

Religious Controversy and Scottish Society,
*c.*1679-1714

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Abstract

This thesis analyses religious controversy in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland, examining both the arguments of the educated elites and those of ordinary people. Defining religious controversy as *arguments between members of rival religious parties*, the thesis concentrates on disputes between presbyterians and episcopalians, and within presbyterianism. In the main, these arguments did not focus on Church government, but embraced a broad range of issues, including allegations of ‘persecution’ (discussed in chapter two), ‘fanaticism’ and ‘enthusiasm’ (chapter three) and the reputations of rival clergy (chapter four). Incidents of crowd violence, the subject of chapter five, provoked controversy, and also promoted the objectives of the religious parties. Chapter six illustrates the significance of debates over the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, before and after the revolution of 1688-90. Chapter seven then discusses the arguments that gave rise to presbyterian separatism in the years after 1690. As chapter eight explains, the union of 1707 proved highly contentious for presbyterians, and led to a series of political blows to the presbyterian Church. Chapter nine surveys the role in religious controversy of concerns over English theology, new philosophy and atheism. Finally, chapter ten concludes by examining the consequences of controversy for Scottish society.

As well as printed pamphlets, satirical verses, sermons and memoirs by elite authors, the thesis draws on the petitions, diaries and correspondence of ordinary people, their testimony to church courts, and evidence of their involvement in crowd violence and separatist worship. Participation in controversy by ordinary men and women was widespread, and was deliberately manipulated by elite presbyterians and episcopalians, who sought to demonstrate the popularity of their parties. By 1714, the position of the established Church and the status of its clergy had deteriorated, and religious pluralism had become a permanent feature of Scottish society.

Declaration

This thesis is entirely my own work. No part of it has been submitted for any other degree.

Alasdair Raffe

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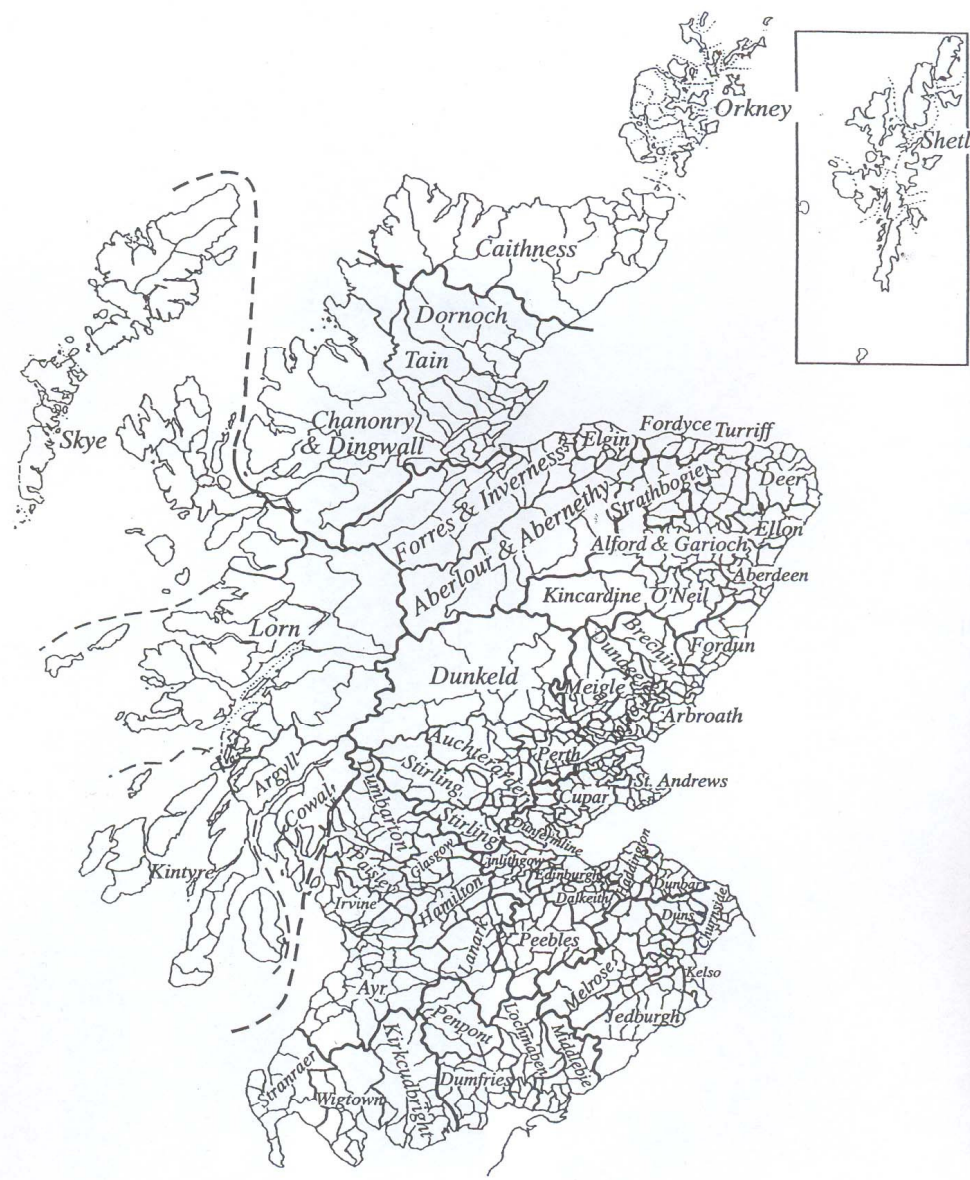
Abbreviations and Conventions

<i>Acts of the General Assembly</i>	<i>Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, MDCXXXVIII-MDCCCXLII</i> (Edinburgh, 1843)
APS	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1814-75)
BL	British Library
Bod.	Bodleian Library
Boston, <i>Memoirs</i>	Thomas Boston, <i>Memoirs of the Life, Time, and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston</i> ed. G.H. Morrison (Edinburgh, 1899)
EEBO	Early English Books Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
<i>Fasti</i>	H. Scott, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation</i> , 8 vols. (Edinburgh, rev. edn., 1915-50)
GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office
GUL	Glasgow University Library
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Kirkton, <i>History</i>	James Kirkton, <i>The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678</i> ed. C.K. Sharpe (Edinburgh, 1817)
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NCL	New College Library, Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland
ODNB	H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004)
RPC	<i>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> , 3 rd series, ed. P. Brown, H. Paton and E. Balfour-Melville, 16 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-70)
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>

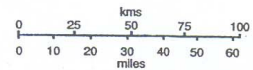
- [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed* [Michael Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed: Being an Historical Relation of the State and Actings of the Suffering Remnant of the Church of Scotland* ed. J. Howie (Glasgow, 1780)
- SHR *Scottish Historical Review*
- SHS Scottish History Society
- Statutes at Large* O. Ruffhead (ed.), *The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta, to the End of the last Parliament, 1761*, 8 vols. (London, 1763-4)
- West, *Memoirs* Elizabeth West, *Memoirs, or, Spiritual Exercises of Elizabeth Wast* (Edinburgh, 1724)
- Wodrow, *Analecta* Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: or, Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences*, 4 vols. (Maitland Club, 1842-3)
- Wodrow, *Correspondence* T. M'Crie (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow*, 3 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1842-3)
- Wodrow, *History* Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* ed. R. Burns, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1828-30)

Except where indicated, all quotations follow the spelling, capitalisation and punctuation of the original sources, and reproduce original italicisation. The year is taken to have begun on 1 January.

The map on p.viii is reproduced from P.G.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen (eds.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996). It is generally accurate, but there are several mistakes, notably the omission of the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, the labelling of Dunblane presbytery 'Stirling', and the misspelling of Chirnside. Melrose presbytery was re-assigned to Selkirk in the mid seventeenth century. In the years after the revolution, some presbyteries with few ministers temporarily combined with their neighbours.



Presbyteries in the early eighteenth century



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Chapter 1: Approaches to Religious Controversy

I

Religious controversy was an endemic feature of Scottish society in the seventeenth century. Across Europe, the protestant reformation had subjected religious ideas to public scrutiny, exposing ideological debates to a broad population.¹ By the early seventeenth century, the Scottish reformation had forged a religious culture capable of unifying much of the nation, although a number of tensions and arguments remained unresolved.² Often discordant and confrontational, Scottish religious disputes impinged on many aspects of early modern life. As a result, there are several historical approaches to religious controversy.

One approach is that of the political historian. Controversy over liturgy, theology and ecclesiology repeatedly destabilised seventeenth-century government. Presbyterian opposition to the ecclesiastical policies of James VI and Charles I has been extensively researched, demonstrating the role of religious arguments in the emergence of the Covenanting movement.³ The period between the restoration of Charles II and the revolution of 1688-90 has typically been understood in terms of religious struggle, with presbyterians resisting the coercive enforcement of episcopalian uniformity.⁴ Political historians have tended to marginalise religious

¹ E. Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991), p.422.

² M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2002), esp. pp.402-12; M. Lynch, 'Preaching to the converted? Perspectives on the Scottish reformation', in A.A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I.B. Cowan (eds.), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, 1994), esp. p.342.

³ D. Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution, 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (Newton Abbot, 1973); D. Stevenson, 'Conventicles in the Kirk, 1619-37: the emergence of a radical party', *RSCHS*, 18:2 (1973), pp.99-114; A.I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-1641* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp.155-82; L.A.M. Stewart, *Urban Politics and the British Civil Wars: Edinburgh, 1617-53* (Leiden, 2006), pp.172-261.

⁴ I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-1688* (London, 1976); J. Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland, 1660-1681* (Edinburgh, 1980); J. Buckroyd, *The Life of James Sharp Archbishop of St Andrews, 1618-1679: A Political Biography* (Edinburgh, 1987); E.H. Hyman, 'A Church militant: Scotland, 1661-1690', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), pp.49-74. See also C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), esp. pp.104-30.

arguments in the years after 1690,⁵ but the significance of religion in early eighteenth-century political culture is now increasingly recognised.⁶ Moreover, the political impact of religious arguments has been the subject of much important English scholarship in recent decades.⁷

Other approaches have been adopted by historians of Church politics, intellectual trends and religious culture. Unlike their colleagues in political history, these scholars have studied religious disputes for their own sake. An intellectual history method – studying the texts of theologians and polemicists – has often been employed by historians concentrating explicitly on religious controversy.⁸ Meanwhile, Church historians have investigated the effects of controversy on ecclesiastical administration and politics.⁹ Scottish historians in these fields have revealed the vitality of Scottish controversy, particularly that concerning Church government.¹⁰ Some historians have discussed debates surrounding liturgy and ecclesiology in terms of their significance to the religious lives of early modern

⁵ P.W.J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979); P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1978); P. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* (Edinburgh, 1998 edn.); A.I. Macinnes, 'William of Orange – "Disaster for Scotland"?', in E. Mijers and D. Onnekink (eds.), *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (Aldershot, 2007).

⁶ C.A. Whatley with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006).

⁷ Stimulating contributions include N. Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and counter-revolution', in C. Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973); J.S. Morrill, 'The religious context of the English civil war', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 34 (1984), pp.155-78; C. Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991); T. Harris, P. Seaward and M. Goldie (eds.), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990).

⁸ See e.g. N. Tyacke, 'Religious controversy', in N. Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997); D. Gaffney, 'The practice of religious controversy in Dublin, 1600-1641', in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*, *Studies in Church History*, 25 (Oxford, 1989); A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995); C.W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625* (Cambridge, 2005).

⁹ See e.g. A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 1998); P. Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994).

¹⁰ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*; D.G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986); D.G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000); D.G. Mullan (ed.), *Religious Controversy in Scotland, 1625-1639* (SHS, 1998); J. Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997); T. Maxwell, 'The Presbyterian-Episcopalian Controversy in Scotland from the Revolution till the Accession of George I' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1954); C. Kidd, 'Religious realignment between the restoration and union', in J. Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995); C. Kidd, 'Constructing a civil religion: Scots presbyterians and the eighteenth-century British state', in J. Kirk (ed.), *The Scottish Churches and the Union Parliament, 1707-1999* (Edinburgh, 2001).

Scots,¹¹ but one scholar has suggested that such matters were largely irrelevant to ‘religion in the pew’.¹²

Although political, intellectual and ecclesiastical historians have revealed the importance of religious controversy, their accounts typically emphasise a narrow range of arguments, involving small groups of disputants. Political historians concentrate on debates that affected government policy, included leading politicians or encouraged opposition to political authority. Intellectual historians discuss the religious arguments of an educated elite, predominantly made up of clergy. Church historians typically concentrate on a similar elite. These approaches risk elevating particular arguments – whether the intellectually cogent or the politically significant – above mundane and commonplace controversy.

This thesis proposes a new approach to religious controversy, which examines the participation in arguments of people at all social levels. Concentrating on the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it aims to provide a fresh survey of the content of religious disputes and the processes by which people argued. It suggests that participation in controversy by ordinary men and women was widespread, and that it was deliberately encouraged by the elites. The late seventeenth-century public sphere in Scotland allowed people of low social status to gain information about religious arguments, and to contribute to them.

The educated elites – defined as men who had attended university – included the vast majority of ministers, members of other professional groups, and many nobles and lairds. They formed a small group in Scottish society, one that was disproportionately involved in religious controversy. A few politically influential men, such as the third duke of Hamilton, had not studied at university, but took part in controversy in ways characteristic of the elites.¹³ In some cases, particularly with the parochial conflict and crowd violence discussed in chapter five, it also makes

¹¹ L.A. Yeoman, ‘Heart-work: Emotion, Empowerment and Authority in Covenanting Times’ (University of St Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1991); Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*.

¹² Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, esp. p.406.

¹³ R.K. Marshall, ‘Hamilton [Douglas], William, third duke of Hamilton (1634-1694)’, *ODNB*. See ch. 3 below, p.53.

sense to treat people of high social standing in a locality, such as burgh magistrates and minor landowners, as members of elites, whatever their educational experience.

People without experience of university education are described as ‘non-elite’ men and women. The adjectives ‘non-elite’ and ‘popular’ are used interchangeably to label participants in controversy, rather than specific arguments. There were forms of participation particularly characteristic of non-elite people, including crowd violence and testifying before church courts, but there was not a ‘popular culture’ of controversy, distinct from elite discourse. Instead, elite and non-elite disputants shared in a culture of religious controversy, which was influenced by, and in turn helped to shape, theological discussion and secular politics. This interpretation reinforces many historians’ criticisms of the concepts of ‘popular culture’ and ‘popular politics’.¹⁴ Ordinary people and members of elites often experienced culture and controversy in different ways, yet the two social groups shared many of the same ‘cultural’ texts, objects and rituals, as well as many themes of religious dispute.

Religious controversy is defined as *arguments between members of rival religious parties*. Rather than specifying the content of the arguments to be studied, as the intellectual history approach might do, this definition stipulates only the character of the disputants. Small numbers of Quakers and Roman Catholics lived in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland,¹⁵ but most religious arguments were conducted between presbyterians and episcopalians. There were also arguments between members of the same party: controversy between groups of presbyterians became increasingly significant in the early eighteenth century.¹⁶ The

¹⁴ See T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.15, 17, 218; C. Marsh, *Songs of the Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1994), pp.30-8; T. Harris, ‘Problematising popular culture’, in T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 1995); B. Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London, 1998), pp.198-223.

¹⁵ G. DesBrisay, ‘Catholics, Quakers and religious persecution in restoration Aberdeen’, *Innes Review*, 47 (1996), pp.136-68; J. Torrance, ‘The Quaker movement in Scotland’, *RSCHS*, 3 (1929), pp.31-42; P.F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878* (Montrose, 1970), pp.54-114; M.A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp.102-19.

¹⁶ See chs. 7 and 8 below.

politics of the post-revolution episcopalians, which are not discussed in detail in this thesis, have previously been the subject of extensive research.¹⁷

The division between presbyterians and episcopalians originated in differences over Church government, but was deepened by decades of enmity and religious conflict. By referring to ‘parties’, one risks suggesting a false unanimity among either of the two groups. In the 1690s, for example, episcopalian writers misleadingly suggested that the *Hind Let Loose* (1687) by presbyterian extremist Alexander Shields reflected the ‘sense of his party’ – the presbyterians as a whole.¹⁸ Yet the term ‘party’ usefully reflects the tendency of ordinary people to identify themselves as presbyterians or episcopalians.

Some non-elite people favoured one or other party on the basis of ecclesiological reasoning. Gilbert Burnet, professor of divinity at Glasgow in the early 1670s, wrote of south-western Scotland that he was ‘amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government’, with ‘texts of scripture at hand’ and ‘answers to anything that was said to them’.¹⁹ One example of this phenomenon was William Sutherland, a native of Strathnaver who learned to read only after migrating to Irvine, where he was employed as an executioner. After refusing to dispatch some presbyterian prisoners, Sutherland declared himself an opponent of episcopacy, showing his familiarity with disputed points of New Testament interpretation.²⁰ Another convinced presbyterian was serving maid Elizabeth West, whose *Memoirs* discussed six episcopalian errors, rehearsing standard presbyterian arguments such as Christ’s institution of equality among the apostles.²¹ West, and probably Sutherland,

¹⁷ T.N. Clarke, ‘The Scottish Episcopalians, 1688-1720’ (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1987).

¹⁸ GRO, Account of the rabbling of Alexander George, D3549/6/2/2 (M14), fo. 1v. (quotation); *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence: or, the Foolishness of Their Teaching Discovered From Their Books, Sermons, and Prayers* (London, 1692), pp.48-9; [Alexander Monro?], ‘The preface’, in *The History of Scotch-Presbytery: Being an Epitome of The Hind Let Loose by Mr Shields* (London, 1692), sigs. [A3]v.-[A4]v. See A. Raffe, ‘Episcopalian polemic, the London printing press and Anglo-Scottish divergence in the 1690s’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 26 (2006), pp.23-41, at p.29.

¹⁹ Quoted in W.R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland, 1661-1688* (London, 1958), p.118.

²⁰ Wodrow, *History*, ii, pp.54-8.

²¹ West, *Memoirs*, pp.255-63.

received instruction from ministers, although private reading and other experiences encouraged their opinions.²²

Not all participants in religious controversy had such a detailed understanding of ecclesiology. Thomas Boston, minister of Ettrick in the early eighteenth century, devoted much time to arguing with presbyterian separatists, finding that some of those who refused to attend his church lacked coherent reasons for their separation. His *Memoirs* contain the following account of a conversation with a separatist:

I asked her what were her scruples. She did not readily answer, but at length abruptly said, "The oath sealed with His blood." Quest. What mean you by that, the covenant, the solemn league and covenant? Ans. They say there was such a thing. Q. And was the covenant sealed with Christ's blood? A. Yes. I shewed her her mistake.²³

Arguments over Church government and the Covenants led some to identify themselves as presbyterians or episcopalians, but these disputes were not the only reason for the formation of parties. Gilbert Burnet highlighted the role of 'persecution'. While theological disputes led clergy to 'grow hot and angry at one another', he suggested, such arguments could not create animosities among the uneducated laity. Coercion, he continued, affected all, and led 'every man' to conclude 'that *those who use us ill, hate us*':

[U]pon this arises all the Animosity that is among the several Parties: for every one reckoning himself a Member of that Body to which he associates himself, thinks that he is obliged to resent all the Injuries that are done to his Fellow-members, as much as if they were done to himself in particular: and by the same natural Logick, he casts the Guilt of the Wrongs done his own Party, not only on those individuals of the other Party, from whom they did more Immediately arise, but upon the whole Body of them: and so here a War is kindled in mens Breasts, and when that is once formed within, it will find some unhappy occasion or other to give it self a vent.²⁴

²² *Ibid.*, pp.3, 70, 87, 218-9, 266; Wodrow, *History*, ii, p.55. See also ch. 2 below, p.27.

²³ Boston, *Memoirs*, p.218.

²⁴ Gilbert Burnet, 'The translators preface' in Lactantius, *A Relation of the Death of the Primitive Persecutors* trans. Gilbert Burnet (Amsterdam, 1687), pp.39-40.

James Fall, episcopalian principal of Glasgow University until 1690, argued that the reputations of rival clergymen helped to reinforce party identification:

It is not then that one government is better then another thats the ground of all this [controversy], but the opinion the people has gott and can not be dispossessed of it, that Religion and piety are annexed to a party, the too litle thats among some of our [episcopalian] countrey ministers confirme them in this[.]²⁵

Burnet and Fall assumed that religious controversy did not consist exclusively of systematic arguments about Church government or theology. This thesis shares their judgement, and suggests that ‘persecution’ and the reputations of presbyterian and episcopalian clergy were significant matters of controversy.²⁶ Church government was debated, by ordinary people such as Sutherland and West, and in learned tracts by ministers of both parties.²⁷ But when religious arguments are examined at both elite and non-elite levels, it becomes clear that while disputes over the Covenants and the 1690 settlement were significant, much of the period’s controversy concerned issues other than ecclesiology.

The following chapters examine aspects of controversy in which hundreds, sometimes thousands, of people participated. Outwith the educated (and male) elites, moreover, men and women took part in controversy in similar ways. Yet it is impossible to determine what proportion of Scots was ever directly involved in controversy. Similarly, there is no way to judge how many took religious arguments seriously. Nevertheless, communities across Scotland were affected by controversy, in varying ways and at different points in the period. Some forms of participation in controversy were concentrated in particular regions: episcopalian crowd violence

²⁵ NLS, James Fall to Robert Wylie, 9 Oct. 1687, Wod. Qu. XXX, fo. 205v.

²⁶ See chs. 2, 3 and 4 below.

²⁷ See e.g. Gilbert Burnet, *A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1673); [Gilbert Rule], *A Modest Answer to Dr Stillingfleet’s Irenicum* (London, 1680); [Alexander Cunningham], *An Essay concerning Church Government, out of the Excellent Writings of Calvin and Beza* ([Edinburgh?], 1689); [Thomas Forrester], *A Counter-Essay: or, a Vindication and Assertion of Calvin and Beza’s Presbyterian Judgment and Principles* (Edinburgh, 1692); [John Sage], *The Principles of the Cyprianic Age, with Regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction* (London, 1695); Gilbert Rule, *The Cyprianick-Bishop Examined, and Found not to be a Diocesan, nor to have Superior Power to a Parish Minister, or Presbyterian Moderator* (Edinburgh, 1696).

was most common in the north; presbyterian separatism was predominantly a southern phenomenon. If there is relatively little evidence of religious disputes in the Highlands and Islands, there is reason to believe that controversy was at least as intense in the rural Lowlands as in the burghs.

II

The period between 1679 and 1714 is particularly suitable for an analysis of religious controversy at both elite and popular levels. First, there is a diverse range of sources. A large body of printed pamphlets and tracts exists, reflecting a considerable expansion across the period in the use of print media to discuss current affairs.²⁸ Printed literature had been significant in propagating the demands of the Covenanters from 1638, but the output of Scottish presses dropped back in the 1650s and 1660s.²⁹ Unlike England, Scotland saw no sudden lapses of licensing in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, more than fifty books were published in Scotland in every year after 1679.³⁰ Religious polemic formed a significant proportion of this output. Some controversial works were printed in the Netherlands during the restoration period and imported to Scotland, although this trend was less significant after 1680.³¹ In the 1690s, a combination of Scottish printing restrictions, episcopalian exile, and a desire to influence Anglican audiences led most episcopalian writers to publish their works in London. This reduced the availability in Scotland of such works as the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (1692), which nevertheless reflected an important current in religious controversy.³²

Most religious pamphlets were written by members of the educated elites. It is difficult to establish what influence these works had on non-elite men and women. Some ordinary people were unable to read, but there is reason to believe that reading

²⁸ Maxwell, 'Presbyterian-Episcopalian Controversy' provides a detailed bibliography of many relevant pamphlets published after 1688.

²⁹ J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.172-87; A.J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), pp.215-16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.215-17.

³¹ Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*, pp.37-8, 122; Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, pp.84-6.

³² Raffe, 'Episcopalian polemic'. See ch. 3 below.

literacy was high among religiously committed men and women.³³ Moreover, recent scholarship has demonstrated that print impinged on the lives of the early modern illiterate, particularly as a result of communal reading aloud.³⁴ Yet evidence of the availability and use of any particular religious pamphlet is hard to come by. As in England, little is known about Scottish print runs before the modern period.³⁵ Even where the print run of a pamphlet can be estimated, lack of information about how ordinary people consumed the work makes it difficult to speculate about their experiences of controversy.³⁶ Some relevant scraps of evidence do survive. It is known that James Muir, a non-elite presbyterian extremist, owned copies of such works as James Steuart of Goodtrees' *Jus Populi Vindicatum* (1669) and John Brown's *History of the Indulgence* (1678). Muir's imprisonment by the privy council, together with the uncompromising sentiments expressed in his surviving letters, suggests that he agreed with the principles defended in these tracts.³⁷ In another case, it was rumoured that the congregation of the indulged presbyterian minister Anthony Murray 'deserted him' for preaching against a third extremist work, *Naphtali*, by James Steuart and John Stirling.³⁸

If these examples exhibit some of the characteristics of religious controversy at non-elite levels, they also underline the need to look beyond printed sources. One way in which religious arguments were spread from clergy to non-elite men and women was

³³ T.C. Smout, 'Born again at Cambuslang: new evidence on popular religion and literacy in eighteenth-century Scotland', *Past and Present*, 97 (Nov. 1982), pp.114-27. Historians now recognise that the use of writing ability as a test of literacy underestimates the prevalence of reading ability: A. Fox and D. Woolf, 'Introduction', in A. Fox and D. Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain* (Manchester, 2002), pp.7, 22. For an overview of the debate with reference to Scotland, see A. Murdoch, 'Literacy in eighteenth-century Scotland', in S. Brown and W. McDougall (eds.), *The History of the Book in Scotland*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, forthcoming), ii.

³⁴ A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), pp.1-50.

³⁵ J. Raven, 'New reading histories, print culture and the identification of change: the case of eighteenth-century England', *Social History*, 23 (1998), pp.268-87, at p.275; Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, p.214.

³⁶ Cf. A. Fox, 'Ballads, libel and popular ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (Nov. 1994), pp.47-83, at pp.47-8.

³⁷ *RPC*, viii, pp.701-2, 516-17, 684-5, 692, 706-7.

³⁸ MS. note, probably in John Gray's hand, in [Gilbert Burnet], *A Modest and Free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, about the Present Distempers of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 2nd edn., 1669), NLS, Gray 148, second part, p.10. This probably referred to the Anthony Murray who was indulged at Carstairs (Lanark presbytery) in 1677: *Fasti*, iii, p.293.

through the preaching of sermons.³⁹ Significant numbers of sermons survive, in printed collections and manuscript notebooks. Sermons were regularly transcribed by lay hearers as they were preached, often in shorthand.⁴⁰ Most of the sermons now available in print were published from hearers' notes, often years after the deaths of their respective preachers. Of course, this raises questions about the editorial practice of the sometimes anonymous publishers. John Howie of Lochgoin, a late eighteenth-century editor of presbyterian sermons, admitted to removing archaic and vulgar phrases and correcting errors of citation in the manuscripts.⁴¹ More extensive editorial intervention was required in 1720 when John Williamson printed a sermon by his late father David Williamson from a shorthand transcript that John himself had made. Owing to gaps in the manuscript, attributable to the speed of David Williamson's preaching, John occasionally completed phrases and sentences, always (he said) trying to match his father's sense.⁴² Although the accuracy of some sermon texts available to historians may be in doubt, they nevertheless convey the sorts of arguments and language used by clergy.

Sermons were more accessible to ordinary men and women than printed works. But to investigate the views of non-elite people, it is necessary to examine their own memoirs, diaries and letters. These suggest that it was not unusual for non-elite people to make use of the sorts of arguments outlined in pamphlets and sermons. In many cases, however, manuscripts have survived and religious memoirs have been published because of their authors' reputations for notable piety. These sources reflect the experiences of people who were particularly likely to take part in controversy. Thus it makes sense to compare the instances of non-elite participation in dispute found in memoirs, diaries and letters with evidence of the controversial activity of a broader range of people. Such information can be found in the papers of church courts, particularly in the decades after the re-establishment of presbyterian

³⁹ Cf. T. Claydon, 'The sermon, the "public sphere" and the political culture of late seventeenth-century England', in L.A. Ferrell and P. McCullough (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000).

⁴⁰ See e.g. NLS, Shorthand sermon notebook, c.1681-1682, MS. 7173.

⁴¹ J. Howie, 'The preface to the reader', in J. Howie (ed.), *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, Preached upon Several Subjects, mostly in the Time of the late Persecution* (Glasgow, 1779), pp.xxiv-xxvii.

⁴² David Williamson, *Scotland's Sin, Danger, and Duty Faithfully Represented in a Sermon Preach'd at the West-Kirk, August 23d, 1696* (Edinburgh, 1720), p.4.

government in 1690. Non-elite people served as witnesses before the courts, and presented petitions to them. Furthermore, the opinions of ordinary men and women were recorded in the correspondence and diaries of ministers.

