knees to mourne and pray, and he and thay for ane quarter of ane houre prayed ver sensibly with many sobs, tears, promises, and voues...[74]

The whole event, even down to the precise time period, appears carefully arranged to a score four decades old. As with Davidson's audience of 1596, the congregation to which Charteris preached was at first calm. Indeed, there is no indication that Charteris possessed the power of Davidson's legendary 'thundering' rhetoric. But Calderwood had also noted that in 1596 'everie one provok[ed] another by their exemple, and the teacher [Davidson] himself by his exemple', and forty years on this second movement could still produce the desired crescendo of communal hysteria.[75] Yet whilst such 'evangelical presbyterianism' was undoubtedly one of the covenanting movements greatest assets, the events at Currie were not 'the Scottish people's first encounter with the National Covenant', since - as Wariston well knew - the assembly of 1596 had resolved that the 'princes and magistrats' and the 'whole body of the people' should renew the oath regularly.[76] The extent to which this occurred is unclear. Certainly most of the 'princes and magistrats' of the day were unsympathetic, but the *Confession* continued to be sworn in 'provinciall assemblies [synods] presbyteries and particular churches' up until 1614.[77] Neither the idea of a 'national Covenant', nor the events at Currie kirk, were unique to 1638.

In the final analysis presbyterianism survived in Scotland because of the endurance of the political and historical paradigms on which it was based, and a significant caucus of support on the ground. Episcopacy, on the other hand, never gained a firm enough political base in Scotland, nor a place in the hearts of many of the congregations of the country's kirks. As John Durie later opined,

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74. Johnston, *Diary*, p.327.
75. *Ibid.*, p.327; Calderwood, *History*, V, pp.311-312.
76. Johnston, 'Reflections', f4r. The text of this document is drawn from Calderwood's 'Confutatioune', 'Cap.6'.
77. *Ibid.*.

there were three reasons for the success of the covenanting revolution:

> first the extreame feircenesse & insurportable irregularitie of Bishops in their proceedings did drive you to a common resolution...seconde...the Presbyteriall Meetings, which were not wholly abolished..Thirdly your National Covenant was not quite forgotten, but happilye became a means to lift up an ensigne against poperie...[78]

Ultimately Charles had no answer to the network of patronage and family connections which his own policies - and those of his father - had cemented into a cohesive force by 1637. That force included significant numbers of men and women from all sections of Scottish society. Undoubtedly arguments will continue to rage across the historical spectrum with regard to the origins of the covenanting revolution. But the power of the presbytery, and of its tenacious hold over the hearts and minds of many men, should not be omitted from consideration. Not far from the surface of the language of the scriptural quotations of Calderwood, or the medical imagery of Leighton, was a plea for the liberties of both the kirk and its congregations. Both James and Charles would have done well to heed Hume of Godscroft's deceptively simple final phrase which ended three years of debate with James Law in 1611. 'Weill, weill', he said, 'againe to God'. Within two years he had turned his attention and his considerable intellect onto William Cowper. Perhaps the biggest problem with the Stewart dynasty's troublesome Scottish presbyterian subjects was that they refused to be silenced.

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78. Letter John Durie to Andrew Ramsay, BL, *Sloane MSS*, 654, f.222r.

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