Another reason to assess religious controversy at both elite and popular levels is that it poses interesting new research questions concerning the public sphere and the nature of political culture. Until the 1990s, most historians of Scottish religion in the restoration period were thirled to a traditional narrative of presbyterian struggle, deriving ultimately from Robert Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (1721-2).⁴³ Only recently have scholars followed new lines of enquiry, shining light on political thought, presbyterian exile and conspiracy.⁴⁴ A study of religious controversy might contribute to this revival of interest in restoration Scotland.

The history of religion between 1690 and 1714 has typically been written within the confines of Church history.⁴⁵ Episcopalian history has regrettably been seen as a peripheral concern, even though the ideological links between episcopalian belief and Jacobitism are now well understood.⁴⁶ The marginalisation of religion, exhibited most starkly in Patrick Riley's political narrative of the period,⁴⁷ has obscured the

⁴³ Wodrow, *History*; Hyman, 'Church militant'; Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, esp. preface. I.B. Cowan, 'The Covenanters: a revision article', *SHR*, 47 (1968), pp.35-52 was a plea for a more impartial and knowledgeable version of the traditional narrative, not for a new narrative. On the endurance of the traditional narrative, see also E.J. Cowan, 'The Covenanting tradition in Scottish history', in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh, 2002), p.144. An exception to the dominance of the narrative is Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery*.

⁴⁴ Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*; R. von Friedeburg, 'From collective representation to the right to individual defence: James Steuart's *Ius Populi Vindicatum* and the use of Johannes Althusius' *Politica* in restoration Scotland', *History of European Ideas*, 24 (1998), pp.19-42; G. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004); R.L. Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688-1689* (Stanford, CA, 1992).

⁴⁵ A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh, 1973); A.I. Dunlop, *William Carstairs and the Kirk by Law Established* (Edinburgh, 1967); T. Maxwell, 'William III and the Scots presbyterians – part II', *RSCHS*, 15:3 (1965), pp.169-91.

⁴⁶ G. White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History* (Edinburgh, 1998), preface; Clarke, 'Scottish Episcopalians'; B. Lenman, 'The Scottish episcopalian clergy and the ideology of Jacobitism', in E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982); T. Clarke, "'Nurseries of sedition'?: the episcopal congregations after the revolution of 1689", in J. Porter (ed.), *After Columba – After Calvin: Community and Identity in the Religious Traditions of North East Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1999); D. Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1681-1731: A Study of Jacobitism* (East Linton, 2002), pp.173, 199-200.

⁴⁷ See the works cited above in fn. 5.

broad social and political significance of religious arguments. Religion's importance, robustly asserted in the English context,⁴⁸ has been recognised by recent Scottish historians, particularly with reference to the union of 1707 and political culture.⁴⁹ By studying religious arguments, it will be possible to say more about the politics of the post-revolution decades, and the social significance of controversy.

The years between 1679 and 1714 have rarely been studied as a unit. More often, scholars have seen 1688 or 1690 as the end of a period, or as a starting point. Historians of the union recognise the importance of the century after 1603, but focus much of their attention on the few years leading up to 1707. In order to reveal changes brought by the revolution and the union, while exploring continuities across the period, it makes sense to study the last years of Stuart rule as a whole. Recent English historians have recognised this, and have begun to refer to the sixty years after 1660 as the second half of the 'long seventeenth century'.⁵⁰ This thesis takes 1679, the year of presbyterian defeat at Bothwell Bridge, as its starting point. In the following chapters, controversial themes in the 1660-1679 period are sometimes outlined, but emphasis is placed on the years from 1679. The neglected period after 1690 is covered in most detail. Because the religious politics of the period between Bothwell Bridge and the death of Queen Anne are not widely known, it is worth giving a brief overview of events here.

Following the defeat of the 1679 rising, presbyterian resistance to the episcopalian establishment became increasingly fragmented. Inspired by a few extremist ministers, a network of lay prayer groups, known as the United Societies or the Cameronians, denounced the mainstream presbyterian clergy, repudiated Charles II

⁴⁸ J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 1985); W.M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁴⁹ Kidd, 'Religious realignment'; C. Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting tradition and the eighteenth-century British state', *English Historical Review*, 117 (2002), pp.1147-76; J. Stephen, 'The Kirk and the union, 1706-07: a reappraisal', *RSCHS*, 31 (2001), pp.68-96; J. Stephen, 'Scottish Presbyterians and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1707' (University of Aberdeen Ph.D. thesis, 2004); Raffe, 'Episcopalian polemic'.

⁵⁰ M. Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005), pp.3-4; B. Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2005), p.4. See also T. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London, 2005), pp.xv-vii.

and declared war on the government.⁵¹ Elite and non-elite presbyterians, particularly members of the Societies, experienced severe repression by officers of the state. Preaching by moderate presbyterian ministers was curtailed; the privy council's indulgences, which entitled presbyterians to preach in specified parishes under certain conditions, were gradually cancelled.⁵² The accession of James VII did not immediately improve the position of presbyterians, but in 1687 the king proclaimed a general toleration of the worship of Roman Catholics and protestant dissenters. The ministers of the United Societies, who were excluded from the toleration, opposed the measure, but other presbyterians began to organise alongside the episcopalian Church.⁵³

After the invasion of England by William of Orange and his acceptance of the English throne, a convention of estates met in Edinburgh. In the Claim of Right of 11 April 1689, the estates declared episcopacy to be 'a great and insupportable greivance [*sic*] [...] contrary to the Inclinationes of the generality of the people since the reformatione'. This led to the abolition of bishops in July 1689, and the re-establishment of presbyterian government in the following June.⁵⁴ Presbyterians gained from the Williamite revolution, but the settlement of their Church government created new problems. The security of the 1690 settlement seemed in doubt, as episcopalian influence on William grew, and the king tried to encourage the admission of episcopalian clergy to full ministerial communion with the Church.⁵⁵ Uncertainty developed around the crown's influence over the Church, particularly after royal commissioners precipitously dissolved the general assemblies of 1692, 1702 and 1703. By the end of William's reign, debates concerning the 'intrinsic

⁵¹ Mark Jardine's forthcoming Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis will examine the United Societies in detail. For the Societies' origins, see M. Jardine, 'Scottish presbyterian radicals in the northern United Provinces, 1682-84', *Dutch Crossing*, 29 (2005), pp.79-106, at pp.79-83.

⁵² Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, p.107; John Lauder, *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs* ed. D. Laing, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848), ii, pp.492, 532.

⁵³ Alexander Shields, *March 11 1688. Some Notes or Heads of a Preface, Lecture and Sermon, Preached at the Lothers in Crafoord Moor* ([Edinburgh?], [1688?]), pp.6, 9, 14; Wodrow, *History*, iv, pp.432-3.

⁵⁴ *APS*, ix, pp.40 (quotation), 104, 133-4. For a detailed account of events, see L.K.J. Glassey, 'William II and the settlement of religion in Scotland, 1688-1690', *RSCHS*, 23:3 (1989), pp.317-29.

⁵⁵ Maxwell, 'William III and the Scots presbyterians – part II'; T. Maxwell, 'The Church union attempt at the general assembly of 1692', in D. Shaw (ed.), *Reformation and Revolution: Essays presented to the Very Reverend Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt* (Edinburgh, 1967); Clarke, 'Scottish Episcopals', pp.73-138.

power' of the Church to call and dissolve its assemblies had become fraught.⁵⁶ Ecclesiastical and parliamentary politics in the 1690s thus exhibited parallel trends; indeed, disputes over the Darien scheme, and the division between court and country, affected the conduct of the Church's affairs.⁵⁷ Arguments about the intrinsic power related to a wider controversy concerning the legacy of the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643). These oaths were not enshrined in the revolution settlement; many presbyterians at elite and popular levels accused leading ministers and politicians of suppressing Scotland's Covenanting heritage and freely taking oaths contradictory to the Covenants.⁵⁸

Anne's accession in 1702 exacerbated the fears that had developed over the previous decade. After 1703, Anne's management of the general assembly was normally less provocative than that of William.⁵⁹ Yet the union of 1707 and the imposition of oaths on ministers greatly increased criticisms of the Church from a Covenanting perspective, contributing to significant presbyterian separatism in the south-west of Scotland. Furthermore, in February 1703, Anne instructed the privy council to protect episcopalian dissenters 'in the peaceable exercise of their Religion'.⁶⁰ The queen's letter, interpreted by many as an indulgence for episcopalian worship, encouraged aggressive opposition to presbyterian authority in many localities, especially in the north of Scotland.⁶¹ In March 1703, the political standing of opponents of the revolution was further enhanced when the privy council issued an indemnity in favour of many Jacobites.⁶² This, together with the success of Jacobite and episcopalian candidates in the 1702 parliamentary elections, raised the prospect of episcopalian toleration by statute. Toleration was supported by some courtiers,

⁵⁶ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, pp.2, 13; Boston, *Memoirs*, pp.164-6; [Robert Wylie], *Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Minister in the Country* ([Edinburgh?], [1703]), pp.1-6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.3-4; J. M'Cormick (ed.), *State-Papers and Letters, Addressed to William Carstares* (Edinburgh, 1774), p.500; GUL, William Crichton to John Stirling, 20 Aug. 1702, MS. Gen. 204, no. 25; NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame's diary, 1700-1702, GD1/649/3, pp.28, 40. See K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, 2007). I have benefited from discussions with Dr Bowie on this subject.

⁵⁸ See chs. 6, 7 and 8 below.

⁵⁹ Boston, *Memoirs*, p.165.

⁶⁰ NAS, Privy council acta, 13 July 1699-5 May 1703, PC1/52, p.510.

⁶¹ See ch. 5 below.

⁶² NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/52, pp.536-40.

but its proponents failed to secure the measure in the 1703 parliament.⁶³ After the union, however, episcopalians were in a position to benefit from the political contacts they had cultivated with English Tories. In 1712, episcopalian toleration was granted, and the right of church patrons to present ministers to parishes was restored. By the time of George I's accession in 1714, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland had witnessed a sharp deterioration in its status, the support it received from politicians, and the respect it enjoyed from ordinary people.

III

By uncovering the arguments of non-elite men and women, it should be possible to shed new light on religion, politics and society in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland. More fundamentally, this thesis argues that popular participation in controversy mattered – that it was an essential characteristic of religious politics in the period. As has been noted, the Claim of Right repudiated episcopacy with reference to the ‘Inclinationes of the generality of the people’. Presbyterian government was re-established in part because it was thought to be popular. These claims of episcopalian unpopularity and wide backing for Presbyterianism were soon challenged by episcopalian writers. One 1690 pamphlet argued that less than a third of Scots favoured Presbyterian government, and that support was declining in its areas of strength.⁶⁴ Another episcopalian suggested that support for the rival forms of government could be put to a poll.⁶⁵ In response, Presbyterian Gilbert Rule argued that the Presbyterians would win a huge majority if debauched and irreligious persons were excluded.⁶⁶ Episcopalian John Sage saw the Claim of Right's article on prelacy as the ‘fundamental charter of presbytery’, the ‘Great Foundation’ of the abolition of episcopacy and settlement of Presbyterian government. According to Sage, the charter was wrong in its allegations, including

⁶³ K.M. Brown, ‘Party politics and parliament: Scotland's last election and its aftermath, 1702-3’, in K.M. Brown and A.J. Mann (eds.), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707* (Edinburgh, 2005); Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, pp.48-55.

⁶⁴ [Thomas Morer, John Sage, Alexander Monro], *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church of Scotland in several letters* (London, 1690), pp.57-61.

⁶⁵ [Alexander Monro], *Presbyterian Inquisition; As it was lately practised against the Professors of the Colledge of Edinburgh* (London, 1691), p.17.

⁶⁶ [Gilbert Rule], *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), p.35. Cf. ch. 4 below, p.79.

its claim of widespread opposition to episcopacy.⁶⁷ If presbyterianism was so popular, one episcopalian asked in 1703, why did presbyterian ministers oppose the toleration of their opponents?⁶⁸ As late as 1712, episcopalians still challenged the alleged popularity of presbyterianism at the time of the revolution.⁶⁹

Historians have recognised and continued this debate, but have been unable to resolve it.⁷⁰ A more fruitful question can be posed: why did polemicists engage in arguments over the popularity of the rival parties? The Claim of Right's reference to popular inclinations is again key. The political elites represented in parliament tended not to think of the forms of Church government in terms of divine law. After the restoration of Charles II, episcopacy was restored for pragmatic reasons.⁷¹ Even churchmen 'failed to produce a convincing *iure divino* case for episcopacy'.⁷² The Claim of Right did not say that episcopacy was unscriptural, nor that presbyterian government had divine warrant. Before 1700, when an act was passed declaring presbyterianism agreeable to the word of God,⁷³ parliament refused to adjudicate on the ecclesiological arguments for either form of government. Although presbyterian ministers believed that their government was divinely ordained, they were prevented from passing an act to that effect at the 1690 general assembly.⁷⁴ Acts of parliament, and of the 1690 general assembly, made no mention of the Covenants. Thus the political elites exhibited an ecclesiological relativism, and settled a supposedly popular form of government without assessing its scriptural legitimacy. Seeking to influence court and parliament in their favour, clergy of both parties adopted the

⁶⁷ [John Sage], *The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, As it hath been lately Established in the Kingdom of Scotland, Examined and Disproved* (London, 1695), quotation at p.2.

⁶⁸ [Robert Calder], *Reasons for a Toleration to the Episcopalian Clergie* (Edinburgh, 1703), pp.16-17.

⁶⁹ GRO, 'A true view of Scots Presbytry 1712', D3549/6/2/2 (M3), fos. 1v.-2r.

⁷⁰ T. Maxwell, 'Presbyterian and episcopalian in 1688', *RSCHS*, 13:1 (1957), pp.25-37; W. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968), pp.103-4.

⁷¹ J. Buckroyd, 'Anti-clericalism in Scotland during the restoration', in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland, 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983), p.170. See also G. Davies and P.H. Hardacre, 'The restoration of the Scottish episcopacy, 1660-1661', *Journal of British Studies*, 1:2 (May 1962), pp.32-51. The 1662 act of parliament that settled episcopacy noted that it was the 'Church Government most agreeable to the word of God', but also justified its restoration with reference to its suitability to political and ecclesiastical order, and asserted that determining Church government was a royal prerogative: *APS*, vii, p.372; see also p.88.

⁷² Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*, pp.104-16, quotation at p.110.

⁷³ *APS*, x, p.215.

⁷⁴ [John Cockburn], *An Historical Relation of the Late Presbyterian General Assembly* (London, 1691), p.24; NLS, Draft act of the general assembly, 1690, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 9.

politicians' relativist emphasis on popularity. The opinions and actions of ordinary men and women were therefore central to religious debate. Popular participation in controversy, which had long existed on the fringes of religious politics, was increasingly encouraged and manipulated.

Chapters two to nine examine the main themes of controversy in which there was significant popular participation. Chapters two, three and four concentrate on vocabularies of terms that were controversial and contested, showing the importance of language and labels in religious controversy.⁷⁵ Chapter two argues that non-elite presbyterians adopted a vocabulary of 'persecution' to criticise their treatment by the episcopalian authorities. After the revolution, this vocabulary was used to legitimate the deprivation of episcopalian ministers by presbyterian courts. Meanwhile, episcopalian clergy turned the same vocabulary against their opponents.

As chapter three illustrates, episcopalians accused presbyterian ministers and lay people of religious 'fanaticism' and 'enthusiasm', stereotyped charges that reflected growing episcopalian hostility to emotional styles of piety. Chapter four argues that presbyterians responded by stressing their sobriety, which they contrasted with episcopalian immorality. Non-elite witnesses were involved in a series of post-revolution purges of the parochial clergy and the universities, in which allegations of episcopalian drunkenness were prevalent.

Chapter five assesses the participation of non-elite men and women in crowd violence. While this was an endemic feature of early modern society, it was particularly manipulated by members of presbyterian and episcopalian elites, with the intention of demonstrating the popularity of their parties. Chapters six, seven and eight turn to controversies concerning the Covenants, presbyterian dissent from the Church of Scotland, and the ways in which the union of 1707 exacerbated disputes

⁷⁵ For English comparisons, see M. Goldie and J. Spurr, 'Politics and the restoration parish: Edward Fowler and the struggle for St Giles Cripplegate', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), pp.572-96; M. Knights, 'Occasional conformity and the representation of dissent: hypocrisy, sincerity, moderation and zeal', in S. Taylor and D.L. Wykes (eds.), *Parliament and Dissent* (Edinburgh, 2005); Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, pp.214-16, 272-334.

among presbyterians. Chapter nine surveys the role in religious controversy of concerns over English theology, new philosophy and atheism.

Finally, chapter ten concludes by examining the consequences of controversy for Scottish society. It suggests that religious arguments contributed to a process of confessionalisation, in which presbyterians and episcopalians became increasingly distinct groups. After the revolution, Scots learned about the realities of protestant pluralism, but were slow to accept the ideological consequences of toleration. By 1714, however, decades of confessionalisation and controversy had weakened the authority of the established Church and its ministers, while encouraging a more inclusive public sphere of debate.

Chapter 2: The Vocabulary of ‘Persecution’

I

In 1677, an anonymous octavo volume was published, probably in Edinburgh, which looked back with dismay at the treatment of presbyterian ministers since the restoration of episcopacy.

It is not unknown (as we suppose) to the Churches of Christ, in the *lands* of *Britane* and *Ireland*, and other parts of the Christian World, what persecutions, upon the introduction of Prelacy in the Year 1662 the partie, called *Presbyterian*, hath suffered, especially in the Church of *Scotland*, and yet lyeth under, throw the implacable and violent rage of their adversaries, the Prelates and their adherents[.]¹

This tract was the work of Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson.² Before the deprivation of presbyterian clergy in 1662, Smith had been minister of Eastwood in the presbytery of Paisley. Jameson, twice Dean of Faculty at Glasgow University, had also been deprived from his ministry at Govan. The two ministers seem to have been involved in conventicling, and both declined the privy council’s 1672 offer of indulgence. Both men seem to have died before the rising that led to presbyterian defeat at Bothwell Bridge, but they were nevertheless stalwarts of the first generation of restoration presbyterian resistance.³ Their description of the state’s response to such resistance as ‘persecution’ was echoed in pamphlets, sermons, letters and diaries in the 1680s.

This chapter argues that a small vocabulary of terms relating to persecution was used regularly by the presbyterian clerical elite, and was communicated through sermons and by other means to non-elite presbyterians. Elite and popular discussions of persecution in the restoration period responded to presbyterian experiences, and reflected biblical uses of the vocabulary. Presbyterians sometimes employed the

¹ [Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson], *An Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Persecuted Ministers & Professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion, in the Church of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1677), p.1.

² Robert Wodrow, *Life of James Wodrow* (Edinburgh, 1828), p.54; cf. ESTC.

³ *Fasti*, iii, pp.134, 411-12; *RPC*, iv, pp.104-5.

vocabulary for devotional purposes, and also used it to encourage steadfast opposition to episcopacy. Criticism of persecution under Charles II and James VII gained force from comparisons between events in Scotland (and England) and the experiences of oppressed protestants in continental Europe.

Persecution vocabulary was both controversial – it expressed and provoked argument – and contested – each religious party aimed to monopolise its use against opponents. Episcopalians denied that the suppression of presbyterian dissent in the restoration period could correctly be described as persecution. After the revolution, episcopalian writers appropriated the presbyterian vocabulary, which they used to describe the ‘sufferings’ of ‘rabbled’ and deprived episcopalian clergy. Presbyterians now questioned whether the vocabulary adequately reflected episcopalian experiences. Meanwhile, episcopalian ministers were deprived by church courts at which non-elite witnesses gave evidence of persecution.

II

From the early years of the restoration period, presbyterian ministers developed a style of preaching and writing about contemporary religious events that stressed the unjust and severe persecution experienced by them, their brethren and lay followers. John Brown’s *Apologeticall Relation* (1665) complained of ‘a most cruel persecution by a popish prelaticall & malignant party’. According to Brown, an exiled presbyterian minister at Rotterdam, the government’s repression of presbyterian dissent was doubly lamentable, as it brought both a falling away from piety and ‘grievous afflictions & sore persecution’.⁴ In a later work, Brown described how ‘all wayes of cruelty imaginable [were] taken, to suppress’ presbyterian worship, at the behest of a ‘Swarm of [episcopalian] *Curats*’.⁵ Adopting a similar rhetoric, fellow exiled minister Robert McWard argued that persecution compounded Scotland’s breach of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. Thus he

⁴ [John Brown], *An Apologeticall Relation, of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithfull Ministers & Professours of the Church of Scotland since August 1660* (n.p., 1665), sigs. *3v., *2r.

⁵ [John Brown], *The History of the Indulgence shewing its Rise, Conveyance, Progress and Acceptance* (n.p., 1678), pp.3, 2.

claimed that Scotland's rulers 'persecute [presbyterians] for persisting in those wayes, wherein they themselves have given it under their hand to God they would walk'.⁶ Terms such as 'persecution', 'suffering', 'cruelty' and 'afflictions' were repeatedly used to characterise the experiences of presbyterians during the restoration period. Along with words relating to the 'inquisition', which are discussed below, they made up the vocabulary of 'persecution'.

Unsurprisingly, presbyterian ministers found the Bible a rich source of phrases and expressions relating to persecution. McWard's *Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water* (1678) was studded with quotations and allusions to texts such as 2 Timothy 3:12, rendered by McWard as '*all who will live Godly in Christ Iesus to suffer persecution*'.⁷ Elsewhere in the work, McWard alluded to 1 Peter 3:14, in which Christians are encouraged to endure suffering for the sake of righteousness.⁸ Hebrews 11:25, which presents Moses' resistance to Egyptian oppression as a model for the faithful Christian, was another popular text. When condemned conventicling minister John King spoke from an Edinburgh scaffold on 14 August 1679, he paraphrased this verse: 'I did always, and yet do judge it better to suffer Affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Sin for a Season'.⁹ Consciously or otherwise, King's use of this text echoed earlier presbyterian sermons, including one by Michael Bruce, probably given in the 1670s.¹⁰

To many presbyterians, persecution vocabulary must have seemed suitable for describing the fines, incarceration, violent obstruction of worship and executions they endured. Preaching in October 1676, James Fraser of Brae remarked 'how gracious is the lord to such as are imprissoned & persecuted'.¹¹ In 1684, a lay presbyterian, confined in the Canongate tolbooth, wrote to a friend asking for her

⁶ [Robert McWard], *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Ministred to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland* ([Edinburgh], 1678), p.4. The careers of Brown and McWard are discussed in G. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004), pp.12, 32-3, 49-50, 52-8.

⁷ [McWard], *Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water*, p.6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.7.

⁹ *The Last Speeches of the Two Ministers Mr John King, and Mr John Kid, At the Place of Execution at Edenburgh On the 14th day of August, 1679* ([Edinburgh?], 1680), p.2.

¹⁰ Michael Bruce, 'Sermon', in J. Howie (ed.), *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, Preached upon Several Subjects, mostly in the Time of the late Persecution* (Glasgow, 1779), p.217.

¹¹ NCL, Sermons of James Fraser of Brae, 1676, 1682, Box 53.8, p.[28].

prayers, and remarking that 'I kno not bwt my swffringes may rwne a forder lenth nor I yet think of'.¹² One 1689 pamphlet, probably the work of Alexander Shields, a minister who had been tortured on the orders of the privy council, described the government's torture devices as 'Engines of Cruelty'.¹³ It was not only 'persecuted' presbyterians who used this vocabulary to characterise their experiences. John Lauder of Fountainhall, a member of the episcopalian political elite who sometimes showed sympathy for the presbyterians' plight, described the imprisoning and fining of presbyterian recusants as a 'fruitlesse kind of persecution'.¹⁴

Others in the episcopalian elite, however, thought the vocabulary of persecution inappropriate to the presbyterians' circumstances. Responding to John King's scaffold testimony, George Hickes, Anglican chaplain to the duke of Lauderdale, challenged the presbyterian's choice of words:

It hath always been the custom of Sectaries to miscall the Execution of the Laws, by the odious name of Persecution, which common People, who seldom consider, that the righteousness of the Cause, and not the sufferings of the Prosecuted make Persecution, are apt to think is really such, as often as men suffer upon a pretended religious account[.]¹⁵

Hickes distinguished between just punishment and persecution, which was by definition unjust. The government's campaign against presbyterians could be called persecution only if it suppressed righteous doctrine or worship or illegitimately punished the refusal to adopt sinful principles or practices. Since, according to Hickes, presbyterians expressed false and rebellious principles, practised treason and had no grounds to object to episcopalian worship, government policy against them could not be called persecution.¹⁶ Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, lord advocate in the 1680s, concurred. In a pamphlet of 1691, he stressed the similarity

¹² *RPC*, viii, p.692.

¹³ [Alexander Shields?], *The Scottish Inquisition; or, a Short Account of the Proceedings of the Scottish Privy Counsel* ([Edinburgh?], 1689), p.5; A. Raffe, 'Propaganda, religious controversy and the Williamite revolution in Scotland', *Dutch Crossing*, 29 (2005), pp.21-42, at pp.29-30.

¹⁴ John Lauder, *Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrents in Church and State from October 1680 to April 1686* eds. A. Urquhart and D. Laing (Bannatyne Club, 1840), p.87.

¹⁵ [George Hickes], *The Spirit of Popery Speaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical-Protestants, or the Last Speeches of Mr John Kid and Mr John King* (London, 1680), p.24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.25-7.

of presbyterian and episcopalian worship, noting that many presbyterians had communicated with the episcopalian Church. Presbyterians who were prosecuted for failing to attend church could not say ‘*that they were Persecuted*, and forced to joyn with an *Unsound*, much less *Heretical* Church, as the *French* Protestants are’.¹⁷

According to the episcopalian authorities, presbyterian recusants were unreasonable schismatics who could be legitimately and justly punished. Preaching before the privy council in 1684, Alexander Rose, professor of divinity at Glasgow University, described schism as ‘one of the devils most principal engines, for the ruine of Religion’. He argued that the council ought to act vigorously against those guilty of this crime.¹⁸ Moreover, presbyterian dissent was seen as seditious, its suppression necessary to preserve public order. In a royal proclamation of April 1683, Charles II professed himself

fully perswaded that it is neither difference in religion nor tendernes of conscience (as is pretended) but meerly principles of disloyalty and disaffection to us and our government that moves them [presbyterians] (under a pretext of religion) to disturb the quiet of our reign and peace of this our ancient kingdome[.]¹⁹

For Hickes and his episcopalian allies, presbyterian claims of persecution were hypocritical. The Covenanters had hounded their opponents without mercy, imposing a string of oaths on tender consciences.²⁰ Presbyterians had a long record of inflicting cruelty on episcopalians, having executed the marquis of Montrose, humiliated Charles II, and assassinated James Sharp, archbishop of St Andrews.²¹ According to Mackenzie, presbyterians were ‘the first Aggressors; and consequently, what was done against them deserves rather the name of *Self-defence* than

¹⁷ George Mackenzie, *A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1691), p.9.

¹⁸ Alexander Rose, *A Sermon* (Glasgow, 1684), quotation at p.41.

¹⁹ *RPC*, viii, p.133. For arguments between presbyterians over loyalty and disloyalty, see C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.123-30.

²⁰ [Alexander Cunningham], *Some Questions Resolved concerning Episcopal and Presbyterian Government in Scotland* (London, 1690), pp.5-8.

²¹ [Hickes], *Spirit of Popery*, p.47.

Persecution'.²² By challenging presbyterian use of the vocabulary of persecution, episcopalians echoed English satire of the restoration period, in which dissenting ministers were represented as using spurious allegations of persecution to trick a gullible laity.²³

The vocabulary of persecution was provocative and controversial. Furthermore, there is evidence that its use had spread beyond the presbyterian clerical elite to ordinary men and women. As chapter one argues, it is difficult to assess the influence of printed works, such as those employing persecution vocabulary, on non-elite people. Yet persecution vocabulary was also conveyed by means of sermons, which could be consumed in oral, manuscript and printed forms. In a sermon that was probably circulated in manuscript after being preached in 1678, John Welwood denounced Scotland's rulers for 'persecuting the godly', and warned of impending divine punishment.²⁴ Preaching on Isaiah 49:24-6, a poignant text for fugitive presbyterians, Richard Cameron claimed that '[w]e never lost any thing by suffering cleanly, but gained much by those who have lost their lives on fields and scaffolds'.²⁵ If there are reasons to doubt the reliability of the texts of these sermons, which were printed a century after they were delivered, frequent use of terms relating to persecution can also be found in sermons preserved in contemporary manuscripts and pamphlets. In one manuscript sermon, Fraser of Brae responded to the challenge presented by the episcopalian position. 'Our querrell is purely stated on Chrysts accompt & on conscience: And if the lords people do weill they will be ware to stait [thei]r sufferings on any o[the]r accompt or give the enemie occasione to do so'.²⁶ Three years later, Archibald Riddell warned 'Enemies to the persecuted and distressed Cause' of God not to come to the table during a communion service at Carrick.²⁷ In 1688, Alexander Shields alluded to a text from the book of Isaiah,

²² Mackenzie, *Vindication of the Government of Scotland*, pp.3-4.

²³ Samuel Butler, 'An Hypocritical Nonconformist' (c.1667-1669), in *Hudibras Parts I and II and Selected Other Writings* eds. J. Wilders and H. de Quehen (Oxford, 1973), pp.241-2; *The Character of a Fanatic in General* (London, 1681), p.3.

²⁴ John Welwood, 'Sermon', in Howie (ed.), *Collection of Lectures and Sermons*, pp.296-7.

²⁵ Richard Cameron, 'Sermon', in Howie (ed.), *Collection of Lectures and Sermons*, pp.406-7.

²⁶ NCL, Sermons of Fraser of Brae, Box 53.8, p.[31].

²⁷ Archibald Riddell, *Mount Moriah: or, a Sermon preached at Carrick* (n.p., [1679?]), p.10.

telling a field conventicle that ‘the Persecution is as the blast of the Terrible One, which is as a Storm against the Wall’.²⁸

A further difficulty arises from these sources: a disproportionate number of the extant sermons were delivered by ministers of the extremist United Societies or Cameronian wing of presbyterianism, which emerged after the battle of Bothwell Bridge. This is in part a reflection of the interests of latter-day Cameronian sympathisers, notably John Howie of Lochgoin, who collected manuscripts of the sermons of preachers such as Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill. Yet many presbyterian ministers stopped preaching publicly after Bothwell Bridge, or ministered under the terms of indulgences, which probably limited their willingness to criticise the government.²⁹ Some Cameronian sentiments, particularly those relating to the civil government, were repudiated by mainstream presbyterian ministers. But the extremists’ use of persecution vocabulary followed the patterns laid down by presbyterians in the 1660s and 1670s. Thus the difference between the sermons of Cameron and Alexander Shields and the earlier addresses by Fraser of Brae, Michael Bruce or John Welsh³⁰ was in the context of the ministers’ preaching – the heightened tensions of the 1680s – rather than in their choice of vocabulary. While government suppression of field conventicles after Bothwell Bridge restricted the frequency of sermons denouncing persecution, preaching continued to be a significant channel by which the vocabulary of persecution was communicated between the clerical elite and popular audiences.

The scaffold testimonies of condemned presbyterians were another means by which the vocabulary of persecution was propagated and popularised. Some testimonies were printed shortly after they were delivered; others were circulated in manuscript, particularly among the United Societies.³¹ The last speeches of ministers John King and John Kid, delivered from the scaffold in August 1679, quickly appeared in a

²⁸ Alexander Shields, *March 11 1688. Some Notes or Heads of a Preface, Lecture and Sermon, Preached at the Lothers in Crafoord Moor* ([Edinburgh?], [1688?]), p.1; Isa. 25:4.

²⁹ *The Curate’s Queries, and, the Malignant or Courtier’s Answers thereto* (n.p., [1679?]), p.10.

³⁰ John Welsh, ‘Sermon’, in [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, second part, pp.53, 58.

³¹ A substantial collection was printed as *A Cloud of Witnesses, for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ* ([Edinburgh?], 1714).

printed pamphlet for the benefit of those who could not witness the execution in person.³² Alleging that the speeches had been sanitised so as to influence a broad audience, Anglican George Hickes produced his own version, complete with hostile marginalia.³³ Other elite commentators worried that public execution offered presbyterians a platform for their controversial arguments.³⁴ Writing after two radical presbyterians were hanged in January 1681, John Lauder of Fountainhall remarked that some criticised the staging of a public execution for the pair, arguing that ‘the bringing them to a scaffold but disseminates the infection’.³⁵ A presbyterian pamphlet of 1689 claimed that the government went to some lengths to prevent this from happening, often hanging presbyterians early in the morning, seizing copies of their scaffold testimonies, or playing drums to make their final words inaudible to the public.³⁶ The diarist John Erskine of Carnock remarked on the banging of drums at several executions in the early 1680s, even when the sentenced presbyterians seemed to say nothing controversial.³⁷ An early eighteenth-century account of the execution of John Nisbet of Hardhill in December 1685 said that the authorities’ beating of drums made it difficult to hear Nisbet’s speech or prayer from the scaffold. Nevertheless, Nisbet gave a written copy of his intended final testimony as he was led out to the Grassmarket.³⁸

It was not just as a result of sermons and public executions in Edinburgh that the vocabulary of persecution could pass from clerical to non-elite use. In May 1680, minister John Dickson wrote to lay presbyterians in Fife to denounce the government’s recent offer of an indulgence to moderate clergy. Describing the piety of Fife presbyterians, he wrote that ‘Persecution forc’d Men and Women in the Dark Nights, to travel many Miles promiscuously in one anothers Company, to hear the

³² *Last Speeches of the Two Ministers Mr John King, and Mr John Kid.*

³³ [Hickes], *Spirit of Popery*, sig. *2. See ch. 6 below, p.140.

³⁴ Similar concerns in an English context are discussed in P. Lake and M. Questier, ‘Agency, appropriation and rhetoric under the gallows: puritans, Romanists and the state in early modern England’, *Past and Present*, 153 (Nov. 1996), pp.64-107.

³⁵ Lauder, *Historical Observes*, pp.26-7.

³⁶ [Shields?], *Scotish Inquisition*, p.4.

³⁷ *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687* ed. W. MacLeod (SHS, 1893), pp.24, 43, 77.

³⁸ ‘A True Relation of the Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet in Hardhill’ (1718), in W.K. Tweedie (ed.), *Select Biographies*, 2 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1845-7), ii, pp.408, 390.

Good Word of GOD'.³⁹ The recipients of the letter were encouraged to think of the repression of dissent in terms of persecution, and to sustain their resistance to the episcopalian authorities. That such advice passed from ministers to lay people was sometimes assumed by magistrates. The episcopalian interrogators of William Sutherland, a reluctant Ayrshire executioner who refused to hang presbyterians, asked particularly about his communication with clergy, saying 'I perceive you have gotten a paper from some of those rebellious people'.⁴⁰

There is a variety of evidence of non-elite use of the vocabulary of persecution, illustrating further the channels by which controversial vocabulary was communicated. In early 1676, Jean Collace, a fervent presbyterian living in north-eastern Scotland, described how the minister Thomas Hog 'was sent unexpectedly' to preach on 'the doctrine of persecution for the truth'. A few weeks later, Collace personally meditated on 'that general doctrine, [that] they were only happy who patiently bear afflictions from the consideration of an interest in Christ'.⁴¹ After his participation in the presbyterian insurrection of 1679, James Nimmo evaded capture throughout the 1680s. While he endured fewer privations on account of his beliefs than some other presbyterians, Nimmo came to know through prayer 'a litle of the waight of th[a]t affliction [whi]ch others had been longer under, th[a]t I might be the more stirred up to simpathies, w[i]t[h] others in such a caise'.⁴² In 1684, Archibald Stewart, a teenage lay Cameronian, wrote home from prison, remarking that 'our enemies is fast going on in ther creuielty aganest us'.⁴³ In the same year, another prisoner told a correspondent that whomever God 'honours to lay doun his life by sufering, death shall be leist terour to him and [he] shall be brought to sing that song, "O Death, quher is thy sting. O Grave, quher is thy victorie"'.⁴⁴ In addition to

³⁹ John Dickson, *Mr John Dickson's Warning to the Professors of the Gospel In the Shire of Fife Against Complyance with the Indulgence* ([Edinburgh?], 1716), p.5. The letter, purportedly printed from an original manuscript, is dated 10 May 1680 (p.23).

⁴⁰ Wodrow, *History*, ii, p.55.

⁴¹ Jean Collace, 'Some short remembrances of the Lord's kindness to me and his work on my soul', in D.G. Mullan (ed.), *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670-c.1730* (Aldershot, 2003), pp.129, 131-2.

⁴² *Narrative of Mr James Nimmo* ed. W.G. Scott-Moncrieff (SHS, 1889), pp.13, 56. Despite the title of this volume, Nimmo did not attend university.

⁴³ *RPC*, viii, p.675. For more on Stewart and his family, see R. Richens, 'The Stewarts in Underbank: two decades of the life of a Covenanting family', *SHR*, 64 (1985), pp.107-27.

⁴⁴ *RPC*, ix, p.214; cf. 1 Cor. 15:55.

private reflections in the closet and correspondence with friends, persecution vocabulary was sometimes used to confront enemies. Before his execution, John Nisbet of Hardhill wrote a letter to the Countess of Loudoun warning her to forbear her ‘crewalltie’ to presbyterians.⁴⁵

As the examples cited so far suggest, presbyterians used the vocabulary of persecution for various polemical purposes. Indeed, some ministers turned the vocabulary against other presbyterians. Robert McWard described those ministers who agreed to give a bond to the government for peaceable conduct as ‘active persecuters of their dissenting Brethren at the time of that temptation’.⁴⁶ Alexander Shields, one of the Cameronian ministers who refused to accept the toleration decreed by James VII, made a related point in a lecture at a field conventicle in March 1688. In Scotland, he argued, ‘the Lords People hath been long persecuted, and many of them are persecuted still, tho others are at Ease, and living quietly under the Shaddow of this Toleration’.⁴⁷ Of course, the persecuted ‘many’ were Shields’s followers; the backsliding ‘others’ constituted the vast majority of lay and clerical presbyterians.

Presbyterians also found in persecution vocabulary a versatile devotional rhetoric. Polemicists such as McWard used the vocabulary to prove the sanctity of lay presbyterians:

*as the sufferings of Christ have abounded in us, so our consolation also hath abounded by Christ, for whom we have suffered the loss of these things, and in that loss are so great gainers, as now we know what we have lost is but dung; but what is left us, or rather what we have found in these begun fruitions of Jesus Christ, hath begun our heaven amidst all we suffer.*⁴⁸

Alexander Peden used persecution vocabulary in a similar way, offering to tell his congregation ‘what is for you persecuted Sufferers, Crowns, Crowns of Glory ye shall wear err [i.e. ere] long’. Returning to the theme, he promised that ‘*CHRIST* is

⁴⁵ Kirkton, *History*, p.378.

⁴⁶ [Robert McWard], *The Banders Disbanded or an Accurat Discourse* ([Edinburgh], 1681), p.5.

⁴⁷ Shields, *Some Notes or Heads*, pp.14, 1.

⁴⁸ [McWard], *Poor Man’s Cup of Cold Water*, p.3; cf. 2 Cor 1:5-6, Phil 3:8.

als much bound to hold you up, as ye are bound to suffer for Him'.⁴⁹ In 1679, Gabriel Semple assured a conventicle congregation that God's spiritual presence was still to be found among the godly in Scotland. '[F]or all the force, acts, laws, and banishments, Christ is yet to be found there. We need not go over to Holland, France or Germany to seek Christ: He is yet in Scotland'.⁵⁰

On other occasions, writers and preachers urged lay people to make their persecution a spur to repentance for defections from the Covenants and other sins.⁵¹ John Nisbet made this point in his scaffold testimony.⁵² Moreover, persecution vocabulary could encourage people to take sides in religious controversy, to join one party or another. Archibald Riddell told his hearers that the 'controversie' between presbyterians and episcopalians had become so violent that 'you must now side your selves, you must List your selves, either on Christs Side, or the Devils'.⁵³ McWard warned his readers to stand aloof from any compromise with the episcopalian authorities, arguing that 'their most seemingly tender mercies are really keen crueltie'.⁵⁴

A tendency to turn the vocabulary of persecution to devotional as well as polemical ends can be found in non-elite presbyterians' writings. In 1685, Henrietta Lindsay, recently a witness to the execution of her stepfather, the ninth earl of Argyll, drew comfort from biblical references to persecution. Quoting loosely in her diary from Romans 8:35 ("neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, or sword shall separate thee from the love of God in Christ Jesus"), she remarked how 'marvellously seasonable, and greatly encouraging' she found the text.⁵⁵ The experience of persecution could foster a presbyterian's assurance of election and salvation. Referring to Isaiah 48:10, one prisoner expressed the belief that God had chosen him 'in the furnace of affliction'. Incarceration reinforced his feeling of embattled godliness: he thought most people were ignorant of the gospel

⁴⁹ Alexander Peden, *The Lords Trumpet Sounding an Alarm against Scotland, and Waining off a Bloody Sword* ([Glasgow?], [1720?]), pp.6, 13.

⁵⁰ Gabriel Semple, 'Sermon', in [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, second part, pp.128-9.

⁵¹ [McWard], *Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water*, pp.16-18.

⁵² 'Life and Sufferings of Nisbet in Hardhill', pp.402-3.

⁵³ Riddell, *Mount Moriah*, p.10.

⁵⁴ [McWard], *Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water*, p.41.

⁵⁵ Henrietta Lindsay, 'Her diary', in Mullan (ed.), *Women's Life Writing*, p.239.

and of saving grace, and were filled with a ‘spirit of bitterness and persecution’.⁵⁶ Presbyterian memoirist Isobel Weir, Mistress Goodal, described her inclusion on a list of persons proclaimed rebel at the mercat cross of Edinburgh, an experience she found highly comforting. ‘[M]y heart did leap for joy, that I was counted worthy to suffer, and to be enrolled amongst the persecuted saints’.⁵⁷ Weir would have agreed with Fraser of Brae, who wrote that ‘[i]t is a very great comfort to a godly person, that his persecutors and enemies are God’s enemies’.⁵⁸ In the restoration period, and particularly during the 1680s, ministers and non-elite presbyterians experienced what they described as persecution, cruelty and sufferings. By using this vocabulary, people outwith the elites participated in religious controversy.

III

Scottish presbyterians were not the only protestants in Europe to complain of persecution in the 1680s. Indeed the vocabulary was widely used to discuss the aggressive policies of Catholic rulers, most notably Louis XIV of France, towards their protestant subjects. Polemicists in Scotland and England wrote extensively about events on the continent, providing oblique criticism of the rule of Charles II and his Catholic brother James.⁵⁹

In 1689, a short history of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV was printed in London and reprinted in Edinburgh. The volume, entitled *Popish Treachery*, remarked that the English and Scots had ‘heard much talk of a Persecution in *France*, and have Generously and Bountifully contributed their Charity towards the Relief of those Miserable Persecuted *French Protestants*’. In spite of this, argued the pamphlet, there was reason to believe that very little was known about ‘the Cruel manner, wherewith the Barbarous and Inhuman *Papists* have

⁵⁶ NLS, Robert Grib to Robert Garnock, 11 Aug. 1681, Wod. Oct. XXVIII, fos. 28r., 30r.

⁵⁷ Isobel Weir, ‘Memoir of Mrs Goodal’ (c.1690), in Tweedie (ed.), *Select Biographies*, ii, p.493.

⁵⁸ James Fraser, ‘Memoirs of the Rev. James Fraser of Brea’ (1738), in Tweedie (ed.), *Select Biographies*, ii, p.366.

⁵⁹ On this subject, see now J. Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and ‘Early Enlightenment’ Europe* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. pp.28-35, 55-61.

pursued that Persecution'.⁶⁰ It would be surprising if this claim were true. Since the revelation in 1678 of a supposed popish plot to murder Charles II and provoke civil wars in the British Isles, readers had been exposed to a series of printed accounts of violence against protestants across Europe. In these pamphlets, the boundary between empirical documentation and conspiratorial speculation was at best indistinct. An account of Titus Oates's evidence of the popish plot, reprinted at Edinburgh by the royal printer in 1679, claimed that Catholic priests had fomented the Bothwell Bridge rising by disguising themselves as presbyterians.⁶¹ Other writers agreed that it was typical for popish persecutors to inflict violence on protestants. Thus an account of French oppression published in 1686 described the creation in Catholic sermons of virulent anti-protestant feeling, the quartering of soldiers in areas of Huguenot population, and the various forms of physical abuse directed against the Calvinist laity.⁶² Similarly, a history written by Gilbert Burnet of the persecution of protestants in the Piedmont valleys by the dukes of Savoy and Catholic authorities there stressed the use of military force against unarmed lay people.⁶³

These and other pamphlets related current events to a long history of protestant sufferings. The title-page of a work by Israel Tonge, minister of St Michael's, Wood Street, in London, and patron of Titus Oates, promised an 'Account, not of those (more than an hundred Thousand) massacred in *France* by the Papists, formerly, but of some later Persecutions of the *French Protestants*'.⁶⁴ As well as this French tradition, linking the St Bartholomew's day massacre of 1572 to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the experiences of sixteenth-century English protestants were used to illustrate the apparently growing threat of popish persecution. In the comprehensive, if derivative, *True Spirit of Popery* (1688), the martyring of English

⁶⁰ *Popish Treachery: or, a Short and New Account of the Horrid Cruelties Exercised on the Protestants in France* (Edinburgh, 1689), p.[2].

⁶¹ Titus Oates, *A True Narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish Party* (Edinburgh, 1679), pp.14-15.

⁶² [Jean Claude], *An Account of the Persecutions and Oppressions of the Protestants in France* ([London], 1686), pp.16-21.

⁶³ [Gilbert Burnet], *The History of the Persecution of the Valleys of Piedmont* (London, 1688).

⁶⁴ Israel Tonge, *Popish Mercy and Justice: Being an Account, not of those (more than an hundred thousand) Massacred in France by the Papists, formerly, but of some later Persecutions of the French Protestants* (London, 1679).

protestants under Queen Mary formed a significant chapter in the grisly story of popish cruelty from the time of the Hussites to 1680s France.⁶⁵ Elsewhere comparisons were made between the ‘Gun-powder Treason in *England*’, the ‘Massacre of *Ireland*’ and the ‘last Persecution of *Hungary*’.⁶⁶

Readers of these pamphlets were encouraged to draw parallels with current events in England and Scotland. A translation of Huguenot Jean Claude’s *Plaintes des Protestants* appealed to European anti-popish sentiment:

’tis not to be questioned, but our Persecutors are contriving to extend their Cruelties farther. But we must hope in the compassions of God, that whatsoever intentions they may have in destroying the Protestant Religion in all places, he will not permit them to effect their designs. The World will surely open its Eyes[.]⁶⁷

Published in English early in James VII and II’s reign, Claude’s work was considered an obstacle to the crown’s Catholicising policy, and was commanded to be burnt by the English secretary of state, the second earl of Sunderland, in May 1686, a time when he was considering his own imminent conversion to Catholicism.⁶⁸ In spite of the government’s attempts to suppress the work, its influence can be detected in the section of the *True Spirit of Popery* dealing with contemporary French persecution, which relied heavily on Claude’s account.⁶⁹

Increasing awareness of the Huguenots’ plight in the early 1680s led some to comment on the situation faced by English dissenters. In July 1681, Charles II requested that church collections be directed to the relief of Huguenot refugees, prompting a number of Anglican sermons on the subject of persecution. George Hickes’s *True Notion of Persecution* (1681) outlined his understanding of religious

⁶⁵ *The True Spirit of Popery: or the Treachery and Cruelty of the Papists Exercis’d against the Protestants in All Ages and Countries where Popery has had the Upper-hand* (London, 1688), esp. pp.3-14.

⁶⁶ *Popish Treachery*, p.3.

⁶⁷ [Claude], *Account of the Persecutions*, p.29.

⁶⁸ R. Beddard, ‘Introduction: the protestant succession’, in R. Beddard (ed.), *The Revolutions of 1688: the Andrew Browning Lectures 1988* (Oxford, 1991), p.5; W.A. Speck, ‘Spencer, Robert, second earl of Sunderland (1641-1702)’, *ODNB*.

⁶⁹ [Claude], *Account of the Persecutions*, pp.19-20; cf. *True Spirit of Popery*, pp.45-6.

coercion (as discussed above) so as to deny that English dissenters were persecuted, while criticising the genuine persecution of the Huguenots, who suffered for Christian truths. Dorset vicar Samuel Bold, by contrast, denounced the hypocrisy of opposing the repression of Huguenots while pursuing similar policies against domestic dissenters.⁷⁰ As a direct result of this controversial argument, Bold was fined by the court of assize at Sherborne in August 1682.⁷¹ Nevertheless, his printed *Sermon against Persecution* corroborated other published works critical of the treatment of dissenters. A broadside printed in 1682 echoed Bold's point, quoting Romans 2:3 to argue that a government that condemned persecution abroad could not practise it at home.⁷² Another pamphlet, printed in London (1687) and Edinburgh (1688), argued that all religious groups, when in power, had resorted to persecution. This was a result of the passions of rulers; in all such cases 'the *Beast* gets the better of the *Man*', leading to cruel policies.⁷³

Awareness of the persecution of protestants by Catholics elsewhere in Europe also increased the moral force of Scottish presbyterians' complaints. Indeed, there is evidence that Scots drew comparisons between domestic events and reports from the continent. Lauder of Fountainhall explicitly compared the treatment of Scottish presbyterians, English dissenters and French Huguenots. In 1680, he recorded that some 'ridiculously imagined they found a similitude betuixt *Dux Albanus*, the tyrannous Duke of Alva who oppressed the Hollanders, and *Dux Albaniae* the Duke of Albany and York'.⁷⁴ In prefatory remarks to his March 1688 lecture and sermon, Alexander Shields claimed that the Scottish presbyterians suffered for 'the Noblest Testimony' of any Church in the world. 'Tho the Testimony of the Church of

⁷⁰ M. Goldie, 'The theory of religious intolerance in restoration England', in O.P. Grell, J.I. Israel and N. Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), pp.359-62; T. Harris, 'Was the tory reaction popular? Attitudes of Londoners towards the persecution of dissent, 1681-86', *The London Journal* 13:2 (1987-8), pp.106-20, at pp.112-14.

⁷¹ B.W. Ball, 'Bold, Samuel (1648x52-1737)', *ODNB*.

⁷² [William Penn?], *Some Sober and Weighty Reasons against Prosecuting Protestant Dissenters, for Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion* (London, 1682), p.2.

⁷³ *A Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Gentleman in the Country, About the Odiousness of Persecution* (London, 1687), quotation at p.23; cf. the Edinburgh edition with the same title (1688), p.22. The Edinburgh version was based on the London edition, but omitted three paragraphs relating to English events.

⁷⁴ Lauder, *Historical Observes*, pp.87, 7. Lauder specifically remarked on French persecution of Huguenots at other points in the mid 1680s (*Ibid.*, pp.219, 235).

France, and in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, and *Hungaria* be great and weighty & well worth the contending for and suffering; Yet our Testimony for the Kingly Office of Christ is more Noble'.⁷⁵ Robert Hamilton, a leading lay member of the United Societies, even visited Piedmont to assist its oppressed protestants.⁷⁶

Debates about persecution in Scotland and England had several significant consequences. First, they contributed to an erosion of support for the coercive suppression of religious dissent, which is discussed in more detail in chapter ten. Given that events in France were widely condemned, it is unsurprising that advocates of coercion in Scotland and England, such as Hickes, were challenged. Moreover, an influential coalition of writers, churchmen and members of political elites, notably William of Orange himself, questioned the value of enforcing religious uniformity.

A second point concerns the invasion of England by William of Orange in November 1688.⁷⁷ Pamphlets about persecution provided what might be called the propaganda context of the revolution. The official justification of the invasion – William's *Declaration ... of the Reasons Inducing him to Appear in Armes in the Kingdome of England* – argued that the popish government of James II was increasingly arbitrary and tyrannical.⁷⁸ The full implications of this had been illustrated over the previous decade in works denouncing Catholic persecution. Gilbert Burnet, soon to be nominated bishop of Salisbury, defended William's invasion with reference to the threat of persecution.⁷⁹ William's separate Scottish declaration of reasons employed the arguments of presbyterians, including Cameronians, to discredit the rule of Charles II and James VII.⁸⁰ Reflecting the influence of presbyterian exiles at

⁷⁵ Shields, *Some Notes or Heads*, p.4.

⁷⁶ M. Jardine, 'Scottish presbyterian radicals in the northern United Provinces, 1682-84', *Dutch Crossing*, 29 (2005), pp.79-106, at p.99.

⁷⁷ This paragraph summarises arguments developed in Raffae, 'Propaganda'.

⁷⁸ *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange, &c. of the Reasons Inducing Him, to Appear in Armes in the Kingdome of England, for Preserving of the Protestant religion, and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland* (The Hague, 1688). See also T. Claydon, 'William III's *Declaration of Reasons* and the glorious revolution', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), pp.87-108.

⁷⁹ T. Claydon, *William III and the Godly Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.47-8.

⁸⁰ *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, &c. of the Reasons Inducing Him, to Appear in Arms for Preserving of the Protestant religion, and for Restoring the Laws and Liberties of the Ancient Kingdom of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1689).

William's court in The Hague,⁸¹ the Scottish declaration eschewed the non-partisan approach taken by the authors of the English text and made a deliberate appeal for presbyterian support. The context within which contemporaries would have read the Scottish declaration had been established by the pamphlets, sermons, speeches and letters of presbyterian clergy and lay people. The vocabulary of persecution was thus part of the linguistic framework with which the revolution was justified.

IV

By using the vocabulary of persecution, polemicists could suggest that Scottish governments during the restoration period were 'cruel', arbitrary and therefore popish. One writer, apparently an episcopalian, argued in 1689 that the restoration Church of Scotland had connived at the advance of popery. Charles II's reign in Scotland could be interpreted as 'a perpetual Tragedy of Persecution, Oppression, and of *Arbitrary Government*'.⁸² One way in which a clear comparison was made between episcopalian and popish persecution was with the word 'inquisition'.

Many pamphlets of the 1680s referred to the arbitrary proceedings of Catholic Inquisitions. The *True Spirit of Popery* expressed a typical sentiment, announcing that the 'Inquisition was the true Pattern of Treachery, Perfidiousness, Tyrannie and Cruelty'.⁸³ In 1682, James Salgado, a former Dominican friar from Spain, published *The Slaughter-house, or a Brief Description of the Spanish Inquisition*, recounting from personal experience the 'Tyranny, Insolence, Perfidiousness, and Barbarous Cruelty of that TRIBUNAL'.⁸⁴ Other titles supplemented Salgado's pamphlet, offering similarly negative assessments of the Inquisition.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Gilbert Burnet, *Burnet's History of His Own Time: from the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht* (London, 1875 edn.), p.493; Raffe, 'Propaganda', p.23.

⁸² [William Ker], *The Sober Conformists Answer to a Rigid Conformists Reasons* (n.p., 1689), pp.14, 15.

⁸³ *True Spirit of Popery*, p.18.

⁸⁴ James Salgado, *The Slaughter-house, or a Brief Description of the Spanish Inquisition* (London, [1682]), title-page; G.M. Murphy, 'Salgado, James (fl. 1666-1684)', *ODNB*.

⁸⁵ Richard Dugdale, *A Narrative of Unheard of Popish Cruelties towards Protestants Beyond Seas; or, a New Account of the Bloody Spanish Inquisition* (London, 1680); Gabriel Dellon, *The History of the Inquisition, as it is Exercised in Goa* (London, 1688).

In the Scottish context, numerous polemicists took advantage of the reputation of the Inquisition. In *Naphtali* (1667), James Steuart and James Stirling argued that the Spanish Inquisition was the only precedent in terms of constitution and procedure for the recently-established courts of high commission.⁸⁶ In making this point, Steuart and Stirling echoed the opinion of the earlier presbyterian historian David Calderwood, who had compared the English and Scottish courts of high commission under James VI and I to the Spanish Inquisition.⁸⁷ In 1688, Alexander Shields referred to the Inquisition in his elegy on the execution of fellow minister James Renwick. Describing the impact of government repression on Renwick's congregations, Shields wrote:

His despicable Followers, tho few,
The more they were afflicted, more they grew:
All *Proclamations*, cruel *Prohibitions*,
All *Circuit-Courts* of *Spanish Inquisitions*[.]⁸⁸

A manuscript memorandum, warning against entrusting public offices to episcopalians in or after 1689, recalled that in 1680, 'their courts of inquisition went through the country, whereby many wer executed to death, others perished in prisons, & others were transported to be sold as slaves'.⁸⁹ Writing in 1693, London presbyterian George Ridpath, himself banished from Scotland by the privy council twelve years earlier, described the dungeons, rack, boots and thumbikins of the 'Prelatical Inquisition'.⁹⁰ In 1689, a pamphlet was published in Edinburgh, alleging that the privy council had acted like an 'Inquisition', torturing the 'Consciences of good Men'. This work, probably by Alexander Shields, lambasted the council's alleged suborning of witnesses, packing of juries and imposition of oaths. It complained that councillors resorted to torture '[w]hen any refused to give

⁸⁶ [James Steuart and James Stirling], *Naphtali, or, the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ* (n.p., 1667), p.123.

⁸⁷ D.G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986), p.161.

⁸⁸ [Alexander Shields], *An Elegie upon the Death, of that Famous and Faithfull Minister and Martyr, Mr James Renwick* ([Glasgow?], 1688), sig. Br.

⁸⁹ NAS, Presbyterian memorandum, c.1690, GD26/10/47 (2).

⁹⁰ [George Ridpath], *A Continuation of the Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), p.20. For Ridpath's banishment, see ch. 5 below, p.106 and [George Ridpath], *The Scots Episcopal Innocence: or, the Juggling of that Party with the late King, his Present Majesty, the Church of England, and the Church of Scotland, Demonstrated* (London, 1694), pp.52-7.

Categorical Answers'.⁹¹ Presbyterians argued that torture had been used excessively in the 1680s; the Claim of Right denounced torture in cases of ordinary crimes or where no witnesses existed.⁹²

A more specific presbyterian complaint was that the government's courts had interrogated suspects upon oath *de super inquirendis*, without revealing details of charges against them.⁹³ This process, it was claimed, forced suspects to incriminate themselves and others in their answers to questions. According to Smith's and Jameson's *Apology* of 1677, the act of parliament 'against such who shall refuse to depone against Delinquents' (3 August 1670) allowed for this practice. This statute required any person called by the privy council or other officials to answer questions upon oath, with fining, imprisonment or banishment specified as the punishments for refusal to testify. It was, the *Apology* maintained, 'so conceived and framed, as it answers to that oath *de super inquirendis*, used by the *Papists* in their inquisition'.⁹⁴

In 1685, Alexander Shields was arrested at a conventicle in London, imprisoned, and then transported to Edinburgh for questioning by the privy council. When Shields complained that he was denied 'knowledge of [th]e crime to be charged' against him, councillors asserted that this was in accordance with the law.⁹⁵ Unsurprisingly, the United Societies complained about this form of interrogation in their Sanquhar declaration of May 1685. The government's persecution, this document argued, had reached such a level that 'the freest subject and best Gentleman in the Kingdom, is by their Acts, Laws and Proceedings holden obliged to give an Oath *Super inquirendis* before any single Souldier or Dragoon meeting them upon the way'.⁹⁶

⁹¹ [Shields?], *Scotish Inquisition*, title-page, pp.4-5.

⁹² B.P. Levack, 'Judicial torture in Scotland during the age of Mackenzie', in H.L. MacQueen (ed.), *Miscellany Four* (Stair Society, 2002), pp.185-7; C. Jackson, 'Judicial torture, the liberties of the subject, and Anglo-Scottish relations, 1660-1690' in T.C. Smout (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1603 to 1900* (British Academy, 2005); *APS*, ix, p.39.

⁹³ [Shields?], *Scotish Inquisition*, p.4. For an Elizabethan comparison, see E.H. Shagan, 'The English inquisition: constitutional conflict and ecclesiastical law in the 1590s', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), pp.541-65.

⁹⁴ [Smith and Jameson], *Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Persecuted Ministers*, p.35; *APS*, viii, p.7.

⁹⁵ NAS, Alexander Shields to John Forbes, 9 Apr. 1685, JC39/73/1, fo. 1.

⁹⁶ [James Renwick, Alexander Shields *et al.*], *An Informatory Vindication of a Poor, Wasted, Misrepresented Remnant* ([Edinburgh?], 1707 edn.), p.193. The 1744 edition of this work (published at Edinburgh) glossed *super inquirendis* with 'about Things to be ask'd' (p.101).

Although a clause in the 1670 act protected those who testified from punishment, Robert Wodrow later alleged that the form of questioning it allowed frequently incriminated the deponent.⁹⁷ As Smith and Jameson argued, those who took ‘the oath *de super inquirendis*’ were, ‘contrare to all natural equity, mercy and justice, made the accusers’ of themselves and others.⁹⁸

V

In the restoration period, presbyterians repeatedly alleged that they suffered persecution by inquisition-like government authorities. Following the re-establishment of presbyterian government in 1690, persecution vocabulary was adopted by episcopalians. Beginning with episcopalian deployment of the word ‘inquisition’ against presbyterian courts, it is now possible to analyse the use of the vocabulary by the opponents of those who had used it so regularly in the 1680s.

Describing their treatment by presbyterians as characteristic of an ‘inquisition’, episcopalian writers showed that it was not only their rivals who had a claim to this word. This can be seen in the works of Alexander Monro, who was deposed from the office of principal of Edinburgh’s town college in 1690. Early in that year, he wrote that ‘Presbytery is to be established here by the next Session of Parliament; and you know the *Roman* Inquisition is not half so rigid as that will be when they [i.e. the presbyterians] are once in the Saddle’.⁹⁹ Monro subsequently published *Presbyterian Inquisition*, describing the unjust deposition of himself and his episcopalian colleague John Strachan by the committee for the visitation of Edinburgh’s town college in September 1690.¹⁰⁰ John Cockburn, a deprived episcopalian minister, claimed that the actions of presbyterian courts against episcopalian clergy resembled a ‘perfect Inquisition’.¹⁰¹ Preaching at Aberdeen in

⁹⁷ Wodrow, *History*, ii, p.168.

⁹⁸ [Smith and Jameson], *Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Persecuted Ministers*, p.66.

⁹⁹ [Thomas Morer, John Sage, Alexander Monro], *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church of Scotland in several letters* (London, 1690), pp.64-5.

¹⁰⁰ [Alexander Monro], *Presbyterian Inquisition; As it was lately practised against the Professors of the Colledge of Edinburgh* (London, 1691).

¹⁰¹ [John Cockburn], *An Historical Relation of the Late Presbyterian General Assembly* (London, 1691), p.9.

1692, another episcopalian compared presbyterian courts to the Spanish Inquisition, speculating that the Armada of 1588 had deposited in Scotland ‘the pedigree of that hellish tool of Inquisition’.¹⁰²

As well as challenging the presbyterians’ monopoly of the use of the term ‘inquisition’, these writers associated presbyterianism with tyranny. Cockburn wrote that ‘though Episcopacy was abolished merely upon an unjust and false Pretence, that that Government exercised Tyranny over the Church, yet now a real Presbyterian Tyranny was established’.¹⁰³ Although government by bishops had been denounced as oppressive in the Claim of Right, presbyterian clergy had since shown themselves to be truly tyrannical. Writing in December 1691, Monro criticised the current ‘administration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline’, in which ‘a few judge the whole body of the Clergie in the most arbitrary and unjustifiable manner’.¹⁰⁴ This point was elaborated in a June 1694 petition to the general assembly’s committee for the north, sitting at Aberdeen. The signatories, representing episcopalian ministers from across the north-east, complained that, because presbyterians had refused to allow episcopalian clergy a share of government in the Church, a minority of ministers now exercised a ‘more absolute authority & jurisdiction over their brethren [...] then ever the Bishops pretended to’.¹⁰⁵ An anonymous letter of 1692 noted that the general assembly denied the episcopalians’ right to govern while accepting their more significant functions of preaching and administering the sacraments. This the author attributed to ‘a *je ne sais quoi* of a charm in domination’ on the part of presbyterians.¹⁰⁶

By using the word ‘inquisition’, episcopalian polemicists could recall familiar claims of presbyterianism’s incompatibility with stable civil government. If presbyterian procedures were like the Inquisition, then a presbyterian Church of Scotland was as threatening to royal government as popery itself. A pamphlet by Alexander

¹⁰² NAS, ‘A Sermon Preached to the Clergy of Aberdeen, Apryll 12, Anno 1692’, CH12/16/259, p.29.

¹⁰³ [Cockburn], *Historical Relation*, p.3.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Letters to John Mackenzie of Delvine [...] from the Revd. Alexander Monro’ ed. W.K. Dickson, in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society (Fifth Volume)* (SHS, 1933), p.222.

¹⁰⁵ NLS, Episcopalian petition to the committee of the north, 29 June 1694, Wod. Lett. Qu. I, fo. 6r.

¹⁰⁶ HMC, *Report on the Laing Manuscripts preserved in the University of Edinburgh* ed. H. Paton, 2 vols. (London, 1914-25), i, p.473.

Cunningham, formerly a regent at St Andrews, argued with reference to the Solemn League and Covenant and acts of the general assemblies of the 1640s that presbyterian government usurped the prerogatives of the crown.¹⁰⁷ Alexander Monro claimed that the presbyterians' popish characteristics had been revealed by their pamphleteer Gilbert Rule, who admitted that church courts followed different rules from other judicatories. 'It is very odd', argued Monro, 'that the Laity among the *Scots Presbyterians*, who pretend to be at the greatest Remove from *Popery*, shall thus calmly stoop to the most intollerable slavery of the *Inquisition*'.¹⁰⁸ The consequences of this sort of reasoning for the reputation of the Church of Scotland were shown in a letter, possibly from a Scots church in the Netherlands, dating from after the re-establishment of presbyterian government. 'It is notoriously known with how much noise wee have beene reproach't that Presbitery like the Court of Rome [...] arrogates and assumes an Independencie upon the Supreme Magistrate in Ecclesiastical affaires: from hence many jealousies have beene raised and calumnies spread that its inconsitant [*sic*] with Civil Government'.¹⁰⁹

Episcopalians made specific allegations about the way their ministers were treated by the re-established Church's courts. The act of parliament restoring presbyterian government encouraged the purging of 'all Insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous Ministers', leaving it largely to individual presbyterian courts to define these categories. The resulting practice of presbyteries, for example in Fife, seems to have been to produce libels against as many episcopalian ministers in their bounds as possible.¹¹⁰ One episcopalian preacher alleged that his brethren had been tried on 'odious Lybells, which no accuser would own'. The presbyterians' failure to make libellers defend their accusations against ministers, and the courts' tendency to take evidence in private, made it possible that an 'invisible accuser' would 'shuffle himself in, to become a visible judge'.¹¹¹ A similar criticism was made in a work published in 1719, recalling the trial of James Graeme, episcopalian minister of

¹⁰⁷ [Cunningham], *Some Questions Resolved*, pp.25-8.

¹⁰⁸ [Alexander Monro], *An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland* (London, 1693), pp.37-8.

¹⁰⁹ NAS, Presbyterian letter, c.1690, GD26/10/49.

¹¹⁰ APS, ix, p.134; NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, 1688-1693, CH2/224/2, pp.34, 36, 38, 63; Archibald Pitcairne, *The Assembly* (1692) ed. T. Tobin (Lafayette, IA, 1972), p.29.

¹¹¹ NAS, 'Sermon', CH12/16/259, p.29.

Dunfermline, before the synod of Fife in 1701. Graeme's gentry supporters petitioned the synod, asking for three ministers of the presbytery of Dunfermline to be prevented from judging Graeme, as they had earlier given advice to his accusers. This was unanimously refused by the synod, and Graeme was tried by all its members, several of whom were both his judges and his 'fiercest Accusers at the Bar'.¹¹² A contemporary observer of the trial described various irregularities in the synod's proceedings, which were 'such as I should not have easily believ'd had I not been an Eye-witness'.¹¹³

Episcopalians complained of being subjected to the same inquisitorial procedures the presbyterians themselves had condemned, notably interrogation *super inquirendis*. Patrick Seton, episcopalian minister of Auchterless in Turriff presbytery, complained that the general assembly's committee for the north had summoned him *super inquirendis*, in breach, he thought, of a statute of James VI's reign. He requested that a specific list of charges be framed, and his accuser be revealed.¹¹⁴ Andrew Abercrombie, minister of Tarland in the presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil, was libelled before the committee of the north in August 1694. Abercrombie wrote to George Keith, an advocate in Aberdeen, asking Keith to represent him before the committee. In his letter, Abercrombie argued that witnesses would be questioned *super inquirendis*, '[whi]ch is a practise I beleieve was not seen in this church this many years'. '[I]f this be allowed [wha]t man can be safe?'¹¹⁵

Further allegations were made in a pamphlet by John Cockburn, which described the processes of the general assembly's committee for the south, sitting at Edinburgh in January 1691. According to Cockburn, the committee summoned episcopalian minister Alexander Malcolm, who compeared and asked to see the libel on which he was to be tried and the names of accusers and witnesses in his case. When the committee refused, Malcolm reportedly protested that he was being asked to testify

¹¹² [James Graeme], *The Famous Tryal of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr James Graeme, Episcopal Minister of Dunfermline* (London, 1719), pp.17-18, 39, 41.

¹¹³ NLS, James Paterson to Robert Wodrow, 4 Nov. 1701, Wod. Lett. Qu. I, fo. 195v.

¹¹⁴ NAS, Patrick Seton's answer to the committee of the north, 1694, CH1/2/2/1, fo. 82; cf. *APS*, iii, p.377.

¹¹⁵ NAS, Andrew Abercrombie to George Keith, 1694, CH1/2/2/3, fo. 333r.

super inquirendis, since anything he said in ignorance of the charges could be used to incriminate him. Cockburn's pamphlet argued that these events, and Malcolm's deprivation, showed the partiality of the committee in his case. Furthermore, this procedure was illegal, since an act of the general assembly, passed in March 1596, forbade summoning *super inquirendis*, without revealing specific charges or the names of accusers.¹¹⁶

This sort of argument possibly had some effect on the way in which presbyterian courts conducted trials, or at least influenced their attempts retrospectively to justify their actions. The deprivation of James Williamson, minister of Kirkcaldy, in July 1690, followed a trial that was reportedly conducted according to the proper procedures found lacking elsewhere by Cockburn. The libel against Williamson was signed by the principal accuser, David Ferguson, a former provost of Kirkcaldy. The presbytery gave Williamson a copy of the libel and allowed him two weeks to prepare for his trial. He was then permitted to submit written answers and to object to the witnesses called, although the presbytery upheld neither his statement nor objections. When the presbytery produced an account of the trial (possibly for the earl of Melville, then secretary of state), it emphasised the procedural niceties observed. In particular, Ferguson was required to sign the libel, so this document argued, since 'the presbitrie wold admitt no Lybell unsubscryved Leist the informer might be Led as a witness'.¹¹⁷ In spite of such scruples in 1690, Fife ministers were still being accused of partial and irregular procedures in 1714. Clergyman William Duguid, who had quarrelled with his brethren over the issue of patronage, complained that the synod of Fife concocted spurious charges against him. 'Contrary to all our Laws they examined the Witnesses *de super inquirendis*, as thus, *did you ever see or hear that Mr Dugud did any ill Action*'. According to Duguid, the

¹¹⁶ [John Cockburn], *A Continuation of the Historical Relation of the Late General Assembly in Scotland* (London, 1691), pp.31-4; *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, 3 vols. (Maitland Club, 1839-45), iii, pp.891, 894.

¹¹⁷ NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, CH2/224/2, pp.34-5, 38-42; NAS, 'Process ag[ains]t Mr Ja[m]es Williamson 1690', GD26/10/36.

synod's clerk tampered with witness statements to ensure that incriminating evidence was produced.¹¹⁸

Allegations of persecution were hugely significant in the episcopalians' pamphlet campaign after 1689. The vocabulary of persecution usefully blurred distinctions between judicial processes and physical attacks on the clergy. In the winter of 1688-9, many ministers in the south and west of Scotland were chased from their parishes by violent crowds, and were prevented from seeking immediate redress by the collapse of government at the revolution. Pamphleteers responded by describing in lurid detail the 'persecution' and 'sufferings' of the clergy.¹¹⁹ While these so-called 'rabblings' were without any official sanction, the convention of estates' proclamation of 13 April 1689 offered little legal protection to victims and was interpreted by some episcopalians as justifying extra-judicial violence against ministers.¹²⁰ Thus Monro was able to give the impression that the rabblings and subsequent actions against episcopalians in the civil and ecclesiastical courts were part of one campaign of 'Persecution'.¹²¹

Unsurprisingly, presbyterian writers were quick to respond to such claims. Gilbert Rule, author of replies to several episcopalian pamphlets, was careful not to defend the violence of the rabbling, which he blamed on Cameronians.¹²² As George Ridpath emphasised elsewhere, Cameronian rabbling was not ordered by any government, whereas the repression of presbyterians during the restoration period was conducted by official authority.¹²³ The narratives of rabbling printed by episcopalians were exaggerated, maintained Rule. Even if all the stories were true,

¹¹⁸ William Duguid, *Scots Presbyterian Justice Exemplified, in the Case of Mr Will Dugud* (London, 1714), pp.24-5.

¹¹⁹ [Morer, Sage, Monro], *Account of the Present Persecution*, pp.15-35; [John Sage], *The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland Truly Represented* (London, 1690), appendix; *A Late Letter Concerning the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland* (London, 1691), pp.8-22. Rabbling is discussed in more detail in ch. 5 below.

¹²⁰ *APS*, ix, p.43; [Morer, Sage, Monro], *Account of the Present Persecution*, p.27.

¹²¹ [Alexander Monro], *A Letter to a Friend, Giving an Account of all the Treatises that have been Publish'd with Relation to the Present Persecution Against the Church of Scotland* (London, 1692), p.9.

¹²² [Gilbert Rule], *A [Second] Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), first part, pp.3, 32.

¹²³ [George Ridpath], *An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), p.8.

he argued, they would in ‘no way amount to such a horrid and general Persecution’ as the pamphlets alleged.¹²⁴ In another pamphlet, Rule ridiculed episcopalians’ complaints regarding deprivation, ‘as if the Prelatick Clergy in *Scotland* were under Suffering beyond the *French Dragooning*’.¹²⁵ Preaching before parliament in June 1690, presbyterian David Williamson complained of the episcopalian pamphlets’ ‘wyde speaking, likening their Flea-bit sufferings (in comparison of ours) to the Dragooning in *France*’. Persecution vocabulary greatly exaggerated the episcopalians’ experiences, and downplayed the significance of presbyterian sufferings, about which ‘Volumes, beyond Foxes, monuments might be written’.¹²⁶

As in the 1680s, presbyterian and episcopalian pamphleteers debated whether the vocabulary of persecution was appropriate to describe events after the revolution. Moreover, episcopalians continued to challenge claims that presbyterians had been cruelly treated in the restoration period. As is illustrated above, writers such as Mackenzie of Rosehaugh argued that presbyterian nonconformity was seditious and schismatic and could be legitimately punished. Writing in 1690, Alexander Cunningham denied that episcopalian clergy ‘shewed any thing of the Spirit of Persecution against Presbyterians’.¹²⁷ Not only were episcopalians not guilty of the cruel oppression repeatedly denounced by their opponents, they were now themselves the victims of persecuting principles. The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (1692), a satirical episcopalian work, criticised the use of the term ‘persecution’ by presbyterians, thus serving the wider goal of claiming it for episcopalian polemic. Describing how presbyterian ministers preached itinerantly after being deprived in 1662, the tract claimed that ‘they began every-where in their Sermons to cant about the Persecution of the Godly, and to magnifie their own Sufferings’. Appealing in this way to the sympathy of their congregations, they preached ‘the unthinking Moblie out of their Money and Senses’, and ‘were pamper’d instead of being persecuted’. The presbyterian clergy of the restoration years used the vocabulary of persecution in order to gain sympathy and financial

¹²⁴ [Rule], *[Second] Vindication*, first part, p.23.

¹²⁵ [Gilbert Rule], *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), p.22.

¹²⁶ David Williamson, *A Sermon Preached before His Grace the King’s Commissioner, and the Three Estates of Parliament, June the 15th. 1690* (Edinburgh, 1690), pp.22, 24.

¹²⁷ [Cunningham], *Some Questions Resolved*, pp.18-20.

resources, and to mobilise a party in support of their cause. In doing so, the pamphlet went on, they were consciously disingenuous, since the only people to be persecuted were in fact ‘silly Plow-men and Shepherds’.¹²⁸ The same argument was made in a post-revolution satirical verse:

[thei]r persecuti[o]n it wes such
 [tha]t out of litle they made much
 witnes Mes Geo. Johnstons gear
 It is 200 lbs. a year
 for martyrs they did hound out plewmen
 shepherds, cowherds, mucksters sowmen¹²⁹

Although presbyterians now criticised the extremism of the Cameronians, claimed the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, ‘they never fail to make use of the Sufferings of these same wild Men, to magnify that Persecution which themselves pretend to have undergone, but had not the least share in’.¹³⁰ Yet in a way the episcopalian clergy also made use of the experiences of the Cameronians, and of restoration presbyterians more generally, appropriating their vocabulary for a polemical campaign against the re-established Church.

VI

The vocabulary of persecution was also important in popular expressions of controversy after the revolution. Allegations of persecution were often made in the church court trials of episcopalian ministers, and were substantiated by the testimony of non-elite presbyterians. Indeed, church court cases sometimes reproduced the sorts of arguments rehearsed by pamphleteers.

In December 1690, episcopalian Alexander Heriot was deposed from his ministry at Dalkeith following trials before the presbytery of Dalkeith and the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. The process against Heriot had begun in the previous August, when

¹²⁸ *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; or, the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons and Prayers* (London, 1692), pp.32-3.

¹²⁹ NLS, Satirical verse, MS. 3807, p.217.

¹³⁰ *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.34.

members of the congregation at Dalkeith's presbyterian meeting house collected information against him.¹³¹ Among other accusations, he was libelled with 'persecuteing the Godly among his people for their being guilty of Church Irregularities (as they were then called)'.¹³² A subsequent printed account of the case claimed that by Heriot's 'Instigation and influence upon the Magistrates, some were Fyned and forced to fly the place for Baptizing their Children with Presbyterian Ministers'.¹³³ During Heriot's trial before the presbytery, non-elite witnesses were led to prove the allegations in the libel. Robert Paterson deponed that it was widely believed that presbyterians Robert Burnton and James Edslie were forced to leave Dalkeith after Heriot reported them for recusancy. The two were 'Godly men', whose only crime was refusal to worship with Heriot.¹³⁴ Three other witnesses reportedly concurred with the libel's charge that Heriot instigated persecution.¹³⁵

As well as illustrating popular participation in controversy over persecution, Heriot's case provides further confirmation that the suitability of the vocabulary was itself in question. Heriot admitted that he had helped to enforce the penal laws against presbyterians, but stressed that he had done so under orders from Charles II's government. Thus he was libelled with persecution when he had acted as a loyal subject. A presbyterian commentator reasserted the validity of persecution vocabulary, denying that Heriot could excuse his 'violent persecutone of some innocent Godly persones'.¹³⁶

Other episcopalian ministers were tried for their 'persecution' of presbyterians. Robert Ross, minister of Tain, was charged with the 'persecuting of that emminent servant of Christ Mr Thomas Ross min[iste]r at Kincardine by procureing ane order from the then Bishope of Ross'. Thomas Ross had apparently been removed from Tain to be imprisoned elsewhere, as a result of which he died within days.¹³⁷ John

¹³¹ NAS, Presbyterian reflections on Heriot's libel, 1690, GD26/10/45 (3), p.2.

¹³² NAS, Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale minutes, 1687-90, CH2/252/5, p.65.

¹³³ *An Account of the Purging and Planting of the Congregation of Dalkeith* (Edinburgh, 1691), p.12.

¹³⁴ NAS, Libel and witness depositions against Heriot, 29 Aug. and 1 Sep. 1690, GD26/10/45 (2), p.2. This document was presumably extracted from the presbytery minutes, which are no longer extant.

¹³⁵ *Account of the Purging and Planting*, p.12.

¹³⁶ NAS, Presbyterian reflections, GD26/10/45 (3), p.3.

¹³⁷ NAS, Libel against Robert Ross, 1694, CH1/2/2/3, fo. 318r.

Middleton, minister of Markinch in the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, was accused of 'persecutting' several in Leuchars parish who withdrew from worship for the sake of conscience, by 'instigating the civill judge to fyn & banish them'.¹³⁸ Middleton denied the charge, claiming that he 'did releive some from trouble' during the restoration period.¹³⁹ In August 1690, Alexander Seton, minister of Linlithgow, faced trial on a series of allegations, including a charge that he 'persecuted officiously the presbyterians of this place', by submitting to the bishop of Edinburgh a list of persons who were subsequently banished. Sisters Jean and Margaret Henderson testified that Seton had quarrelled with their mother after Gilbert Muir, one of her servants, prayed for people 'banished & imprisoned for conscience sake'. Seton allegedly reported Muir to the burgh council, which interrogated him about his prayer.¹⁴⁰

Church court cases indicate that non-elite presbyterians were familiar with the arguments provoked by the vocabulary of persecution. There is also evidence that non-elite episcopalians criticised the judicial irregularities allegedly faced by their ministers. Simon Couper, minister of Dunfermline, was cited before the presbytery there in October 1690. As with other episcopalians, his libel included the charge that by reporting recusancy to civil magistrates, he brought about 'a grievous persecution of se[ver]all good people'. Couper was suspended by the presbytery, but maintained the support of lay people at elite and non-elite levels, some of whom petitioned in his defence and persuaded him to defy his suspension.¹⁴¹ There was a widespread belief among Couper's supporters that he had been treated unfairly. In 1692, heritors including Lord Yester and Sir Charles Halkett of Pitfirrane petitioned the privy council on Couper's behalf. Claiming to represent all of Dunfermline's heritors, magistrates and parishioners, they denounced the presbytery's 'gross illegalities & informalities' in suspending Couper.¹⁴² A non-elite supporter of Couper was the

¹³⁸ NAS, Libel against John Middleton, 1690, CH2/154/16, fo. [7]r. Middleton was minister of Leuchars between 1661 and 1684: *Fasti*, v, p.113.

¹³⁹ NAS, Middleton's answer to the presbytery's libel, 18 Sep. 1690, CH2/154/16, fo. [2]r. The presbytery allowed the case against Middleton to drop: NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, CH2/224/2, p.74.

¹⁴⁰ NAS, Presbytery of Linlithgow minutes, 1687-1694, CH2/242/7, pp.61, 86.

¹⁴¹ NAS, Presbytery of Dunfermline minutes, 1689-1691, CH2/105/2, pp.19-24, quotation at p.23.

¹⁴² NAS, Dunfermline heritors' petition, 1692, GD26/10/72.

diarist Lady Anne Halkett, widow of Sir James Halkett of Pitfirrane. Referring to presbyterian attempts to remove Couper from the church in 1696, she described the sentence against him as ‘unjust’. Earlier she had denounced his citation before the privy council ‘to answeare what his malicious enemys have Libelled against him’.¹⁴³

It is difficult to assess how widespread persecution vocabulary was among non-elite episcopalians after the revolution. Clerical pamphleteers such as Alexander Monro and John Cockburn undoubtedly found the vocabulary useful when appealing to Anglican readers, but it is unclear to what extent episcopalian sermons communicated it to lay people after 1689. There are few extant manuscript or printed sermons for the period. John Cockburn published a volume of sermons in 1691, but the majority of these were preached before his 1689 deprivation. A sermon preached on Easter day 1689 discussed the persecution of Christians, but made no reference to the rabbling of Cockburn’s brethren. Cockburn was more explicit in a sermon of April 1690, preached after his deprivation, in which he criticised presbyterians who rejoiced at episcopalians’ ‘Affliction’. His text (Micah 7:8-9) expressed his grounds for hope: ‘as for me (to go on with the Prophets words) *when I fall I shall rise*’.¹⁴⁴

Although evidence is scarce, it seems plausible that non-elite episcopalians used persecution vocabulary, particularly when they confronted their opponents. In February 1693, the session of the West Kirk, Edinburgh, interrogated a local man, James Grieve, after reports that he had employed deprived minister Samuel Nimmo to baptise his child. Grieve was part of Edinburgh’s episcopalian community, a body of people large enough to support a considerable number of ministers, as local presbyterians had discovered.¹⁴⁵ As he admitted to the session, Grieve ‘disowned communion with’ the presbyterian congregation and ‘often heard’ Nimmo preach. When pressured to give the names of witnesses to the baptism, Grieve refused,

¹⁴³ NLS, Anne Halkett, ‘Occationall Meditations’, MS. 6501, pp.296, 270. I would like to thank Sara Murphy and Suzanne Trill for advice about this source.

¹⁴⁴ John Cockburn, *Eight Sermons Preached on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1691), pp.98-102, 202, 182.

¹⁴⁵ NAS, Extracts from West Kirk session minutes, 1691-1693, CH1/2/1, fo. 91; NAS, West Kirk session minutes, 1691-1696, CH2/718/11, pp.20, 33-4.

desiring ‘the session not to be guiltie of the crueltie that others were said to be guiltie of before’.¹⁴⁶ Grieve was evidently familiar with this vocabulary and its controversial significance.

VII

By analysing the vocabulary of persecution, this chapter has revealed three significant characteristics of religious controversy in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland. First, presbyterians and episcopalians argued over the suitability or otherwise of particular words for describing events. The suppression of presbyterian dissent and the rabbling and deprivation of episcopalian clergy were themselves controversial processes. Yet the arguments generated by these processes often concerned the vocabulary with which they were described. Persecution was a provocative theme in the 1680s and 1690s, given the highly publicised instances of it in continental Europe, as well as its biblical and historical significance. Recognising the moral force of the vocabulary of persecution, presbyterians and episcopalians competed to monopolise its use.

A second important point concerns the channels by which arguments, ideas and vocabularies were communicated. The public sphere in late seventeenth-century Scotland was not based exclusively on the exchange of pamphlets and discussions in fashionable places of assembly. Popular opposition to episcopacy was sustained through printed literature and preaching, and the writing of letters, journals and memoirs. Repeated use of the vocabulary of persecution helped to reinforce the difference between presbyterians and episcopalians.

Finally, this chapter argues that the vocabulary of persecution enabled popular participation in controversy, and that this participation was significant. Words such as ‘persecution’ gave force to the scaffold testimonies and letters of non-elite presbyterians. Ordinary men and women collected information about persecution by episcopalian ministers, and testified against them in the courts of the re-established

¹⁴⁶ NAS, Extract from West Kirk session minutes, 23 Feb. 1693, CH1/2/2/1, fo. 8.

Church. Non-elite episcopalians condemned the treatment of their ministers. Contested vocabulary was central to arguments between presbyterians and episcopalians. It provoked controversy about persecution and, as the next two chapters suggest, reflected on the religiosity and morality of the two parties.

Chapter 3: The Vocabularies of ‘Fanaticism’ and ‘Enthusiasm’

I

This chapter turns to two other groups of words, which were widely used by episcopalians to attack their presbyterian opponents. The first of these controversial vocabularies consists of terms relating to ‘fanaticism’. By the 1680s, it was common for episcopalian pamphlets, sermons and correspondence to describe presbyterians as ‘fanatics’. By using this pejorative term, which was also well known in English religious controversy, episcopalians suggested that presbyterians were zealous and stubborn extremists. Indeed, the word ‘fanatic’ could imply violent behaviour and treasonous opinions, two significant aspects of religious controversy in the period.¹

Episcopalian controversialists sometimes linked fanaticism to religious ‘enthusiasm’. In doing so, they sought to stigmatise presbyterian piety as irrational and to question the mental condition of presbyterians. Polemicists drew on a range of terms such as ‘enthusiasm’, ‘melancholy’ and ‘hypochondria’, referred to below as the vocabulary of enthusiasm, which derived from a prevalent medical paradigm concerning the effects of melancholy. Although presbyterians themselves stressed the relationship between melancholy and spirituality, episcopalians increasingly did not share their opponents’ emotional form of piety, which they were consequently able to ridicule. Presbyterians complained that they were misrepresented and described in terms more suited to Quakers or Anabaptists.

Episcopalians also used the vocabulary of enthusiasm to attack presbyterian worship. In the years after the restoration, Anglican writers engaged in a vociferous campaign to defend the Church of England’s Book of Common Prayer from the criticisms of English dissenters and Scottish and Irish presbyterians. In the 1690s, it made sense for Scottish episcopalians, who sought to gain the support of leading Anglicans, to describe presbyterian prayers as contemptuous and ridiculous. The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (1692), the most successful episcopalian pamphlet of the

¹ See chs. 5 and 6 below.

decade, exposed absurd excerpts from the prayers of Scottish presbyterians to English audiences, and attacked the presbyterians' preaching style. Presbyterians complained that they were misrepresented by the pamphlet, and expressed frustration at their opponents' influence in London. The debate provoked by the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* shows how significant the concept of enthusiasm was in late seventeenth-century religious controversy. Moreover, the pamphlet epitomises the satirical aspect of arguments between presbyterians and episcopalians, in which non-elite men and women were able to participate.

II

After the restoration, the word fanatic and cognate adjectives and nouns were widely used to criticise presbyterians. Gilbert Burnet, writing in 1669, claimed that narrow-minded, inflexible and ungovernable presbyterians 'get but their true name, when they are called *Fanaticks*'.² Other episcopalians agreed that presbyterians were unreasonable fanatics who constituted a threat to social and political stability. In his poem *The Fanatick Indulgence Granted* (1683), episcopalian minister Ninian Paterson linked the factious violence of presbyterian fanatics to their shameful ignorance.³ Writing to Henry Compton, bishop of London, in November 1680, Alexander Burnet, archbishop of St Andrews, acknowledged that 'bloody plotts, and conspiracies of papists' were then creating panic in English politics. Yet, he went on, in Scotland 'we are as much (if not more) threatned every day with assasina[tio]ns, and murthers, from a cruell, and unreasonable crew of phanatiks'.⁴ A poetic description of the presbyterian army at Bothwell Bridge also used the fanaticism terminology:

To speak of them in general,
Whiggs or Phanaticks, them we call,
They are a turbulent Caball,

² [Gilbert Burnet], *A Modest and Free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, about the Present Distempers of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 2nd edn., 1669), second part, pp.5-6.

³ Ninian Paterson, *The Fanatick Indulgence Granted, Anno 1679* (Edinburgh, 1683).

⁴ Bod., Alexander Rose to Henry Compton, 27 Nov. 1680, Rawl. C 985, fo. 11r.

Without all kind of rule.⁵

On one level, the vocabulary of fanaticism was the rhetoric of a government that could scarcely impose order. In September 1684, the duke of Hamilton wrote to the earl of Arran that commissions were to be drawn up ‘for sending com[m]itties of the Councill to the west & south shires to put the Lawes in execution against phanaticks’.⁶ In at least two cases, the privy council publicly used this language to describe Cameronians. After a radical paper was seized from Henry Hall and Donald Cargill at Queensferry in June 1680, the document was published by government order with the title *The Fanaticks New-Covenant*.⁷ A proclamation was then issued against Cargill and his followers on 22 November 1680 denouncing the ‘perverseness of some turbulent and fanaticall persons’. The royal printer published the proclamation under the heading *A Proclamation, concerning some Fanatical Conspirators against the King and Government*, and the text was to be read after divine service in all churches in Scotland.⁸

The vocabulary of fanaticism could also be used to compare presbyterians to papists. To his edition of the scaffold speeches of John Kid and John King, George Hickes gave the title *The Spirit of Popery Speaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical-Protestants*. According to Hickes, presbyterian Church government was a ‘Many-headed Pope’, and the rebellious and meddling political principles of the presbyterians were similar to Jesuitism.⁹ Parliament made a similar comparison in the Test act of August 1681, which required those in public office, including clergy, chaplains and schoolmasters, to abjure ‘all such Principles, doctrines, or practises, whether Popish or Phanaticall’ contrary to the episcopalian Church.¹⁰ Defending an anti-Catholic sermon he published in 1686, episcopalian James Canaries alleged that

⁵ *A Short Compend, or, a Description of the Rebels in Scotland, in Anno 1679* (Edinburgh, 1681), sig. A2r.

⁶ NAS, [duke of Hamilton] to [earl of Arran], 6 Sep. 1684, GD406/1/5889.

⁷ *A True and Exact Copy of a Treasonable and Bloody-paper called the Fanaticks New-Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1680). It was reprinted at London and Dublin.

⁸ *RPC*, vi, pp.583-6, quotation at p.583; *A Proclamation, concerning some Fanatical Conspirators against the King and Government* (Edinburgh, 1680).

⁹ [George Hickes], *The Spirit of Popery Speaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical-Protestants, or the Last Speeches of Mr John Kid and Mr John King* (London, 1680), pp.2, 13-14.

¹⁰ *APS*, viii, pp.243-5, quotation at pp.244-5.

he was ‘as much an Enemy to all manner of Fanaticism, as ever I was to Popery’, both faiths being disloyal.¹¹

The vocabulary of fanaticism served to reinforce distinctions between presbyterians and episcopalians. At Christmas 1680, Lauder of Fountainhall recorded that some episcopalians in Edinburgh had started wearing red ribbons, in response to the blue ribbons of students and apprentices sympathetic to presbyterianism. The episcopalians’ ribbons bore the slogan ‘I am no Phanatick’.¹² The Test oath may have forced people at quite low social levels to take sides in the controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians. Although the 1681 act of parliament imposed the Test on office-holders, the privy council subsequently instructed commissioners of justiciary to tender the oath to a wide range of non-elite men and women.¹³

The term ‘fanatic’ was not supposed to isolate any particular religious party from the others. It was as all-encompassing as it was pejorative. In England, where the term’s use was widespread, it deliberately blurred distinctions between branches of dissent. One English anti-presbyterian pamphlet defined ‘the common Name of *Phanatic*’ as ‘the Appellative of all Dissenters from our Holy Mother the Church of *England*’.¹⁴ Another printed work described the ‘Character of a Fanatick in General, By what other Name however he may be more specially distinguished’.¹⁵ While dissenters might differentiate themselves with multiple party labels, the pamphlet suggested, intelligent readers could recognise the common features of fanaticism. The tory reaction of the early 1680s was accompanied by an increasingly shrill printing campaign against fanatics and their treacherous plots.¹⁶

¹¹ James Canaries, *Rome’s Additions to Christianity shewn to be Inconsistent with the True Design of so Spiritual a Religion* (Edinburgh, 1686), sig. [A3]r.

¹² John Lauder, *Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrents in Church and State from October 1680 to April 1686* eds. A. Urquhart and D. Laing (Bannatyne Club, 1840), p.19; T. Harris, ‘The British dimension, religion, and the shaping of political identities during the reign of Charles II’, in T. Claydon and I. McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998), p.140.

¹³ *APS*, viii, p.244; *RPC*, viii, pp.180-1, 640-58, ix, pp.470, 477, x, pp.239-40, 456-9.

¹⁴ *Presbytery Truly Display’d: or an Impartial Character of the Presbyterian* (London, 1681), p.1.

¹⁵ *The Character of a Fanatick in General* (London, 1681), p.1. The pamphlet was previously published as *The Character of a Fanatick: by a Person of Quality* (London, 1675).

¹⁶ See e.g. *A Congratulation on the Happy Discovery of the Hellish Fanatick Plot* (London, 1682); *The Conspiracy: or, The Discovery of the Fanatick Plot* (London, 1683). For an account of the tory

In Scotland, fanaticism vocabulary was used indiscriminately of all presbyterians, making it particularly offensive to moderates. One presbyterian criticised the Test oath's fanatic terminology for conflating moderates like himself and the Cameronians, a 'wilde sort of peo[ple] whose new principles are as antipresbyterian as disloyal'.¹⁷ Writing after the revolution, Gilbert Rule complained that 'any Person' who did not countenance episcopacy was liable to be 'branded with the Name of Fanatick'.¹⁸ Indeed, George Lockhart of Carnwath's *Memoirs* of the union of 1707 tended to describe all supporters of the revolution and presbyterian government as fanatics.¹⁹ Looking back on the 1680s in his *History*, Robert Wodrow recalled episcopalian attempts to associate moderate presbyterians with the Gibbites, an apocalyptic sect that broke from the United Societies in early 1681:

[T]he publishers of their [the Gibbites'] paper in the title of it class these madcapes among the fanatics, the name given ordinarily to presbyterians: yea, the publisher of Sir George Mackenzie's vindication [...] hath the impudence and villany to couple Gib's senseless paper with the solemn league and covenant, and publish it, as he says, to inform strangers of the seditious principles of the Scots presbyterians.²⁰

By the 1680s, therefore, the word 'phanatick' signified 'the presbyterian now in the co[mm]on dialect'.²¹ The vocabulary of fanaticism was propagated through printed works, proclamations and the Test oath. There is also evidence that the vocabulary was communicated beyond the elites through episcopalian sermons. In 1690, the presbytery of Linlithgow heard evidence that Alexander Seton, episcopalian minister in the burgh, had preached, possibly several years previously, that 'Christ was to be found no where but in the publick place of worship apointed be the civill magistrat

reaction in England, see T. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London, 2005), pp.260-328.

¹⁷ NLS, Letter with reasons for refusing the Test, c.1681, Wod. Qu. XXVI, fo. 208v.

¹⁸ [Gilbert Rule], *A Vindication of the Presbyterians in Scotland, From the Malicious Aspersions cast upon them in a late Pamphlet* (London, 1692), p.6.

¹⁹ George Lockhart, 'Scotland's Ruine': *Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs of the Union* ed. D. Szechi (Aberdeen, 1995), e.g. pp.7, 8, 27.

²⁰ Wodrow, *History*, iii, p.348. See George Mackenzie, *A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1691), pp.57-66.

²¹ NLS, Letter with reasons for refusing the Test, Wod. Qu. XXVI, fo. 208v.; Wodrow, *History*, iii, p.299.

and that he was not at all to be found at these fanaticall meetings' of presbyterians.²² Preaching before parliament in June 1690, David Williamson recalled an earlier episcopalian sermon to members of the justiciary court calling for action against 'some that he [the earlier preacher] called *Phanaticks*'.²³

III

Sometimes the term 'fanatic' suggested ideological extremism, inflexibility and political disloyalty. On other occasions, writers used the vocabulary to question the mental condition of presbyterians. Often, episcopalians linked the term 'fanatic' to other words drawn from the vocabulary of enthusiasm.²⁴ The 'Fanatical Books' that, according to George Hickes, were studied by presbyterian James Mitchell, a would-be assassin of Archbishop Sharp, 'were fit for his narrow capacity, and Enthusiastical temper'. That they were the basis of the Edinburgh divinity curriculum in the 1650s proved that the presbyterians had 'advanc'd so far towards Enthusiasm, that they despised and suspected men of Learning, and Sence'. Before his execution for attempted assassination in 1678, Mitchell harangued a visiting episcopalian minister with many 'rude and Enthusiastick expressions'. His scaffold testimony followed 'Presbyterian Logick and Zeal' to the 'highest pitch of Enthusiasm and Bigotry'.²⁵

From as early as 1646, the term 'enthusiasm' and related adjectives and nouns were used to characterise the radical protestant sects that had emerged during the crisis preceding the civil war in England.²⁶ Words relating to enthusiasm were central to subsequent polemical assessments of the civil war and the interregnum, maintaining

²² NAS, Presbytery of Linlithgow minutes, 1687-1694, CH2/242/7, pp.72-3 (quotation), 89.

²³ David Williamson, *A Sermon Preached before His Grace the King's Commissioner, and the Three Estates of Parliament, June the 15th. 1690* (Edinburgh, 1690), p.13.

²⁴ The uncertain semantic boundary between fanaticism and enthusiasm in this period frustrated later critics: L.E. Klein, 'Sociability, solitude, and enthusiasm', in L.E. Klein and A.J. La Vopa (eds.), *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850* (San Marino, CA, 1998), pp.153-4.

²⁵ [George Hickes], *Ravillac Redivivus, being a Narrative of the Late Tryal of Mr James Mitchel, a Conventicle Preacher* (London, 1978), pp.11, 10, 43.

²⁶ M. Heyd, *'Be Sober and Reasonable': The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1995), pp.19-20; A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), p.43. For examples of this usage by a Scottish writer, see Samuel Rutherford, *A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist* (London, 1648). A broad overview of 'enthusiasm' in Christian culture is provided by R.A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: a Chapter in the History of Religion* (Oxford, 1950).

their significance into the eighteenth century and beyond.²⁷ In the 1650s, English writers used the vocabulary to provide naturalistic explanations of the claims to divine inspiration made by members of protestant sects. Meric Casaubon's *Treatise Concerning Enthusiasme* (1655) interpreted such claims as consequences of natural melancholy, following the account of 'religious enthusiasm' in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621).²⁸ In his *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1656), Cambridge Platonist Henry More also drew on Burton's work, describing enthusiasm as a product of excessive heat in the humour system.²⁹ As Joseph Glanvill explained in 1665, errors in judgement could result from the 'evil conduct' of the imagination, and from 'Phancies deceptions'. 'Hence we may derive the *Visions, Voyces, Revelations* of the *Enthusiast*: the strong Idea's [*sic*] of which, being conjur'd up into the *Imagination* by the heat of the *melancholized* brain, are judged exterior *Realities*', despite being 'but motions within the *Cranium*'. Thus Glanvill explained the experiences of '*Hypochondriacal Imaginants*; to whom the grossest absurdities are infallible certainties, and free reason an Impostour'.³⁰

Glanvill's prose displayed the variety of terms forming the vocabulary of enthusiasm, and linked 'melancholy' and 'hypochondria' to a physiological account of spurious inspiration. Of course, the vocabulary of enthusiasm was by no means confined to works of religious controversy. In 1699, John Locke added a chapter 'Of Enthusiasm' to his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. In this, he argued that enthusiasm, 'though founded neither on reason, nor divine revelation, but rising from the conceits of a warmed or over-weening brain, works yet, where it once gets footing, more powerfully on the persuasions and actions of men, than either of those two, or both together'.³¹ A work of 1708 argued that 'Natural Enthusiasm arising from a disorder'd Brain, occasion'd by great Fervency of Temper [...] will necessarily impregnate the Fancy, cause the Images of Things to come into it very

²⁷ J.G.A. Pocock, 'Enthusiasm: the antiself of enlightenment', in Klein and La Vopa (eds.), *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment*.

²⁸ Heyd, 'Be Sober and Reasonable', pp.73-6, 64-6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.92-8; see also D. Fouke, *The Enthusiastical Concerns of Dr Henry More: Religious Meaning and the Psychology of Delusion* (Leiden, 1997).

³⁰ Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica: or, Confest Ignorance, the Way to Science* (London, 1665), pp.70, 72-3.

³¹ John Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* ed. R. Woolhouse (London, 1997), IV, xix, pp.616-17.

fast, and produce a very ready Invention of matter, and copious Fluency of Words'.³²

Another example unconnected with religion comes from Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders*:

In this distress I had no assistant, no friend to comfort or advise me; I sat and cried and tormented myself night and day, wringing my hands, and sometimes raving like a distracted woman; and indeed I have often wondered it had not affected my reason, for I had the vapours to such a degree, that my understanding was sometimes quite lost in fancies and imaginations.³³

The diagnosis and treatment of melancholic and hypochondriac Christians was part of the pastoral business of English and Scottish clergymen. A sermon *Of Religious Melancholy*, preached before Queen Mary by John Moore, bishop of Norwich, was published four or five times in the 1690s.³⁴ John Sharp, archbishop of York, was petitioned by one troubled lay person who described him or herself as 'deeply Hypochondriack, if not distracted', and whose 'great malady' was 'hard thoughts of Alm[ighty] God'. In his response, the archbishop recognised that attendance at worship was liable to exacerbate melancholic symptoms, but advised 'ordinary Hypochondriacks' not to absent themselves from church.³⁵ In 1701, Thomas Mack, a graduate of Glasgow University who was preparing for ministerial trials, asked to borrow Timothy Rogers's *Discourse concerning Trouble of Mind, and the Disease of Melancholly* (1691) from the University library.³⁶ In this book, Rogers, a presbyterian minister in London, drew on his own experience of melancholy, which seems to have been closely linked to his spiritual condition.³⁷

Whether or not ministers were influenced directly by Burton, More or Rogers, the diagnostic categories of hypochondria and melancholy were often relevant to the spiritual well-being of lay people in their care. This was perhaps particularly the

³² Quoted in J. Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation: Poetics and the Policing of Culture in the Romantic Period* (Oxford, 2003), p.29.

³³ Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (1722) ed. J. Mitchell (Harmondsworth, 1978), p.188.

³⁴ John Moore, *Of Religious Melancholy. A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen at White-hall* (London, 1692). For the various editions, see ESTC and EEBO.

³⁵ GRO, 'Answer to some Queries of an Hypochondriak', D3549/6/4/55 (H20).

³⁶ NLS, Thomas Mack to Robert Wodrow, 18 Feb. 1701, Wod. Lett. Qu. III, fo. 54r.; *Fasti*, ii, p.296.

³⁷ Timothy Rogers, *A Discourse concerning Trouble of Mind, and the Disease of Melancholly* (London, 1691); S. Wright, 'Rogers, Timothy (1658-1728)', *ODNB*.

case with the intensely emotional conversion-based piety of Scottish presbyterianism.³⁸ Recent scholars have argued that emotional or ‘revivalist’ piety, which was centred on the communion service, was vital to presbyterian identity, helping to sustain resistance to episcopacy in the restoration period.³⁹ Moreover, it is worth stressing that presbyterian writers themselves noticed that melancholy could provide a springboard to godliness. In one of his widely-read letters dating from 1640, Samuel Rutherford exhorted his correspondent to ‘[l]end Christ your melancholy, for Satan hath no right to make a chamber in your melancholy’.⁴⁰ Archibald Johnston of Wariston ascribed the spiritual despair of his son, which it was hoped would lead to conversion, to ‘a hypocondriack way from his too great melancholy’.⁴¹ In the 1690s, presbyterians still associated melancholy with conversion and subsequent spiritual trials. In 1699, Lady Ann Elcho suffered a ‘sad damp’, a term suggesting melancholy, during which she feared for her spiritual condition, before receiving ‘some Light’ and recovering.⁴² Weeks before her death in January 1696, Lady Ravelston was diagnosed with melancholy by a physician. According to the presbyterian diarist George Home of Kimmerghame, her state of mind ‘had this good effect that she set herself carefully about the things that concerned her soul’.⁴³ Melancholy and even despair played an important role in presbyterian spiritual experiences.

Given that terms such as ‘melancholy’ and ‘hypochondria’ were used by presbyterian writers, it is not surprising that some commentators described the ideas and actions

³⁸ D.G. Mullan, ‘Scottish women’s religious narrative, 1660-1720: constructing the evangelical self’, in S.M. Dunnigan, C.M. Harker and E.S. Newlyn (eds.), *Women and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing* (Basingstoke, 2004), p.188. For the centrality of conversion in presbyterian piety, see L.A. Yeoman, ‘Heart-work: Emotion, Empowerment and Authority in Covenanting Times’ (University of St Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1991), pp.1-40.

³⁹ L.E. Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2001 edn.), pp.21-50; M.J. Westerkamp, *The Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1652-1760* (New York, 1988), p.44.

⁴⁰ *Letters of Samuel Rutherford* ed. A.A. Bonar (Edinburgh, 1984 reprint), p.591.

⁴¹ L.A. Yeoman, ‘Archie’s invisible worlds discovered – spirituality, madness and Johnston of Wariston’s family’, *RSCHS*, 27 (1997), pp.156-84, at p.174.

⁴² NLS, Account of the death of Lady Ann Elcho, 1700, Wod. Qu. XVIII, fo. 167. For more on ‘damps’, see D.G. Mullan, ‘A glossary of evangelical piety’, in D.G. Mullan (ed.), *Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670-c.1730* (Aldershot, 2003), pp.31-2.

⁴³ NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame’s diary, 1694-1696, GD1/649/1, p.154.

of extreme presbyterians in terms of mental illness.⁴⁴ In 1682, Lauder of Fountainhall described how Christian Fife was sentenced to hang for denouncing the king: 'This was a wild delusion of Cameron's sowing; but the Privy Counsell, looking on hir as mad, repreived hir'.⁴⁵ In 1680, Lauder reported the trial of Cameronian James Skene, who was thought by some to be 'melancoly and hypocondriack'.⁴⁶ After the revolution, Gilbert Rule criticised the government in the restoration period for executing people who 'might be really called distempered in their Brains, and under deep Melancholy, through the Oppressions they underwent'.⁴⁷

If the association between presbyterian spirituality and mental illness sometimes encouraged the sympathy of episcopalian magistrates, the vocabulary of enthusiasm was also used to attack religious opponents. Gilbert Burnet advocated a life of prayer, but warned against devotion that 'doth not humble nor purify the minde', especially if the worshipper 'be Melancholick, a woman, or histerical'.⁴⁸ For Burnet, as for earlier generations of male controversialists, the preponderance of women in dissenting religious groups proved that their worship and beliefs were extreme and irrational.⁴⁹ Like fanaticism, moreover, terms such as enthusiasm served to obscure distinctions between extreme sects and moderate dissent. While the principal targets of early attacks on enthusiasm were Quakers and other sects claiming divine illumination,⁵⁰ the vocabulary was employed by Anglicans to attack all dissenters from the Church of England.⁵¹ Preaching in 1680, for example, George Hickes tackled the 'poison of Enthusiasm', the 'Spiritual drunkenness, or Lunacy of this

⁴⁴ C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.146-7.

⁴⁵ John Lauder, *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs* ed. D. Laing, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848), i, pp.350-1.

⁴⁶ Lauder, *Historical Observes*, pp.7-8.

⁴⁷ [Rule], *Vindication of the Presbyterians*, p.24.

⁴⁸ [Burnet], *Modest and Free Conference*, first part, pp.91-3.

⁴⁹ D.G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000), p.157; K. Thomas, 'Women and the civil war sects', *Past and Present*, 13 (Apr. 1958), pp.42-62, at pp.45, 51.

⁵⁰ Heyd, 'Be Sober and Reasonable', p.99.

⁵¹ J. Spurr, "'Rational religion" in restoration England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49 (1988), pp.563-85, at p.564; J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1991), pp.265, 321.

Schismatical Age', which 'so distempers the minds of men' of communions other than the Church of England.⁵²

Scottish episcopalians readily used enthusiasm and related terms to stigmatise presbyterians. In September 1690, the presbytery of Kirkcaldy heard evidence that John Bowes, episcopalian minister of Abbotshall, pressed Henry Paxton, a local schoolmaster, not to use the Westminster Assembly's catechisms, the standard presbyterian sources of religious instruction. While criticising the catechisms, Bowes had reportedly said that 'the Assembly of Divines at Westminster [...] were a pack of Hypochondriaks', who were 'led by a spirit of error'.⁵³ When episcopalian Alexander Monro praised the first viscount of Strathallan, who died in 1688, for avoiding 'the dreams and fooleries of Enthusiasm', his statement reflected Strathallan's commitment to the suppression of presbyterians by the restoration state.⁵⁴

Episcopalians also used the vocabulary in print, particularly after the invasion of William of Orange made discrediting the presbyterians an urgent priority. In 1689, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh and George Mackenzie, Viscount Tarbat printed the text of a presbyterian address to William, warning him to beware of the 'Panegyricks of Enthusiasts'.⁵⁵ Alexander Monro later accused presbyterians of deluding 'the people into misery and Enthusiasm'.⁵⁶ Elsewhere he justified the laws against presbyterian 'Enthusiasts' in the restoration period as 'Christian compassion towards the State'.⁵⁷ Writing in 1693, presbyterian George Ridpath noted the

⁵² George Hickes, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised in a Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford* (London, 1680), p.2.

⁵³ NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, 1688-1693, CH2/224/2, p.59[a]. For the theological issues raised, see ch. 9 below, pp.222-3.

⁵⁴ Alexander Monro, *Sermons Preached on Several Occasions* (London, 1693), p.496; D. Stevenson, 'Drummond, William, first viscount of Strathallan (c.1617-1688)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁵ [George Mackenzie and George Mackenzie], *A Memorial for His Highness the Prince of Orange, in Relation to the Affairs of Scotland* (London, 1689), p.11.

⁵⁶ [Alexander Monro], *An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland* (London, 1693), p.87.

⁵⁷ [Alexander Monro?], 'The preface', in *The History of Scotch-Presbytery: Being an Epitome of The Hind Let Loose by Mr Shields* (London, 1692), sig. [A4]r.

frequency with which episcopalians referred to enthusiasm. ‘Our Prelatists are of late become as fond of this Expression as is the *Cuckow* of his known *Note*’.⁵⁸

As with the vocabulary of ‘persecution’, the controversial character of enthusiasm arose from differences between episcopalians and presbyterians over how the term was used. The vocabulary was recognised by members of both parties, but less narrowly defined by episcopalians. In this respect, presbyterians were victims of changing ideas of the role of God’s grace in salvation in late seventeenth-century protestantism. Although this issue is discussed in detail in chapter nine, it is here necessary to note that restoration Anglicanism, but not Scottish presbyterianism, saw a reaction against emphasis on the unmerited reception of God’s grace in justification. To be justified, Anglicans now argued, the Christian had to repent his or her sins *before* receiving God’s grace. Furthermore, Christian faith was redefined in terms of obedience to God’s commandments, entailing a shift in Anglican writing towards moral duty, seen in works such as Richard Allestree’s *Whole Duty of Man* (1658).⁵⁹ Because it emphasised morality over conversion and faith, the theology of the restoration Church of England contained a critique of the emotional piety still exhibited by English dissenters and Scottish presbyterians. One Anglican devotional work explicitly argued that Christian piety should eschew ‘those frightful fanatical pangs of New-birth, which proceed from Enthusiasm or melancholy’.⁶⁰ A presbyterian critic of Anglican ‘*moralists*’ complained that ‘they flout at the Spirit[’]s working [on the Christian’s soul], as a melancholy fancy’.⁶¹ Yet for Anglicans, presbyterian theology merely countenanced the dangerous effects of enthusiasm.

Chapter nine argues that Scottish episcopalians shared to some extent in the new trend in English theology. Attacks on presbyterian enthusiasm certainly suggest that

⁵⁸ [George Ridpath], *A Continuation of the Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), p.23.

⁵⁹ Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp.279-330; I. Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780: Volume I Whichcote to Wesley* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.12, 18-23.

⁶⁰ [Luke Beaulieu], *Clastrum Animae: The Reformed Monastery; or, the Love of Jesus* (London, 1677 edn.), p. 114.

⁶¹ Robert McWard, ‘To the Christian reader’, in John Brown, *Christ, the Way, and the Truth and the Life* (Glasgow, 2nd edn., 1678), sig. [B6]v.

episcopalians absorbed parts of the Anglican message. In 1694, the general assembly's committee for the north heard evidence that episcopalian minister John Murray had criticised the support for presbyterianism given by Angus McBean, minister at Inverness. James Thomson, a merchant in Inverness, testified that in a sermon Murray called presbyterians 'giddy, or crazy headed or to that purpose'.⁶² The way in which Thomson expressed his evidence suggests that he was familiar with the use of language associating presbyterians with mental illness. Being 'giddy headed' was a characteristic of emotional worship: a privy council proclamation against conventicles of April 1681 declared that presbyterian worship had 'bred up the unwaray commons into a most atheisticall giddiness'.⁶³ Presbyterian John Blackadder complained that episcopalians labelled the godly 'fanatics and brain-cracked, giddy-headed bodies'.⁶⁴ Henry Scougal, professor of divinity at King's College, Aberdeen, in the 1670s, described the burgh's substantial Quaker community as 'giddy people'.⁶⁵ Archbishop Robert Leighton argued that those who claimed to be led by the spirit away from the rule of the scriptures were under a 'fanatical spirit, the spirit of delusion and giddiness'.⁶⁶ Since giddiness was a symptom of theological extremism, presbyterians could be castigated in the same terms as Quakers.

Presbyterians denied that their spirituality should be described with such pejorative words as fanaticism and enthusiasm. A few years after the revolution, a presbyterian petition, intended to be presented to parliament, complained of the episcopalians 'that their ignorance of Christian tenderness experienc[e], and exercise, is soe gross, that they load these holy fruits of the spirite, with the odious names of Enthusiasm hypocrisy and melancholy'.⁶⁷ Presbyterians reserved such terms for radical sectaries who claimed to receive new revelations. In a manuscript response to Hickes's *Spirit of Popery*, one presbyterian attacked the label 'phanatical protestants':

⁶² NAS, Papers concerning the trial of John Murray, 1694, CH1/2/2/2, fos. 129r., 131v.

⁶³ *RPC*, vii, p.93.

⁶⁴ John Blackadder, 'Sermon', in [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, second part, p.103.

⁶⁵ M. Lynch, G. DesBrisay and M.G.H. Pittock, 'The faith of the people', in E.P. Dennison, D. Ditchburn and M. Lynch (eds.), *Aberdeen before 1800: A New History* (East Linton, 2002), p.305.

⁶⁶ Quoted in G.D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), p.18.

⁶⁷ NLS, Petition of presbyterians 'nicknam'd Cameronians', Wod. Fol. LI, fo. 1v.

Some indeed of our first reformers gave this title to the Anabaptists and Enthusiasts in Germany. But seing we doe not cry up revellations and the spirit contrary to the word but hold that the spirits should be tryed by the word which we hold to be the only rule of faith and lyfe we cannot without ane Egregious calummie be called *Phanaticke protestants*[.]⁶⁸

Writing in 1693, George Ridpath questioned the validity of charges of presbyterian enthusiasm. 'Enthusiasts', he believed, were 'a sort of Persons who pretended to other Revelations than the written Word for the Rule'. Quakers and Anabaptists could be described in this way, but not presbyterians, who insisted on scriptural warrant for all beliefs.⁶⁹

IV

In the *Spirit of Popery* (1680), George Hickes justified his use of the vocabulary of enthusiasm against presbyterians with a detailed comparison between presbyterians and Quakers, by which he intended to demonstrate the two groups' similarities. '[T]he People of God called *Quakers*, have as much reason to say, That they Preach (which is to speak from God to men) *by the Spirit*; as the *Presbyterians* for asserting they can Pray (which is to speak from man to God) *by the Spirit*.' It might be supposed, Hickes continued, that the presbyterians 'had the notion of Immediate Inspiration from' the Quakers.⁷⁰

By the 1680s, the use of extemporary prayer and a corresponding rejection of fixed liturgical forms were crucial aspects of Scottish presbyterian worship. Although some variety of opinion had existed in the early seventeenth century, by the middle decades of the century most presbyterians believed that set forms stifled the spontaneous actions of the holy spirit in prayer.⁷¹ According to one restoration presbyterian, Robert Baillie's *Parallel or Briefe Comparison of the Liturgie with the Masse-book* (1641) proved 'unanswerable' that use of the English Book of Common

⁶⁸ NLS, An answer to George Hickes's *Spirit of Popery*, MS. 3470, fo. 13r.

⁶⁹ [Ridpath], *Continuation of the Answer*, pp.23-4.

⁷⁰ [Hickes], *Spirit of Popery*, p.45.

⁷¹ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, pp.125-7; Yeoman, 'Heart-work', pp.146, 158.

Prayer was superstitious.⁷² For Hickes, by contrast, the presbyterians' 'error concerning the extemporary spirit of Prayer' had helped to sustain their rebellious separation from the episcopalian Church of Scotland.⁷³

For restoration Anglicans, it was necessary to defend the Book of Common Prayer so as to assert the Church of England's authority against its dissenting critics. Anglican clergymen warned that extemporary prayer was impertinent, unnecessarily repetitive and coloured by the opinions of the speaker.⁷⁴ In many cases, these characteristics were thought to result from natural enthusiasm. In a work of 1683, London clergyman John Scott defined natural enthusiasm following the normal medical understanding:

a natural or accidental fervency of temper, arising either from a constant heat of constitution, or a casual agitation of the spirits, occasion'd either by vapours of heated melancholy, or an intermixture of sharp and feaverish humours with the blood; which as all men know, who understand any thing of the nature and composition of humane bodies, naturally heightens and impregnates the fancy, and causes the images of things to come faster into it, and appear more distinct in it, and consequently produces a very ready invention of matter and extraordinary fluency of words[.]⁷⁵

Given this final characteristic of enthusiasm, Scott argued, someone praying under its influence 'cannot fail to pray with great readiness and fluency, and sometimes with that extraordinary passion and enlargement, as shall cause him assuredly to believe himself immediately inspired by the Spirit of God'.⁷⁶ George Hickes detected the same phenomenon in John Kid's scaffold testimony. Hickes remarked of Kid's claim to experience 'the *presence of God* upon' his spirit that, with this phrase, 'the Enthusiast Blasphemously miscalls the irregular *heat* of his Phancy elevated in Preaching'.⁷⁷

⁷² NLS, Answer to Hickes's *Spirit of Popery*, MS. 3470, fo. 60r.

⁷³ Hickes, *Spirit of Enthusiasm*, p.42.

⁷⁴ W. Gibson, *The Church of England, 1688-1832: Unity and Accord* (London, 2001), pp.224-6.

⁷⁵ [John Scott], *Certain Cases of Conscience Resolved concerning the Lawfulness of Joyning with Forms of Prayer in Publick Worship* (London, 1683), pp.10-11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.11.

⁷⁷ [Hickes], *Spirit of Popery*, p.5.

Anglicans could use the concept of enthusiasm to question the sincerity of presbyterian prayers. Hickee seized upon the case of Major Thomas Weir, an Edinburgh presbyterian who was convicted of bestiality and incest in 1670. Before confessing to these crimes, Weir had been a pillar of Edinburgh's presbyterian community, living among the 'saints' of the West Bow.⁷⁸ According to Hickee, Weir had 'a wonderful fluency in extemporary Prayer, and what through Enthusiastical phrases, and what through Extasies, and raptures, into which he would appear transported, he made the amazed people presume he was acted by the Spirit of God'.⁷⁹ Of course, to Hickee, Weir and his devotions were hypocritical. Some contemporaries attributed his facility in prayer to the devil's influence, following claims made by his sister Jean concerning his staff, apparently a gift from the devil.⁸⁰ In this context, Weir's case was enlisted against the dissenting opponents of John Scott, for whom the major provided an example of demonically inspired prayer.⁸¹ For Hickee, however, Weir's prayers could more plausibly be attributed to 'the vigour of his own Enthusiastical Imagination, without any Foreign Force', whether demonic or divine.⁸²

Presbyterians were aware that enthusiasm and demonic interference presented problems to worshippers. Alexander Pitcairn, minister of Dron in Perthshire and principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews, after the revolution, wrote one of the few systematic works on prayer of the restoration period. When considering the influence of the holy spirit, Pitcairn warned that natural enthusiasm and diabolical inspiration could to some extent replicate the spirit's influence. While these sources of fervency in prayer could sometimes mislead, the relatively weak effects of natural enthusiasm could be differentiated from the genuine actions of the spirit.⁸³ Another

⁷⁸ D. Stevenson, 'Weir, Thomas (d. 1670)', *ODNB*; D. Stevenson, 'Major Weir: a justified sinner?', *Scottish Studies*, 16 (1972), pp.161-73, at pp.164-6.

⁷⁹ [Hickee], *Ravillac Redivivus*, p.61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.66; George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685) ed. T.G. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1871), postscript, p.[12].

⁸¹ [Scott], *Certain Cases of Conscience Resolved*, p.13.

⁸² [Hickee], *Ravillac Redivivus*, p.70.

⁸³ Alexander Pitcairn, *The Spiritual Sacrifice: or, a Treatise, wherein several weighty Questions and Cases, concerning the Saints Communion with GOD in Prayer, are Propounded* (Edinburgh, 1664), pp.332, 351-2, 384-5; *Fasti*, iv, p.202.

presbyterian set down rules with which to distinguish the impact of the spirit from natural enthusiasm and demonic influence:

If impressions, motions and inspirations be upon persons any way distempred in their braine, or in some fitts of phrensie, or be much gone in melancholy, or upon profane and wicked men, they are to be suspected, for the devill often abuseth the former their naturall spirits and temper being most disposed to it, and the spirit of God hath no near intimat communion with the latter[.]⁸⁴

The writer stressed the need to test putative promptings of the spirit for compatibility with scripture. Presbyterians' insistence on this point proved 'that we are no wayes led by enthusiastick impulses without the word but walk only by the word, and reject all impulses either contrare to, or beside it, yea not warranted by it'.⁸⁵

Despite being attacked as 'enthusiasts', Scottish presbyterians differed little from Anglicans and episcopalians in their understanding of prayer. The crux of Scott's argument against extemporary prayer was that direct divine inspiration of the sort made to the prophets and apostles was no longer available to mankind.⁸⁶ While this opinion may have distinguished him from some English dissenters, including Quakers, Scottish presbyterians did not claim that their prayers or sermons were inspired in this way. It was not unusual for presbyterians to assert that God granted particular Christians, notably John Knox, knowledge of future events. Yet presbyterians distinguished this form of divine communication from the revelation experienced by the prophets and apostles in biblical times.⁸⁷

Most late seventeenth-century writers on prayer, including presbyterians, agreed that the holy spirit contributed to the fervour of prayer, while not inspiring any unscriptural subject matter. This was the case with Robert Craghead, a presbyterian minister at Londonderry, who argued that although Christians 'are not now to wait for *extraordinary and immediat Inspiration*; yet we are to wait for the *ordinary*

⁸⁴ NLS, Answer to Hickee's *Spirit of Popery*, MS. 3470, fo. 48r.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, fos. 47v., 48v.

⁸⁶ [Scott], *Certain Cases of Conscience Resolved*, pp.3-14.

⁸⁷ Rutherford, *Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist*, pp.39-43.

assistance of the Spirit of Grace and Supplication, promised to all Believers'.⁸⁸ Likewise *Directions and Instigations to the Duty of Prayer*, the much-reprinted work of Andrew Gray, protester minister in Glasgow in the 1650s, emphasised the 'voice of the affections' as the holy spirit's role in prayer.⁸⁹ More explicitly, David Williamson wrote that presbyterians 'hold the teaching of the Spirit necessarie to the saving knowledge of Christ, yet we doe not hold that the Spirit bringeth new revelations, but that he opens the eyes of the understanding to discern what is of old revealed in the written word'.⁹⁰ As John Wilson, episcopalian minister of Kirkwall, argued, the process of determining the 'Genuine Actings of the Divine Spirit' required one to avoid the opposite extremes of denying all divine influence and accepting false inspirations.⁹¹ Despite his defence of forms, Scott accepted that the holy spirit could encourage fervour in prayer.⁹²

The debate over the supposed enthusiasm of presbyterian prayer magnified and distorted the distinctions between Anglican and presbyterian worship. In the 1690s, this proved a boon for those episcopalians who hoped to cultivate Anglican support for their cause. Pamphleteers quickly portrayed themselves as supporters of the Prayer Book and critics of extemporary prayer, although episcopalian worship in the restoration period had not been based on a liturgy, and had differed from presbyterian practice on less significant points such as use of the Lord's Prayer and doxology.⁹³ Even when stressing the similarity of worship in presbyterian and episcopalian churches, episcopalian John Sage echoed earlier Anglican pamphleteers: 'our Clergy are not so overbold nor fulsome' in prayer as the presbyterians, 'nor use so many vain Repetitions'.⁹⁴ Writing in 1691, Alexander

⁸⁸ Robert Craghead, *An Answer to a Late Book, intituled, A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God* (Edinburgh, 1694), p.33.

⁸⁹ Andrew Gray, *Directions and Instigations to the Duty of Prayer* (Edinburgh, 1679 edn.), p.12.

⁹⁰ NLS, David Williamson, 'Account of the sufferings from 1660 to 1688', Wod. Fol. XL, fo. 2v.

⁹¹ John Wilson, *An Essay on Enthusiasm: Teaching to Distinguish between Inspirations, Warrantable and Unwarrantable* (Edinburgh, 1706), pp.3-4.

⁹² [Scott], *Certain Cases of Conscience Resolved*, pp.11-12.

⁹³ A. Raffae, 'Episcopalian polemic, the London printing press and Anglo-Scottish divergence in the 1690s', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 26 (2006), pp.23-41, at pp.28-9, 39; T.N. Clarke, 'The Scottish Episcopalians, 1688-1720' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1987), pp.3-4; T. Maxwell, 'The Presbyterian-Episcopalian Controversy in Scotland from the Revolution till the Accession of George I' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1954), pp.32, 86-102.

⁹⁴ [John Sage], *The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy truly Represented* (London, 1690), sig. [A3]r.

Monro condemned the presbyterians for turning '*the Devotion of the Christian Church*, into *incoherent Rapsodies and Fopperies*'. '[I]f *their Prayers* but since the late Revolution, within the City of *Edinburgh*, and the Places next Adjacent to it, were but Printed and exposed to Publick View, all the Protestant Churches would abhor their way'.⁹⁵

The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (1692) followed Monro's suggestion, quoting a series of expressions of 'that Extemporary Gibberish, which they [i.e. presbyterians] use instead of Prayer'.⁹⁶ It is impossible to establish whether these statements were ever uttered by the ministers to whom they were attributed; certainly the pamphlet's authors selected their material carefully in order to ridicule the presbyterians. Some of the prayers were apparently blasphemous, others were strange or revolting. One minister was alleged to have prayed 'Lord give us Grace, for if thou give us not Grace we shall not give thee Glory, and who will win by that, Lord?' Several meeting houses reportedly prayed 'Lord thou rains down middings [i.e. middens] of blessings upon us'. Other ministers' prayers employed ludicrous, homely images: '*O Lord, thou'rt like a Mousie peeping out at the hole of a Wall, for thou sees us but we see not thee*'.⁹⁷

There is further evidence that episcopalians mocked presbyterian prayer. Archibald Pitcairne, an episcopalian physician, burlesqued presbyterian notions of prayer in his poem *Babell*, which was circulated in manuscript:

Lest superstitione they commit,
Each chose the posture he thought fitt,
(For Presbyterians scoff and scorn
At prayeing in a decent form:)⁹⁸

⁹⁵ [Alexander Monro], *Presbyterian Inquisition; As it was lately practised against the Professors of the Colledge of Edinburgh* (London, 1691), pp.18-19.

⁹⁶ *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; or, the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons and Prayers* (London, 1692), p.2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.113.

⁹⁸ Archibald Pitcairne, *Babell; A Satirical Poem, on the Proceedings of the General Assembly in the year M.DC.XCII* ed. G.R. Kinloch (Maitland Club, 1830), p.7.

If presbyterian prayer was enthusiastic, ridiculous and blasphemous, it was also easy to feign. In 1693, one young critic of presbyterianism wrote in a manuscript work that extemporary prayer, with its 'phantastical words' of the speakers' 'own Mintage', discredited prayer itself. While presbyterians claimed that skill in prayer was a gift of the holy spirit, it was in fact an 'art' that could be obtained by practice and the imitation of others in the use of appropriate phrases. Thus anyone could deliver popular prayers, particularly ignorant people – 'silly Mechanics' – who were 'proportionably the most impudent, and conceited' of their abilities.⁹⁹ George Hickes had made a similar point with respect to Major Weir and James Mitchell. The major's prayers were carefully contrived, Hickes argued: Weir memorised biblical language, affected a 'particular gracefulness in whining and sighing' and a 'ravishing accent'. Mitchell learned '*Canting* affected Phrases' and practised the 'Tone, Grimace, and Gesticulations' typical of presbyterian worship.¹⁰⁰

Critics of presbyterianism sought to discredit their opponents further by drawing attention to the omission of the Lord's Prayer from presbyterian worship. Again this theme had been rehearsed in earlier Anglican literature.¹⁰¹ According to the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, presbyterian ministers were reluctant to use the Lord's Prayer in church 'because it is an evident Argument and Pattern for Christians praying in a set Form'.¹⁰² John Sage claimed that presbyterians thought the prayer 'Superstitious and Formal'.¹⁰³ For Alexander Monro, the presbyterian practice turned Christ's command to use the Lord's Prayer on its head.¹⁰⁴ By 1703, the perversity of presbyterians' omission of the prayer was presented as a reason why

⁹⁹ NLS, 'The Chaplain's Vade Mecum: or The Art of Prayer & Devotion', Adv. 5.2.6, fos. 7v.-8r.

¹⁰⁰ [Hickes], *Ravillac Redivivus*, pp.61, 11-12. Robert South, an Anglican high-churchman, mimicked enthusiastic preachers for satirical effect in the pulpit: I. Simon, 'Swift and South on enthusiasm', *Swift Studies*, 5 (1990), pp.113-16, at p.114.

¹⁰¹ See e.g. Meric Casaubon, *A Vindication of the Lords Prayer, as a Formal Prayer, and by Christ's Institution to be Used as a Prayer* (London, 1660); Hickes, *Spirit of Enthusiasm*, p.42.

¹⁰² *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.2.

¹⁰³ [Sage], *Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy*, sig. [A3]r.

¹⁰⁴ [Alexander Monro], *An Enquiry into the New Opinions (Chiefly) Propagated by the Presbyterians of Scotland* (London, 1696), p.290.

episcopalians could not join presbyterian worship and deserved an act of toleration.¹⁰⁵

There is some evidence that non-elite people took exception to the omission of the Lord's Prayer by presbyterians. In Anne's reign, the parish of Ardersier, near Inverness, remained vacant for years because parishioners refused to accept any call to a minister who would not recite the Lord's Prayer in public worship. Leading the opposition to the local presbytery on the matter was Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, the sole heritor in Ardersier, who campaigned vigorously for a general assembly act in favour of public use of the Lord's Prayer.¹⁰⁶ Campbell's intransigence was probably decisive in preventing the presbytery from settling a minister of its own choice in 1707.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Campbell's correspondence with the presbytery and others claimed that there was unanimous popular opposition in the parish to ministers' omission of the Lord's Prayer. When the presbytery visited Ardersier in December 1706, it was presented with a letter to this effect signed by, or on behalf of, all the parishioners.¹⁰⁸

In 1711, a violent crowd in Kilmuir Wester (Knockbain) gave the presbytery of Chanonry and Dingwall a paper of objections to John Grant, a presbyterian minister who had been settled in the parish. One complaint was Grant's failure to recite the Lord's Prayer at the end of his public prayers, 'contrary to the practice of Christ's Church in all ages, and of the reformed Churches in all nations except this'.¹⁰⁹ Another episcopalian petition was sent to Queen Anne from the parish of Cabrach, on the border between Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. This stated various objections to presbyterian worship, including omission of the Lord's Prayer.¹¹⁰ Different

¹⁰⁵ [John Sage], *A Brief Examination of Some Things in Mr Meldrum's Sermon* ([Edinburgh?], 1703), p.5; [George Brown], *Toleration Defended: or, the Letter from a Gentleman to a Member of Parliament concerning Toleration Considered* ([Edinburgh?], 1703), p.3.

¹⁰⁶ Hugh Campbell, *An Essay on the Lord's Prayer* (Edinburgh, 1704); Hugh Campbell, *A Collection of Letters, relative to an Essay upon the Lord's Prayer* (Edinburgh, 1709).

¹⁰⁷ NAS, United presbyteries of Inverness and Forres minutes, 1702-1708, CH2/553/3, pp.177, 205, 211-12.

¹⁰⁸ Campbell, *Collection of Letters*, pp.55-6, 75-9, 85-7.

¹⁰⁹ NLS, Protestation against John Grant, Sept. 1711, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 77v. This case is discussed further in ch. 5 below, p.126.

¹¹⁰ Henderson, *Religious Life*, p.11. The manuscript from which Henderson quoted was then in the possession of Bishop F.L. Deane of Aberdeen (p.242).

attitudes to the Lord's Prayer served to harden the distinction between presbyterians and episcopalians: public use of the prayer by James Ramsay, presbyterian minister of Eyemouth, in April 1705 caused a stir, with one auditor describing Ramsay as 'ane Episcopal minister'.¹¹¹

Episcopalians also attacked the sermons of their opponents. It was normal for presbyterians to preach *ex tempore*, using notes to guide their thoughts. John Livingston learned to give sermons in this way in the 1620s.¹¹² Seventy years later, James Wodrow would preach from a paper listing a few main points.¹¹³ Thomas Boston often studied his text at length the day before preaching, but apparently did not write out sermons in advance.¹¹⁴ William Tullideff argued that '[a]ll that ministers can Do In preparing matter for [th]e people is but like the Gathering of sticks which will never Flame, till God put fire to [the]m'. It was thus necessary for ministers to pray for divine assistance for their sermons.¹¹⁵

According to episcopalian critics, the resulting presbyterian sermons were absurd. Preaching at Aberdeen in 1692, an episcopalian minister warned that religion had to be made as reasonable as possible, given the scepticism of 'Nominall Christians', 'Infidels and Atheists'. In this context, the preacher advised his brethren to avoid 'canting' phrases and coarse metaphors that might easily be ridiculed. If reports of presbyterians' sermons were true, the episcopalian concluded, their preaching constituted a 'Rapsody of pious nonsense'.¹¹⁶ One visitor to the parish of New Abbey, Galloway, in August 1692 was so amused by a sermon on Psalm 5:1-2 he heard that he wrote to a friend in Edinburgh with an account. Describing David's transition from shepherd to king, the preacher wished the same luck to his congregation, then corrected himself by saying that he did not wish them William's crown. For the sinner, he went on, the burden of sin was comparable to a 'blind Lump on his ars or on his back Lyke a turbies egg', which, when a sufferer rode on a

¹¹¹ NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame's diary, 1702-1705, GD1/659/4, pp.436-7.

¹¹² Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, p.28.

¹¹³ Robert Wodrow, *Life of James Wodrow* (Edinburgh, 1828), pp.65-6.

¹¹⁴ Boston, *Memoirs*, pp.104-5, 126, 167, 173.

¹¹⁵ EUL, William Tullideff's remarks concerning ministers, La. II 263, no. 7, p.4.

¹¹⁶ NAS, 'A Sermon Preached to the Clergy of Aberdeen, Apryll 12, Anno 1692', CH12/16/259, pp.14-15.

‘hard trotting jadd’, would trouble him ‘right sair’. In prayer, the minister ‘wished all p[rese]nt mikle good of’ his sermon, especially directing this remark to the stranger in his congregation. Recording these details in his letter, the visitor wrote ‘I hope ye will confess I have obleidged him by carrieing away so great a share of’ the sermon.¹¹⁷

The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* gave a similarly facetious assessment of presbyterian sermons, suggesting that they consisted of ‘mere Railing and Nonsense’ designed to affect ‘the Animal Spirits of the Presbyterian Rabble’. The pamphlet quoted one preacher who reportedly told his congregation that ‘*there is gentlemany Preaching and commonmany Preaching. I will give you commonmany Preaching, Sirs, I will give you milk pottage, and this will make you bon[n]y fat and lusty in your journey to heaven.*’ The preacher of another ‘Nonsensical and incoherent’ sermon, the pamphlet alleged, even argued that sermons ought not to be lucid.¹¹⁸

The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* infuriated presbyterians, provoking several responses that aimed to expose its distortions and fabrications. By printing their pamphlets in London, presbyterians alleged, episcopalians hoped to gain the support of leading Anglican churchmen and politicians. In doing so, episcopalian pamphleteers relied on unfair misrepresentations and caricatures of their opponents. Particularly irritating was the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*’s portrayal of presbyterians as doctrinally extreme and enthusiastically pious.¹¹⁹ George Ridpath denounced the episcopalians’ ‘Method of inventing Lies, new vamping old Stories fathered upon Quakers and Antinomians, and charging them afresh upon’ presbyterians.¹²⁰ In fact, the pamphlet’s discussions of presbyterian worship recycled stereotypes constructed in English works including Samuel Butler’s

¹¹⁷ NAS, Note from a letter, 28 Aug. 1692, GD52/1456. The tone and some of the vocabulary of this sermon recall the well-known ‘Red-shanks sermon’, preached in St Giles, Edinburgh, by James Row in April 1642. It was reprinted several times in the eighteenth century: see *A Sermon Perched by Mr James Row, sometime Minister at Strowan, in St Geilles Kirk at Edinburgh, which has been commonly known by the name of Pockmanty Preaching* ([Edinburgh], [1703?]).

¹¹⁸ *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, pp.7, 104, 105.

¹¹⁹ Raffe, ‘Episcopalian polemic’, pp.28-34.

¹²⁰ [George Ridpath], *An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), sig. [A4]r.

Hudibras and *The Character of a Fanatick*.¹²¹ Many Anglican readers of the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* would have been familiar with these earlier polemics against enthusiasm. Gilbert Rule objected to the pamphlet's mocking attitude towards presbyterian spirituality, complaining that it described the 'Soul-trouble' of the godly as '*Melancholy and Distraction*'.¹²² As the debate over this pamphlet makes clear, the vocabulary of enthusiasm continued to be controversial in the years after the re-establishment of presbyterian government.

V

The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* seems to have been widely popular in and around London; episcopalian James Canaries wrote that even 'the very common people are fond of it'.¹²³ Unusually for a controversial work, it was reprinted twice in the 1690s and again throughout the eighteenth century. Whatever its English popularity, London publication probably limited the extent of the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*'s circulation in Scotland. Presbyterian James Kirkton suggested that Scots would not believe the pamphlet's allegations, which would undermine the episcopalian cause north of the border.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, episcopalians within Scotland also made use of the pamphlet's satirical arguments, and non-elite people echoed its emphasis on the differences between presbyterian and episcopalian worship.

The vocabularies of fanaticism and enthusiasm were expressed in printed works and episcopalian sermons, but it is difficult to find evidence that non-elite men and women used these terms. Popular mocking of presbyterian worship is similarly elusive, although this in part reflects the limitations of late seventeenth-century source material. Yet the nature and sincerity of presbyterian worship did create arguments, some of which involved ordinary people. Parishioners reported disputes over allegations of presbyterian enthusiasm. Non-elite people criticised presbyterian

¹²¹ Raffe, 'Episcopalian polemic', pp.33-6.

¹²² [Gilbert Rule], *A Just and Modest Reproof of a Pamphlet, called, the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (Edinburgh, 1693), p.15.

¹²³ NLS, James Canaries to Robert Wylie, 20 Aug. 1692, Wod. Fol. XXVI, fo. 331r.

¹²⁴ Kirkton, *History*, p.194.

omission of the Lord's Prayer. Moreover, it seems likely that individual presbyterians were ridiculed, as a result of their ludicrous worship and perceived hypocrisy. The story of Major Weir and his sister reportedly 'made a noise even in foreign nations as well as at home, they being looked upon by all as the greatest Hypocrites and most flagitious persons that had been for many years discovered in any nation'.¹²⁵ According to George Hickes, Weir's confession was the subject of widespread interest in Edinburgh, where it quickly became 'Town-talk'. Eight years later, James Mitchell's execution was allegedly followed by the posting of various manuscript poems in favour of the unsuccessful assassin, as well as an anti-presbyterian satire:

Your sealing Witnesses we hear
Are Mr *James Mitchell*, and Major *Weir*:
One with his hand, but had no pith,
Th' other your Wives know well wherewith,
Which makes them sigh, and sighing say,
Welsh can but Preach, but *Weir* could pray.
It's this that all Religion shames,
To give Hells Vices Heavenly names.¹²⁶

Weir and Mitchell were highly unusual presbyterians. Yet their cases suggest the ways in which episcopalians could use the vocabularies of fanaticism and enthusiasm to criticise individual presbyterians, their piety and their hypocrisy. The arguments provoked by this criticism were neither abstruse nor confined to printed sources, and they allowed for popular participation in controversy. As the next chapter argues, the presbyterians' response, which concentrated on their opponents' immorality and hypocrisy, enlisted ordinary people, as well as elite pamphleteers.

¹²⁵ *The Records of the Proceedings of the Justiciary Court Edinburgh, 1661-1678* ed. W.G. Scott-Moncrieff, 2 vols. (SHS, 1905), ii, p.14.

¹²⁶ [Hickes], *Ravillac Redivivus*, pp.62, 54, 57. John Welsh was the former presbyterian minister of Kirkpatrick-Irongray and a renowned field preacher.

Chapter 4: Clerical Reputations

I

In late seventeenth-century Scotland, controversial vocabularies were used to stereotype religious opponents, allowing polemicists to construct images of the 'persecuting' episcopalian, and the 'fanatical' and 'enthusiastic' presbyterian. As chapter three suggests, this process of stereotyping exaggerated the differences between Scotland's religious parties, and encouraged leading episcopalians to reposition their party in closer alliance with the Church of England. Although the vocabulary of enthusiasm misrepresented presbyterians, it made sense for episcopalians to characterise their opponents in its terms, using the words and images employed by English critics of religious dissent.

This chapter assesses some presbyterian responses to the vocabularies of fanaticism and enthusiasm. In order to refute their opponents' allegations of irrational and extreme religiosity, mainstream presbyterians characterised themselves as 'sober' Christians, whose 'serious' beliefs and practices contrasted with the antics of the Cameronian fringe, and the lax morals of the episcopalian clergy and laity. Moreover, presbyterians sought to turn the focus of debate away from the characteristics of their worship, dwelling instead on the unsavoury reputations of their opponents. Ministers and pamphleteers used claims of episcopalian connivance at sin to vindicate the re-establishment of presbyterianism. The immorality of the episcopalian Church also justified a purge of parochial clergy and investigations of the vices of university teachers. People outside the elites were involved in making allegations against episcopalians, giving the purges of clergy and university staff an appearance of popularity.

The presbyterians conducted a campaign against the reputations of episcopalian ministers, targeting individuals and the clergy as a whole. Yet this was not an anticlerical campaign: bishops were criticised for their social pretensions, but the presbyterians did not argue that ministers in the re-established Church should have

their authority curtailed, or that they should suffer a reduction in stipends. Indeed, the aristocratic anticlericalism that had shaped the restoration settlement in Scotland helped to confine ministers to a subordinate position in the social hierarchy, which itself militated against the emergence of anticlerical feeling at or after the revolution.¹

Rather than dividing lay people from the clergy, arguments over clerical reputations in the 1690s formed part of the controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians. Elite and non-elite people on both sides scrutinised and satirised the quality and sincerity of the rival parties' ministers, mocking perceived hypocrisy and immorality. Some of the resulting arguments were expressed in pamphlets, but scurrilous verses and local gossip may have been more important media. Elite concern over profanity and scandal spread beyond the clergy, but could not overcome the division between presbyterians and episcopalians.

II

Presbyterians denied that their piety and worship were fanatical and enthusiastic. In contrast to the blasphemies of the Quakers and Anabaptists, they argued, presbyterian beliefs were based exclusively on the Bible. Unlike members of these extreme sects, presbyterians were 'sober' Christians. In the late seventeenth century, the term 'sober' was often used in a religious sense to distinguish moderate and reasonable protestants from their 'fanatical', deluded or melancholic neighbours. London bookseller Richard Blome published *The Fanatick History* (1660), a comparison of the 'old Anabaptists' and the Quakers, which promised to 'amaze any sober Christian'.² Writing in 1669, Gilbert Burnet differentiated between opponents of episcopacy who were 'sober and modest', and those whom he branded

¹ J. Buckroyd, 'Anti-clericalism in Scotland during the restoration', in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland, 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983); C.G. Brown, 'Rotavating the Kailyard: re-imagining the Scottish "meenister" in discourse and the parish state since 1707', in N. Aston and M. Cragoe (eds.), *Anticlericalism in Britain, c.1500-1914* (Stroud, 2000).

² [Richard Blome], *The Fanatick History, or, An Exact Relation and Account of the Old Anabaptists and New Quakers* (London, 1660), title-page.

‘*Fanaticks*’.³ In 1681, an English writer claimed the label ‘sober’ for presbyterians, arguing that ‘the Sober and truly Religious People of this Nation, formerly called *Puritans*, and of late *Presbyterians*, were not the Designers and Promoters of the last War’.⁴ Sometimes the word ‘sober’ could distinguish the godly from the mentally unwell. Shortly before Henry Duncan, presbyterian minister of Dunsyre in Biggar presbytery, celebrated communion in 1698, a local woman fell into a fit of despair, during which she denied God and ‘was quite desperate of Present and future life’. When she had tried to commit suicide and disturbed worship in church, a parochial fast was called to seek divine assistance in her case, after which she was ‘soberer a while’.⁵

The concept of religious sobriety could be used to differentiate moderate presbyterians from members of the United Societies. Recording the death of presbyterian minister John Welsh in early 1681, Lauder of Fountainhall remarked that while Welsh had opposed bishops, he had been ‘a soberer man’ than Cargill or Cameron.⁶ A pamphlet of 1689, purporting to be by an episcopalian, argued that some would use the revolution as an opportunity to attack episcopacy, but ‘there are many *sober Presbyterians*’ who showed ‘generous compassion’ to their opponents.⁷ In his second *Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (1691), Gilbert Rule declared that he did not ‘undertake to Vindicate all Presbyterians from all blame’. ‘We never thought that all of our way are so Good, and so Wise, and so Sober as they should be’. Later in the work, Rule argued that it was ‘most false and calumnious’ for episcopalians to maintain that ‘all Presbyterians in *Scotland* were of one Principle’. In fact, ‘the sober Presbyterians did always condemn many, both Principles and Practices, of that Party’, meaning the Cameronians.⁸ Rule’s description of himself

³ [Gilbert Burnet], *A Modest and Free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, about the Present Distempers of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 2nd edn., 1669), second part, pp.5-6.

⁴ *A Sober and Seasonable Discourse by way of a Dialogue between a States-man and a Country-gentleman* (London, 1681), title-page.

⁵ NLS, ‘The most memorable passages of the life of Mr Henrie Duncan late minister of the gospel at Dunsyre’, Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fos. 102v., 103r.

⁶ John Lauder, *Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrents in Church and State from October 1680 to April 1686* eds. A. Urquhart and D. Laing (Bannatyne Club, 1840), p.23.

⁷ [William Ker], *The Sober Conformists Answer to a Rigid Conformists Reasons* (n.p., 1689), p.5 (Ker’s italics).

⁸ [Gilbert Rule], *A [Second] Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), first part, pp.3, 15.

and his brethren as ‘sober’ was part of his attempt to deny responsibility for the rabbling of episcopalian ministers.⁹ At the same time, his vocabulary responded to accusations of presbyterian fanaticism.

Alexander Monro ridiculed Rule’s argument. Turning presbyterian complaints of misrepresentation on their head, Monro alleged that Rule’s distinction between presbyterians and Cameronians was a pretence intended to trick ill-informed English readers. While Monro was prepared to grant ‘that the Presbyterians that were most instrumental in the Disasters of the [episcopalian] Clergy were not *sober* men’, their actions were manipulated by the leaders of their party, who stood to benefit from the rabblings.¹⁰

A second function of the adjective ‘sober’ was to distinguish presbyterians from episcopalians. In a memoir written in 1706, John Bell, minister of Gladsmuir in Haddington presbytery, recalled his student days in the 1690s. Bell remembered talking with a young supporter of episcopacy who, as a result of these conversations, ‘became more sober in his opinions that way, and some seven years after became a presbyterian Minister’.¹¹ Writing of the late 1680s, Thomas Boston expressed a similar opinion, using the word ‘serious’ instead of ‘sober’. ‘[I]t was the common observation in these days, that whenever one turned serious about his soul’s state and case, he left’ the episcopalians.¹² Debating the popular support for the rival forms of Church government, Gilbert Rule claimed that if the issue were put to a poll ‘among them that are sober, and do any way concern themselves in Religion’, episcopalian government would find few advocates. ‘We do not grudge them [episcopalians] a multitude of debauched Persons, who hate Presbytery, as the Curb of their Lusts’.¹³ David Williamson wrote that while ‘profane men who have nothing of Christianity but the name’ thought presbyterian discipline severe, ‘all sober & serious Christians’

⁹ See ch. 2 above, pp.43-4.

¹⁰ [Alexander Monro], *An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland* (London, 1693), pp.2-3 (Monro’s italics).

¹¹ NLS, ‘The most memorable passages of the life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]’, Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fo. 27r.

¹² Boston, *Memoirs*, p.8.

¹³ [Gilbert Rule], *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), p.35.

disagreed.¹⁴ The sobriety of lay presbyterians gave the lie to allegations of fanaticism, and simultaneously associated episcopalians with profanity.

During the restoration period, presbyterians propagated the idea that the episcopalian regime in Church and state connived at, or actively promoted, vice and profanity. The return of Charles II from exile had sparked extravagant celebrations in Scotland and England, leading puritanical clergy to identify a decline in public morality.¹⁵ Presbyterian ministers Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson repudiated claims that presbyterians were to blame for the 'fearful deluge of all sorts of profanity and wickedness, that filled the Land, before, at, & after the last erection of Prelacy'. '[T]he sober and humble, that mourne for the abominations done in the midst of us' remembered 'with what a Spirit of impietie Prelacy entered into this Church'.¹⁶ John Welwood predicted divine punishment for Scotland's rulers, who were responsible for 'favouring wickedness, perjury and profanity'. He charged bishops and episcopalian clergy with 'filling the land with profanity'.¹⁷ In the Torwood excommunication of 1680, Donald Cargill denounced the 'Voluptuousness' of the court, and stressed the blasphemy and immorality of the king, the duke of York and other leading Scottish politicians.¹⁸ All of these ministers emphasised the difference between sober and godly presbyterians and debauched episcopalians. Alexander Peden even referred to his opponents as the 'Prophane Party'.¹⁹

Episcopalians in Scotland admitted that their ministers were not beyond reproach. In *The Reformed Bishop* (1679), James Gordon, minister of Banchory-Devenick, acknowledged that the restoration episcopate was widely criticised, and proposed a '*Primitive Pattern*' for bishops to follow. He warned them to be vigorous in the

¹⁴ NLS, David Williamson, 'Account of the sufferings from 1660 to 1688', Wod. Fol. XL, fo. 5v.

¹⁵ C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.14-15; R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994), pp.223-6.

¹⁶ [Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson], *An Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Persecuted Ministers & Professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion, in the Church of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1677), pp.106-7.

¹⁷ John Welwood, 'Sermon', in J. Howie (ed.), *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, Preached upon Several Subjects, mostly in the Time of the late Persecution* (Glasgow, 1779), p.297.

¹⁸ Donald Cargill, *Torwood Excommunication* ([Glasgow?], 1741), pp.4, 13-16.

¹⁹ Alexander Peden, *The Lords Trumpet Sounding an Alarm against Scotland, and Waining off a Bloody Sword* ([Glasgow?], [1720?]), p.21.

exercise of discipline, and called on clergymen to avoid profane and lascivious behaviour and excessive drinking.²⁰ Gordon's episcopalian critique of bishops' lives angered John Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh and one of Gordon's targets, who considered the tract more dangerous than the pamphlets of presbyterian ministers.²¹ Yet low standards of clerical behaviour were a matter of concern elsewhere in the Church. In November 1685, the presbytery of Dundee recorded a series of recommendations made by the archbishop of St Andrews concerning worship and the conduct of ministers. Clergy were required to be careful 'that they shune resorteing to publick taverns, except for supplieing their honest necessities, [tha]t they forbear companyeing with all sorts of Lascivious, vaine, and profaine persons, unless it be upon designe to exhort, and to reprove them'.²² In a sermon preached before the presbytery of Dalkeith, John Cockburn expounded Paul's advice to Timothy on the appropriate use of wine (1 Timothy 5:23). While Christians were permitted a little wine, Cockburn argued, drunkenness was 'unbeseeming', although 'too too ordinary'. '[T]hat a *Clergy Man* should be guilty' of drunkenness, 'is not onely most unbeseeming, but abominable'.²³ Preaching from the same Pauline epistle, Laurence Charteris drew attention to the malign consequences of clerical immorality: 'It is easie to apprehend how irreparable the decay of Religion is, while Ministers live such common lives. People think themselves good, and consider themselves sufficiently Religious, if they be not worse than their Minister, if they speak as he speaks, and lives [*sic*] as he lives'.²⁴

The conduct of some episcopalian ministers may have done lasting damage to their party. James Sharp, archbishop of St Andrews, was the subject of numerous satirical poems, which were circulated in manuscript and copied into commonplace books. One acrostic poem about Sharp, which Robert Wodrow kept among his manuscripts, was apparently written by the son of a presbyterian minister and left in Sharp's seat

²⁰ [James Gordon], *The Reformed Bishop: or, XIX Articles* ([London], 1679), pp.1, 213-14, 4, 8. For the concept of the 'primitive' bishop, see also Wodrow, *History*, iii, pp.307-8.

²¹ Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*, p.122.

²² NAS, Presbytery of Dundee minutes, 1664-1689, CH2/103/1, p.250.

²³ John Cockburn, *Eight Sermons Preached on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1691), pp.120, 138, 141.

²⁴ Laurence Charteris, *Spiritual Discourses, on Twelve Several Passages of Scripture* (Edinburgh, 1704), p.94.

in the privy council chamber.²⁵ Some of the poems against Sharp attacked his apparent treachery to the presbyterian cause by becoming archbishop at the restoration. Thus an early example, dated December 1661:

Judas I am, what ever Court may say,
Arch-traitor false: for Christ I do betray.²⁶

Sharp's treachery and perjury were evidence of his hypocritical position before the restoration. Another poem suggested that his lax religious observance during the 1650s proved that his zeal for presbyterianism was insincere:

Yet let none think that I was then
So wise and circumspect
For always in my house I did
Gods worship much neglect[.]²⁷

The poem continued by attacking Sharp's self-seeking behaviour at the restoration:

My freinds I baslie did reproach
Ther cause I did betray
By lying and by flatterie
I for my self made way[.]²⁸

Another divisive figure was John Paterson, who was successively bishop of Edinburgh and archbishop of Glasgow. Paterson was widely associated with scandal; a particularly well-known story involved the bishop assuring his mistress that his thoughts were always with her by kissing his clerical band-strings while in the pulpit. In his *Reformed Bishop*, episcopalian James Gordon referred to this story, denouncing 'that Diabolical Ceremony of *Kissing Bandstrings*'.²⁹ Paterson was also the subject of satirical verses, including one bawdy manuscript poem suggesting that immorality was compatible with episcopal advancement:

²⁵ NLS, Acrostic satire on James Sharp, Wod. Fol. XLIX, fo. 79v.

²⁶ NLS, Commonplace book of James Brown, Adv. 5.2.8, p.54; J. Buckroyd, *The Life of James Sharp Archbishop of St Andrews, 1618-1679: A Political Biography* (Edinburgh, 1987), p.73.

²⁷ NLS, 'M J S or Misanthropos, Judas, Scoto-Britani his Lyfe, Lamentatione and Legacy', Wod. Oct. XXIX, fo. 115r.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fo. 116r.

²⁹ [Gordon], *Reformed Bishop*, p.5. See also J. Maidment (ed.), *A Book of Scottish Pasquils &c.*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1827-8), ii, p.38.

Bot I encreased more and more,
 Since first I did begin
 To leave my wyfe and court a w____e,
 In honour and in sinne.³⁰

Whether or not Paterson was guilty of sexual scandal, he certainly developed a reputation for avarice and worldliness.³¹

In the 1680s, several instances of alleged clerical immorality were investigated by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In June 1682, Ninian Paterson, minister of Liberton, was deposed from his office by the bishop and presbytery of Edinburgh. Lauder of Fountainhall reported that Paterson had been found guilty of defaming Bishop John Paterson; another source alleged that this resulted from a dispute over sexual immorality.³² In October 1683, Paterson petitioned the bishop, asking for the sentence to be overturned. Paterson declared his innocence, but the synod insisted that he give evidence of a reformed character before being allowed to preach.³³ In the following April, Hugh Kennedy, provost of Stirling, and John Monro, first minister there, brought a complaint to the synod meeting at Edinburgh. According to Lauder of Fountainhall, they evidenced of 'Mr Hunter, the 2^d Minister, that, on a communion day, he did so intoxicat himselfe with the sacramentall element of wine, that, when he preached, he misbehaved, and spoke nonesence'.³⁴ Such events presumably created a stir locally, and were a boon for presbyterian controversialists. Nearly ten years later, George Ridpath described the Stirling episode, claiming that Hunter had been maintained in his charge by the bishop.³⁵

³⁰ *A New Godly Ballad* ([Edinburgh?], [c. 1825]), p.3.

³¹ John Lauder, *Chronological Notices of Scottish Affairs, from 1680 till 1701* [ed. W. Scott] (Edinburgh, 1822), p.41; T. Clarke, 'Paterson, John (1632-1708)', *ODNB*.

³² *Fasti*, i, p.171; John Lauder, *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs* ed. D. Laing, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848), i, p.361; [George Ridpath], *An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), p.64. The circumstances of Paterson's deposition cannot be confirmed, as the presbytery minutes are not extant.

³³ NAS, Presbytery of Dalkeith minutes, 1673-1688, CH2/424/5, p.205; NAS, Submission of Ninian Paterson to the bishop of Edinburgh, 1683?, CH12/12/1786.

³⁴ Lauder, *Historical Notices*, ii, p.530.

³⁵ [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.76.

Given the ambiguities of the clerical character and the status of clergy in early modern society, it was perhaps inevitable that ministers were periodically accused of sexual scandal by their parochial foes.³⁶ Yet Scottish episcopalian ministers, whose Church was criticised by its opponents for conniving at immorality, were particularly vulnerable to allegations of scandal. In October 1685, the court of justiciary examined claims that Thomas Hamilton, dean of Glasgow and minister of Hamilton, had committed sodomy with other clergy of Hamilton presbytery. The court acquitted Hamilton, after an examination of witnesses suggested that the allegations were false. The informant against the minister, John Steill, a litster in Hamilton, had reportedly ‘entered into a malicious combina[tio]n’ with William Falconer, a writer, and Robert Pollock, formerly precentor or reader in Hamilton church. Since Pollock had offered to pay for the action, it seems likely that the allegations arose from a dispute over the office of precentor.³⁷ Dispute his acquittal, Hamilton’s reputation was surely damaged by the trial, which was recalled in pamphlets after the revolution.³⁸

It is unclear whether Thomas Hamilton’s accusers were presbyterians; certainly their willingness to implicate the whole presbytery in the case suggests that they had little respect for episcopalian ministers. Several local conflicts between episcopalians and presbyterians seem to have led to allegations of sexual immorality. Hugh Blair of Rutherglen was reportedly investigated by his brethren in the presbytery of Glasgow after being accused of impregnating a maidservant. According to episcopalian William Strachan, the charges against Blair were malicious, the maidservant having been bribed by ‘the Fanatick Party in *Glasgow*’. Strachan produced evidence that false allegations had been made in the case.³⁹ In another incident, John Chisholm, minister of Lilliesleaf in Selkirk presbytery, was accused of adultery with a servant. Strachan again claimed that the allegations resulted from presbyterian malice:

³⁶ C. Haigh, ‘Dr Temple’s pew: sex and clerical status in the 1630s’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), pp.497-516.

³⁷ NAS, High Court minute book, 1685-1690, JC6/12, fo. 13.

³⁸ [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, pp.64, 77; [William Strachan], *Some Remarks upon a Late Pamphlet, Entitled, An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1694), p.62.

³⁹ [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.65; [Strachan], *Some Remarks*, pp.63-7, quotation at p.64.

Chisholm had dismissed the servant, who was encouraged by her subsequent employer, Lady Cherrytrees, 'a Zealous Presbyterian', to accuse the minister.⁴⁰ Like that of Thomas Hamilton, the reputations of Blair and Chisholm suffered permanent damage, becoming part of the controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians. Court cases and pamphleteers ensured that these men would become well known, but it was the gossip and allegations of non-elite people that provoked such detailed scrutiny of clerical reputations.

III

After 1688, presbyterians turned a spotlight on the supposed vice and hypocrisy of their religious opponents, exposing the reputations of episcopalian ministers to popular scorn. Allegations of episcopalian immorality were an important element in the campaign for a presbyterian settlement, and subsequently served to vindicate the re-established Church. Episcopalian immorality was highlighted by the presbyterian authors of William of Orange's Scottish declaration of reasons, which complained of the 'ignorant and Scandalous persons' who had been imposed on parishes in place of presbyterian ministers deprived after the restoration.⁴¹ When episcopacy was restored, one presbyterian pamphleteer alleged, 'the Devil, who seemed to be bound for some time before, was let loose, the Floodgates of all Impiety and Wickedness were set open, and Hell did triumph in its Conquests'.⁴² Fast declarations and sermons used similar imagery. In 1690, the general assembly passed an act for a national fast, lamenting Scotland's defection from presbyterian government at the restoration:

[T]he flood-gates of impiety were opened, and a deluge of wickedness did overspread the land. Who can, without grief and shame, remember the shameful debauchery and drunkenness that then was? And this [was]

⁴⁰ [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.73; Kirkton, *History*, pp.181-2; [Strachan], *Some Remarks*, pp.68-71, quotation at p.69.

⁴¹ *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, &c. of the Reasons Inducing Him, to Appear in Arms for Preserving of the Protestant religion, and for Restoring the Laws and Liberties of the Ancient Kingdom of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1689), p.3.

⁴² *A Brief and True Account of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland Occasioned by the Episcopalians Since the Year 1660* (London, 1690), p.1.

accomplished with horrid and hellish cursing and swearing, and followed with frequent filthiness, adulteries, and other abominations[.]⁴³

Preaching before parliament in 1700, David Williamson used the same metaphor to describe the restoration, recalling that ‘the Flood-Gate of Prophanity was cast wide open in *Scotland*’, paving ‘the way to *Prelacy*’.⁴⁴

Presbyterians claimed that episcopacy had compromised the Church’s vigilance against sin, and that presbyterianism was a necessary solution. According to episcopalian James Gordon, presbyterians accused episcopalian clergy of conniving at scandal, saying ‘that *Presbytery* was a better Bulwark against Error and Prophaneness, than *Episcopacy*’.⁴⁵ Preaching before commissioners to parliament in April 1690, presbyterian George Meldrum warned of the prevalence of immorality, arguing that settling presbyterian government would be a ‘choice mean to promote Piety and to suppress Sin’.⁴⁶ In October 1691, a former episcopalian probationer petitioning for a licence to preach in the re-established Church struck an appropriate note by describing presbyterian government’s ‘agreeableness unto the word of God’, its ‘expediency for reviving [...] primitive piety’ and ‘suppressing that scandalous profanity unto which the present age & generation is fallen’.⁴⁷ A paper presented to the synod of Glasgow and Ayr in 1693, reporting Glasgow’s need for more ministers, claimed that the burgh’s people have ‘been so long unaccustomed to ane accurat inspection’ by the clergy, that many were ‘inured to immoralities, throw the loosnes of the late evill times’.⁴⁸ For Ridpath, the ‘Remissness’ of the bishops’ ‘whole Party’ in exercising discipline allowed profanity to attain ‘such a height’, and justified parliament’s voting ‘the Scots Bishops and their Clergy’ to be great grievances in the Claim of Right.⁴⁹ This casual misinterpretation of the Claim (which described

⁴³ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p.228. See also ch. 6 below, pp.151-2.

⁴⁴ David Williamson, *A Sermon, Preached at Edinburgh in the Parliament House. Nov 17th 1700* (Glasgow, 1700), p.14.

⁴⁵ [Gordon], *Reformed Bishop*, p.209.

⁴⁶ [George Meldrum], *A Sermon Preached in the High-Church of Edinburgh, Upon Sunday, April 27 1690* (Edinburgh, 1690), pp.10-11.

⁴⁷ NAS, United presbyteries within Angus and the Mearns minutes, 1691-1698, CH2/103/2, pp.3-4.

⁴⁸ NLS, ‘The present state of Glasgow as to its need of mo[r]e m[i]n[iste]rs’, 1693, Wod. Fol. XXVIII, fo. 146v.

⁴⁹ [George Ridpath], *The Queries and Protestations of the Scots Episcopal Clergy Against the Authority of the Presbyterian General Assemblies* (London, 1694), pp.15, 7, 8.

episcopacy itself as a grievance) allowed Ridpath and other presbyterians to draw attention to specific clerical abuses.

Presbyterian writers were keen to emphasise the drunken and debauched reputations of the episcopalians. Noting the frequency with which episcopalian pamphleteers discussed presbyterian ‘enthusiasm’, George Ridpath argued that since the term derived from the Greek for ‘pouring in’, ‘it’s more proper to be applied to our Drunken Prelatists, than in any manner to us’.⁵⁰ Ridpath claimed that episcopalian drunkenness was so common that an Edinburgh man, ‘when reproved for being Drunk in the Morning, answered that he could not get room to Drink in the Afternoon, for then the best Ale-Houses of the Town were fill’d with Curates’.⁵¹ The prevalence of episcopalian drunkenness was indisputable, James Kirkton alleged: ‘no man will deny they wallowed in our gutters drunk in their canonical gowns’.⁵²

Ridpath dwelt at length on the reputations of individual episcopalians, recounting many of the alleged sexual scandals involving the clergy. He accused James Sharp of adultery and recalled the story of John Paterson’s band-strings.⁵³ Indeed, the fact that men such as Paterson had been condemned by their own side seemed to give authority to Ridpath’s criticisms.⁵⁴ Kirkton also described Paterson’s career in scandal, noting his antenuptial fornication, rumours of mistresses, and the story concerning his band-strings.⁵⁵ Ridpath evidently hoped to undermine the episcopalians’ political position, including among the targets of his allegations Alexander Monro, the prolific pamphleteer, and James Canaries, episcopalian representative at court.⁵⁶ Canaries, who was said to have assaulted a woman in his

⁵⁰ [George Ridpath], *A Continuation of the Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), p.23.

⁵¹ [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.76.

⁵² Kirkton, *History*, p.180.

⁵³ [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.64.

⁵⁴ [Ridpath], *Queries and Protestations*, p.12.

⁵⁵ Kirkton, *History*, pp.182-5. See also *Brief and True Account of the Sufferings*, pp.5-6.

⁵⁶ [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, pp.71-2.

youth, did not respond to Ridpath's claims, but the episcopalian's reputation was defended in works by at least two other writers.⁵⁷

It was not only in print that the conduct of episcopalian ministers was exposed to scrutiny. From 1690 onwards, numerous episcopalian clergy who had neither been removed from their parishes by force nor deprived by the privy council for disloyalty to William and Mary faced trial by the presbyterian courts. In addition to the charges of 'persecution' discussed in chapter two, these ministers were often accused of immorality and scandal.

In August 1694, the general assembly's committee for the north heard evidence in the case of John Dallas, episcopalian minister at Ardersier, then in the presbytery of Chanonry. Dallas was accused of irregular use of the poor's money and conniving at parishioners' sins; he was also rumoured to have fathered an illegitimate child with a servant. Alexander Campbell, a resident of Ardersier, confirmed that the servant had given birth to a son, and admitted not knowing whether the kirk session called her to account.⁵⁸

Patrick Seton, episcopalian minister of Auchterless in Turriff presbytery, was accused of negligence in investigating the sins of parishioners. Several witnesses also testified to Seton's regular drunkenness: William Mitchell claimed to have seen the minister intoxicated at the house of William White; White concurred that Seton was often drunk.⁵⁹ Many of the other episcopalian ministers who came before the church courts in the 1690s were tried for drunkenness. The committee for the north's libel against John Murray claimed that he 'with two men did drink 23 pynts ale att one downsitting'. Testifying about a day on which Murray appeared drunk, David Stewart, a merchant in Inverness, recalled discussing the minister with Margaret McLean, to whose father Stewart was apprenticed. When Stewart suggested that Murray was inebriated, McLean replied that 'it seems you are not so weell

⁵⁷ [Strachan], *Some Remarks*, pp.60-2; [Monro], *Apology for the Clergy*, pp.103-5; T. Clarke, 'Canaries, James (1653/4-1698)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁸ NAS, Papers concerning the trial of John Dallas, 1694, CH1/2/2/1, fos. 74r., 72v.

⁵⁹ NAS, Witness depositions against Patrick Seton, 1694, CH1/2/2/1, fos. 76, 78, 81. For Seton's response to the committee, see ch. 2 above, p.41.

aquainted] with him as I am; its not the first time I have seen him soe'.⁶⁰ Shoemaker Robert Arnot told the presbytery of Kirkcaldy that he had seen John Bruce, minister of Portmoak, quarrel with a servant while intoxicated.⁶¹ When witnesses testified to the overindulgence of George Graham, minister at Inverarity, it was alleged that he had been drunk the night before his trial by the committee for the north in Dundee.⁶² Another minister, James Smith, was said by one witness to have been 'drunk to that degree that he scarce knew any man & staggered'. A second witness described an occasion on which Smith 'typled till he was drunk & that night he pissed the bed'.⁶³

Numerous witnesses testified to the drunkenness of James Williamson, minister of Kirkcaldy. Margaret Black claimed to have seen Williamson so drunk at a house in Edinburgh that 'the nixt morning the Chamber behooved to be Cleansed of his vomiting'. David Campbell deponed that Williamson sat drinking all afternoon with the burgh's provost 'after [th]e skelling of the Conventicle' in the house of David Ferguson, a former provost of Kirkcaldy and Williamson's main accuser.⁶⁴ Campbell's evidence contrasted the piety of presbyterian worship with the drink-sodden habits of the episcopalians, showing how charges of clerical immorality could be used to settle parochial scores.

In some cases, presbyterians relied on very old gossip to discredit their opponents. John Cockburn complained that one minister was charged with being drunk fifteen or sixteen years beforehand.⁶⁵ According to a libel tried by the committee for the north, Michael Fraser, minister at Daviot in Inverness presbytery, did 'most profainly abuse the name of God in celebrating a mock mariage betwixt Mr hugh Fraser', minister at Kiltarlity, and Bessie Gray.⁶⁶ Although James Fraser, minister at Kirkhill, claimed that 'many took offense' at the incident, Michael Fraser described it as 'a tuentie year

⁶⁰ NAS, Papers concerning the trial of John Murray, 1694, CH1/2/2/2, fos. 123r., 130r.

⁶¹ NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, 1688-1693, CH2/224/2, p.55.

⁶² NAS, Papers concerning the trial of George Graham, 1694, CH1/2/2/2, fos. 209r., 212v.

⁶³ NAS, Witness depositions against James Smith, 1694, CH1/2/2/3, fo. 241.

⁶⁴ NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, CH2/224/2, pp.42, 41. 'Skelling' (skailing) = 'dispersing'. For more on Williamson's trial, see ch. 2 above, p.42.

⁶⁵ [Cockburn], *Historical Relation*, p.9.

⁶⁶ NAS, Libel against Michael Fraser, 1694, CH1/2/2/2, fo. 116r.

old fable' that had been fully investigated at the time.⁶⁷ The August 1690 trial of John Park, minister of Carriden, before the presbytery of Linlithgow likewise uncovered some rather long-standing allegations. William Pinkerton, a gardener in Linlithgow, described seeing Park 'staggering from wall to wall' in the burgh's Wester Wynd on a presbytery day fourteen years before. Another witness recalled an occasion twenty-four years previously when Park's drunkenness had made him incapable of consoling a dying parishioner.⁶⁸

Some of the witnesses against episcopalian immorality were evidently drinking companions of the men they accused. Paul McBane, one of the witnesses against Michael Fraser, was with the minister in an alehouse one Sunday after the revolution when Fraser allegedly stated his allegiance to James VII, claiming that he would 'rather be under the popish mercie then under the presbyterian mercie'.⁶⁹ In other cases, as chapter two suggests, presbyterian courts enlisted the testimony of known enemies of the episcopalians under investigation. Alexander Heriot of Dalkeith, who was accused of dancing around a bonfire on a sabbath, complained that the libel against him was disowned by most parishioners with the exception of his chief adversary, Alexander Calderwood, and a few '*ex faece populi*' ('from the dregs of the people').⁷⁰ John Park tried to deflect allegations of his drunkenness, claiming that two witnesses against him, John Mitchell and his wife, were themselves 'notorious drunkards', and that Mitchell had been deposed by Park from the office of beadle for 'habitual drunkenness'.⁷¹

After the re-establishment of presbyterianism, Scotland's universities also witnessed a campaign against scandalous episcopalians. A parliamentary visitation commission sat throughout the 1690s, and deprived numerous professors and

⁶⁷ NAS, Papers concerning the trial of Michael Fraser, 1694, CH1/2/2/2, fos. 118r., 121v. Michael Fraser seems to have been unpopular with his brethren for decades: W.R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland, 1661-1688* (London, 1958), pp.44-5.

⁶⁸ NAS, Presbytery of Linlithgow minutes, 1687-1694, CH2/242/7, pp.79, 80.

⁶⁹ NAS, Papers concerning Fraser, CH1/2/2/2, fo. 118v.

⁷⁰ [Cockburn], *Historical Relation*, p.69. See ch. 2 above, pp.45-6.

⁷¹ NAS, Presbytery of Linlithgow minutes, CH2/242/7, p.65.

regents.⁷² Political disloyalty and failure to support presbyterianism were the main reasons for deprivation, but the commission was also empowered to investigate evidence of ‘erroneous scandalous negligent [or] insufficient’ conduct.⁷³ Presbyterian ministers, students and the parents of students had already expressed concerns about the morals and abilities of university teachers. In 1688 or 1689, for instance, many students withdrew from philosophy classes at Glasgow University, and compiled lists of complaints against the regents. Under the university’s existing faculty, the students alleged, religious education had been limited, piety openly mocked, and popery countenanced.⁷⁴ John Boyd, a regent, was accused of drunkenness; on one occasion he had needed to be carried to his house.⁷⁵ At Edinburgh, meanwhile, regent Herbert Kennedy was investigated for drunkenness, sabbath breaking and fighting. His colleague Andrew Massie was accused of superficial teaching and associating with Catholic priests.⁷⁶

Presbyterians sought to give the universities a fresh start, free from episcopalian control. Thus in December 1690, a presbyterian minister wrote to William Dunlop, the recently appointed principal of Glasgow, wishing ‘that piety and learneing may revive and ag[ai]n flourish in the Colledge’.⁷⁷ As in the Church, a revival in the universities could best be effected, it appeared, if the immorality and negligence of the episcopalian regime was fully acknowledged and purged. In September 1690, minister Thomas Ramsay expressed concern that the universities, including Glasgow, would ‘go wrong’, as a result of a failure fully to try libels against regents. If the committees of visitation allowed all teachers who took oaths to continue in office, the universities would remain encumbered with unsuitable men.⁷⁸ At Glasgow, however, the students’ initial enthusiasm for libelling their teachers did not result in a

⁷² E. Mijers, ‘Scotland and the United Provinces, c.1680-1730: a study in intellectual and educational relations’ (University of St Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 2002), pp.163-72; N.T. Phillipson, ‘The making of an enlightened university’, in R.D. Anderson, M. Lynch and N.T. Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp.53-6.

⁷³ APS, ix, p.164.

⁷⁴ Robert Wodrow, *Life of James Wodrow* (Edinburgh, 1828), pp.79-80; NLS, Exceptions of Glasgow students against the regents, Oct. 1689, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fos. 9r.-10r.

⁷⁵ NLS, Letter to James Wodrow, 22 July 1690, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fo. 30r.

⁷⁶ R.K. Hannay, ‘The visitation of the college of Edinburgh in 1690’, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 8 (1916), pp.79-100, at pp.88-95.

⁷⁷ NLS, William Eccles to William Dunlop, 15 Dec. 1690, MS. 9250, fo. 228r.

⁷⁸ NLS, Thomas Ramsay to William Dunlop, 24 Sep. 1690, MS. 9250, fo. 215.

complete purge. Regent John Boyd escaped trial in August 1690, owing to a lack of time; no witnesses compeared to testify when he was tried in October.⁷⁹ The committee sitting at Edinburgh decided that there was insufficient evidence to deprive Kennedy, Massie, their fellow regent Alexander Cunningham or David Gregory, the professor of mathematics.⁸⁰

Although it did not deliver a complete purge of regents and professors at Edinburgh and Glasgow, the visitation commission responded to local demands for an examination of the morals of university teachers. Hostility to the academic staff at St Andrews does not seem to have taken the same form: here the commission's investigations concerned regents' Jacobitism, leading to the deprivation of all teachers bar one.⁸¹ At Aberdeen, there was negligible local pressure for a purge of episcopalian regents, presumably as a result of limited presbyterian influence in the burgh and its hinterland. Moreover, the 1690 visitation committee, chaired by the Earl Marischal, was willing to preserve the colleges' faculties intact. Only James Garden, professor of divinity at King's, was deprived (though not until 1697) and it seems that no investigations into moral offences or professional competency were undertaken.⁸² The case of Aberdeen suggests that the presbyterian campaign against episcopalian immorality, while influential at a national level, had its limits.⁸³

IV

It was not only presbyterians who attacked the reputations of their opponents. As chapter three illustrates, episcopalians often named individual presbyterian ministers and lay people who personified fanatical belief or enthusiastic worship. Episcopalians also spread salacious gossip and satires concerning their enemies, including the hypocritical Major Weir. After the revolution, elite and non-elite

⁷⁹ NAS, Papers relating to John Boyd, 1690, PA10/5/30, PA10/5/32; *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from its Foundation till 1727*, 4 vols. (Maitland Club, 1854), ii, p.511.

⁸⁰ Hannay, 'Visitation of the college of Edinburgh', pp.86, 91-2, 95, 99.

⁸¹ R.K. Hannay, 'The visitation of St Andrews university in 1690', *SHR*, 13 (1916), pp.1-15.

⁸² NAS, Parliamentary visitation of the universities, Aberdeen, 1690s, PA10/3 [unfoliated].

⁸³ Persistent episcopalian and Jacobite sentiments were an obstacle to the advance of presbyterian influence in Aberdeen in the 1690s: see ch. 5 below, pp.122-3, 126.

episcopalians conducted a bitter campaign of ridicule against David Williamson, a leading figure in the Church of Scotland of the 1690s.

Deprived from his charge at the West Kirk, Edinburgh, in 1665 for nonconformity, David Williamson preached to illegal conventicles, suffering government censure and subsequent imprisonment. When James VII granted toleration to presbyterians in 1687, Williamson preached at a meeting house by the Water of Leith, and was restored to his Edinburgh parish by the general assembly of 1690. He served the West Kirk until his death in 1706, and was moderator of the 1702 general assembly.⁸⁴

Yet much of Williamson's fame rested on carnal exploits, including his seven marriages and one notorious incident in which Williamson supposedly impregnated the daughter of presbyterian Lady Cherrytrees, while sheltering in her house from pursuing government troops. This scandal, believed to have taken place in 1673, became a familiar subject in episcopalian pamphlets. George Hickes gave a brief account in the *Spirit of Popery*, in a passage detailing the sinful conduct of presbyterians, including Major Weir.⁸⁵ After the revolution, the *Account of the Present Persecution* (1690) rejected charges of episcopalian immorality, arguing that presbyterians would struggle to find among their opponents 'a match for their own Mr Williamson'.⁸⁶ A more detailed account of events at Cherrytrees appeared in the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*. The pamphlet described how, as troops approached the house, Williamson was dressed in female night-garb by Lady Cherrytrees and secreted in her bed beside her daughter. While Lady Cherrytrees treated the visiting soldiers to strong drink, Williamson made use of his time 'to propagate the Image of the [presbyterian] Party'. These developments, as well as the couple's subsequent marriage, were, according to the pamphlet, well known in Scotland.⁸⁷ Hitting back after Ridpath's attacks on episcopalian immorality, William Strachan elaborated the

⁸⁴ *Fasti*, i, p.96.

⁸⁵ [George Hickes], *The Spirit of Popery Speaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical-Protestants, or the Last Speeches of Mr John Kid and Mr John King* (London, 1680), pp.34-5.

⁸⁶ [Thomas Morer, John Sage, Alexander Monro], *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church of Scotland in several letters* (London, 1690), p.47.

⁸⁷ *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; or, the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons and Prayers* (London, 1692), pp.5-6.

story, claiming that Williamson and Lady Cherrytrees' daughter publicly repented their sin at a field conventicle.⁸⁸

In the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, Williamson's conduct was described as evidence of presbyterian hypocrisy and antinomianism. Presbyterians pretended to be godly possessors of the truth who had suffered for their beliefs during the restoration period. Yet men like Williamson had pursued their lusts in defiance of moral law and used their authority as ministers to justify scandalous conduct. The pamphlet alleged that Williamson distorted the sense of the scriptural text 'I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind' (Romans 7:23) to excuse events at Cherrytrees.⁸⁹ Responding to the pamphlet, Gilbert Rule claimed that Williamson shared a standard presbyterian understanding of this verse, and did not encourage antinomianism. Williamson was much talked about by episcopalian pamphleteers, but no allegations against him could be proved.⁹⁰

As well as being discussed in pamphlets, rumours of Williamson's conduct were memorialised in verse. 'Dainty Davie', the well-known folk song, makes specific reference to 'cherry-trees' and the concealment of Williamson during his flight from soldiers:

It was down amang my dady's pease,
And underneath the cherry-trees;
O there he kist me as he pleas'd
For he was mine ain dear DAVIE.

When he was chas'd by a dragoon,
Into my bed he was laid down;
I thought him wordy o' his room,
And he's ay my dainty DAVIE.

⁸⁸ [Strachan], *Some Remarks*, p.71.

⁸⁹ *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.6.

⁹⁰ [Gilbert Rule], *A Just and Modest Reproof of a Pamphlet, called, the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (Edinburgh, 1693), pp.6-7.

The lyrics sung today were printed by David Herd in his *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (1776).⁹¹ The melody with which 'Dainty Davie' is now associated was probably written in the seventeenth century, and Robert Burns thought that the text in Herd's collections, although 'mutilated', may have been based on another traditional song (also printed in *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*).⁹² As is demonstrated below, there is evidence that a song entitled 'Dainty Davie', which was known to relate to Williamson, existed by 1688.

Other more scurrilous verses reflected on Williamson's reputation. According to one pasquil, written when he was elected moderator of the 1702 assembly, Williamson was

A man of God, enabled by heaven
To lye with many, and unite with seven:

The nineteenth-century editor of this work, James Maidment, attributed it (along with others attacking Williamson) to Alexander Finnie, the former episcopalian minister of Dornock in the presbytery of Middlebie.⁹³ Finnie had converted to Catholicism, demitting his charge in 1686 or 1687. He was living in the Canongate in 1703.⁹⁴

Another poem remarked on Williamson's popularity with women:

(And who heard not of his abilitie;
What woman, since the noise 'bout Cherrytrees,
Did not sound forth sweet Mr David's praise?)

Although printed in the nineteenth-century by Maidment, this verse (like the others) was probably circulated in manuscript, and was collected by the Jacobite antiquarian

⁹¹ D. Herd (ed.), *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c.*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1776), ii, p.215.

⁹² J. Purser, *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1992), p.150; R. Chambers (ed.), *Life and Works of Robert Burns*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1896-7), iv, pp.33, 411-12; Herd (ed.), *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, ii, pp.37-8.

⁹³ Maidment (ed.), *Book of Scottish Pasquils*, i, pp.16, x-xi; [Ridpath], *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.75.

⁹⁴ *Fasti*, ii, p.245; NLS, List of papists in the presbytery of Edinburgh, Apr. 1703, MS. 3430, fo. 104r.

Robert Mylne.⁹⁵ Mylne was an acquaintance of the physician and poet Archibald Pitcairne, who also enjoyed mocking David Williamson, as can be seen from this imitation of the twelfth ode of Horace:

And thou, stout David Williamson,
Alcides-like, with club comes on,
As Jove on Leda lights upon
 My Ladies fine young daughter
When thy bright burning star appears,
It soon dispels all doubts and fears,
Dreeps holiness instead of tears,
 And turns her sighs to laughter.⁹⁶

In Pitcairne's writing, Williamson was satirised as Solomon Cherry-Trees, a minister whose spirituality, like that of the Song of Solomon, is suffused with amorous imagery.⁹⁷ In Pitcairne's poem *Babell*, Solomon reports a prophetic dream involving a 'virgine fair'; in *The Assembly* he proffers spiritual advice to a gentlewoman's nubile niece on the subject of 'the fittest Posture in Time of Exercise'.⁹⁸

It is clear that Williamson was the subject of much ridicule from episcopalian opponents. It is less obvious which social groups participated in this aspect of controversy. Other than suggesting that Williamson's reputation was in some sense widely known, the pamphlet sources cannot resolve the issue. It was apparently beneath the dignity of the minister of the West Kirk to respond to the lampooning, either in print or through legal action. Thus there is none of the detailed evidence concerning the circulation of slanderous verses against Williamson that Adam Fox has studied in cases of libel before the English court of Star Chamber.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Maidment (ed.), *Book of Scottish Pasquils*, i, p.11; NLS, Poems, 1644-1821, MS. 2092, fo. 22r.

⁹⁶ Maidment (ed.), *Book of Scottish Pasquils*, i, pp.viii, 26; Maidment's source (NLS, MS. 3807) reads 'drops holy seed instead of tears' in line seven (p.233). Cf. Horace, *The Complete Odes and Epodes* trans. D. West (Oxford, 1997), p.35.

⁹⁷ Archibald Pitcairne, *The Assembly* (1692) ed. T. Tobin (Lafayette, IA, 1972), p.30.

⁹⁸ Archibald Pitcairne, *Babell; A Satirical Poem, on the Proceedings of the General Assembly in the year M.DC.XCII* ed. G.R. Kinloch (Maitland Club, 1830), p.43; Pitcairne, *Assembly*, p.63.

⁹⁹ A. Fox, 'Ballads, libels and popular ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (Nov. 1994), pp.47-83.

By collecting verses such as ‘Dainty Davie’ and the Edinburgh pasquils, Herd and Maidment assumed that they were preserving in printed form aspects of national or civic culture previously transmitted orally or in manuscript. Because they were studying times of incomplete literacy, antiquarians thought that these forms of transmission were most likely to have allowed for the inclusion of people of low social rank in cultural consumption and creation.¹⁰⁰ Yet while Herd’s description of verses such as ‘Dainty Davie’ as ‘common popular songs’ is plausible, the production of the pasquils often seems to have been the work of clergy such as Finnie or elite professionals like Pitcairne.¹⁰¹

On the other hand, the common theme of these verses was religiously rather than socially exclusive. Mocking the libidinous exploits of presbyterian hypocrites was a pastime open to episcopalians of all ranks, and need not have been limited to men of Pitcairne’s position. Scholars have noted that despite elite involvement in this aspect of culture, slanderous verses and vernacular songs often reflected popular mentalities.¹⁰² While the verses relating to Williamson cannot safely be attributed to popular authorship, there is some evidence to suggest that non-elite people involved themselves in this satirical culture by means of oral repetition.

According to one source, David Williamson was temporarily employed after the revolution to preach in Aberdeen, a place lacking in committed presbyterian ministers. Local episcopalians and Jacobites sought to obstruct and insult him as much as possible. One Sunday, when Williamson was on his way to church, ‘they hounded out a poor profane man to meet him on the publick street, and sing and dance on the Sabbath [...] [T]he tune he sung in dancing before him [Williamson] was “Dainty Davie!”’¹⁰³ Whether this was the song as known today is not clear, but the intention of the episode was clearly to embarrass Williamson, in front of an audience of ordinary people familiar with his reputation. This treatment of ministers

¹⁰⁰ P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1994 edn.), pp.3-22.

¹⁰¹ Herd (ed.), *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, i, p.v.

¹⁰² Fox, ‘Ballads, libels and popular ridicule’; T. Crawford, ‘Lowland song and popular tradition in the eighteenth century’, in A. Hook (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature: Volume 2: 1660-1800* (Aberdeen, 1987).

¹⁰³ Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, pp.44-5.

was not unique: in June 1683, a lay person was brought before the circuit court at Stirling after encouraging a piper to play the dance tune 'The Deill stick the Minister'.¹⁰⁴ In her *Memoirs*, presbyterian servant Elizabeth West described returning by boat from an August 1698 communion service at Largo in Fife, in the company of two episcopalian ministers. Another passenger sang an anti-presbyterian song, in which 'several of the worthy [presbyterian] Ministers were disdainfully mentioned'. The singer was asked to stop, but the 'two abominable *Curates* encouraged him to sing it over and over again, promising him a Cup of Ale, when they came to Shore'. According to West, this provocation 'began a great Controversy' among the boat's passengers.¹⁰⁵ If these accounts of popular participation in satirical song culture are in any way typical, then perhaps it was not merely the readers of such pamphlets as the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* who scoffed at 'Dainty Davie' and his colleagues.

V

After 1690, the perceived sexual indiscretions of churchmen became the subject of heated controversy. It might be argued that this reflected wider concerns over vice and immorality in Scottish society after the revolution. Parliaments from 1690 repeatedly condemned profanity, developing elaborate provisions to encourage action by magistrates against scandalous persons.¹⁰⁶ In January 1698, moreover, the privy council issued a proclamation summarising the main statutes against vice, which was to be read twice per year in all Scotland's churches.¹⁰⁷ The loose morals of the restoration period inevitably appeared out of step once William was on the throne and his propagandists were defending the revolution with reference to 'courtly reformation'.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, influential English clergy and laymen saw the revolution as an opportunity for a thorough moral regeneration. Seizing the initiative was a new

¹⁰⁴ Lauder, *Historical Notices*, i, p.442

¹⁰⁵ West, *Memoirs*, pp.86-7.

¹⁰⁶ APS, ix, pp.198, 327-8, 387-8, x, pp.65-6, 279-80.

¹⁰⁷ NAS, Privy council acta, 4 Sep. 1696-11 July 1699, PC1/51, pp.337-44; [Francis Grant], *A Brief Account, of the Nature, Rise, and Progress, of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners &c. in England and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1700), p.3.

¹⁰⁸ T. Claydon, *William III and the Godly Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996).

movement of societies for the reformation of manners, groups of lay people who promoted the enforcement of the laws against vice.¹⁰⁹

In Scotland, however, concern over immorality was often subordinated to the demands of religious controversy. Presbyterians associated the national epidemic of vice with the sinful restoration settlement and the misconduct of episcopalian clergy. If Scots of all religious persuasions were guilty, one party – the episcopalians – was apparently to blame. In order to address Scotland's immorality and impiety, therefore, presbyterian government, with its rigorous discipline and faithful ministers, had to be restored, and scandalous episcopalian clergy had to be purged from the Church. Indeed, it seems that the kirk sessions of the re-established Church may have been more thorough and severe investigators of vice than their episcopalian predecessors.¹¹⁰

If ecclesiastical reform was seen as a remedy for immorality in Scotland, then perhaps this explains why Scots were so slow to set up societies for the reformation of manners. It was not until 1700, a decade after societies began to be established in England, that the first Scottish societies met in Edinburgh. The formation of these societies depended to some extent on the energy of Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, who published a pamphlet summarising the main features of the English societies, and hosted one Edinburgh group in his house.¹¹¹ Grant's efforts were rewarded when the commission of the general assembly passed an act in favour of societies, which were soon multiplying, both in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland.¹¹² Nevertheless, societies were not universally welcomed: one presbyterian complained that they would interfere with the work of kirk sessions. While societies were

¹⁰⁹ D.W.R. Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven, CT, 1957); J. Spurr, 'The Church, the societies and the moral revolution of 1688', in J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S. Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.127-31.

¹¹⁰ B. Inglis, 'The impact of episcopacy and presbyterianism, before and after 1690, on one parish: a case study of the Dunblane kirk session minutes', *RSCHS*, 33 (2003), pp.35-61, at pp.49-56.

¹¹¹ EUL, Register of an Edinburgh society for the reformation of manners, 1700-1707, La. III. 339; [Grant], *Brief Account*; C. Kidd and C. Jackson, 'Grant, Sir Francis, first baronet, Lord Cullen (1658x63-1726)', *ODNB*.

¹¹² [Francis Grant], *A Letter from *** a Magistrate in the Countrey, to *** his Friend* (Edinburgh, 1701), pp.20, 4; EUL, Register, La. III 339, fos. [4]v., [20]r., [35]r.

necessary to supplement the defective discipline of the Church of England, he argued, presbyterian government rendered them superfluous in Scotland.¹¹³

In England, the movement for the reformation of manners helped to build bridges between Anglicans and dissenters, who worked together in societies.¹¹⁴ The Scottish campaign against immorality was less eirenical. By 1700, admittedly, the partisan edge evident at the revolution had largely disappeared from presbyterian sermons against vice.¹¹⁵ Yet the one Edinburgh society for the reformation of manners whose minutes are extant admitted only members of the Church of Scotland, and campaigned against episcopalian use of the Book of Common Prayer.¹¹⁶ Arguments over immorality, clerical reputations and hypocrisy continued to divide presbyterians from episcopalians, at both elite and non-elite levels. Stereotyped assertions and controversial vocabularies had cemented Scotland's religious divisions, expanding the range of issues over which members of the rival parties argued.

¹¹³ NLS, Reasons against forming societies for the reformation of manners, c.1702, Wod. Fol. LI, fos. 21-3.

¹¹⁴ Bahlman, *Moral Revolution*, pp.81-3, 89.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. Gilbert Rule, *A Discourse, of Suppressing Immorality, and Promoting Godliness* (Edinburgh, 1701); *A Discourse of Suppressing Vice, and Reforming the Vicious. Delivered in Several Sermons in the Moneths of June and July 1701* (Edinburgh, 1702).

¹¹⁶ EUL, Register, La. III 339, fos. [2]v., [8]v.-[9]r., [10]r., [11].

Chapter 5: Crowd Violence

I

This chapter analyses physical forms of participation in religious controversy: crowd violence and intimidation. Violent crowds were common in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland. Sometimes they caused injuries to people or property, although many crowds aimed simply to impose a collective will through intimidation. Crowd violence was an important means by which the presbyterian and episcopalian parties competed to promote their arguments and to demonstrate their popularity. Between 1688 and 1690, violence against episcopalian ministers helped to advance three presbyterian claims: that episcopacy was unpopular, that presbyterian government should be re-established, and that church patronage should be abolished. After the revolution, violence became a familiar problem in parishes with episcopalian sympathies, where it was used to resist encroaching presbyterian control. In 1703, moreover, episcopalians used instances of crowd violence to support their campaign for a toleration act.

Historians such as Tim Harris and John Miller have uncovered the religious and ideological motivations for violence in late seventeenth-century England.¹ This chapter argues that Scottish crowd activity can often be linked to religious discord, and that religious motivations should be studied alongside the social and economic contexts of violence. Scottish historians of early eighteenth-century crowds have been alert to these and other contexts, but have yet to investigate the ways in which religious controversy could provoke violence.² English crowds were often carefully

¹ T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987); J. Miller, "'A Suffering People': English Quakers and their neighbours c.1650-c.1700", *Past and Present*, 188 (Aug. 2005), pp.71-103. Professor Harris has also studied religious violence at the revolution in Scotland: T. Harris, 'The people, the law, and the constitution in Scotland and England: a comparative approach to the glorious revolution', *Journal of British Studies*, 38 (1999), pp.28-58, at pp.34-7.

² C.A. Whatley, 'Royal day, people's day: the monarch's birthday in Scotland', in R. Mason and N. Macdougall (eds.), *People and Power in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1992); C.A. Whatley, 'The union of 1707, integration and the Scottish burghs: the case of the 1720 food riots', *SHR*, 78 (1999), pp.192-218; K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.138-58. More attention is paid to religious contexts of violence in J. Leopold, 'The levellers' revolt in Galloway in 1724', *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, 14 (1980),

encouraged by elite figures, although these individuals were typically absent when violent acts were committed.³ This pattern is also evident in Scotland, where lairds, magistrates and ministers were frequently implicated in violent unrest. Nevertheless, this chapter argues that there were few cases in which elite figures did not find willing accomplices of lower social standing to create crowd disturbances.

The chapter begins with an overview of the social and economic contexts of violence in the restoration period, illustrating the interaction of religious controversy with other tensions. Patterns evident in crowd disturbances of the 1680s can be found during and after the revolution. The ‘rabbling’ of episcopalian ministers at the revolution was less unusual and radical than previous historians have suggested, but it was remarkably successful and well planned. After 1690, presbyterians and episcopalians continued to resort to crowd violence on a regular basis. While some violent confrontations reflected struggles between powerful political interests, crowds often exhibited a religious agenda.

II

Crowd violence was common in both rural and urban areas in restoration Scotland. It responded to social and economic pressures, political crises and, as will be argued, religious controversy. In the larger burghs, violent crowds were frequently made up of young people. Apprentices and students were prominent in riots in Edinburgh during the 1670s and 1680s.⁴ In Aberdeen, the rivalry between King’s College and Marischal College resulted in several student riots in the restoration period, apparently connived at by regents.⁵ Women often participated in urban and rural crowd violence, and male rioters occasionally disguised themselves as women,

pp.4-29, and N. Davidson, ‘Popular insurgency during the glorious revolution in Scotland’, *Scottish Labour History*, 39 (2004), pp.14-31.

³ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1980 edn.), pp.73-4; G. Holmes, ‘The Sacheverell riots: the crowd and the Church in early eighteenth-century London’, *Past and Present*, 72 (Aug. 1976), pp.55-85, at pp.78-82, 84; Harris, *London Crowds*, pp.14, 16-17, 27. Professor Harris argues that crowd violence did not depend on elite coordination.

⁴ R.A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1994), pp.296, 302-4.

⁵ C.A. McLaren, ‘Affrichtment and riot: student violence in Aberdeen, 1659-1669’, *Northern Scotland*, 10 (1990), pp.1-17.

perhaps attempting to avoid recognition. In March 1674, the privy council ordered the punishment of a number of women who had rioted at Liberton against ministers of the presbytery of Edinburgh. In the following January, the council called for a man, Hugh Goodal, to be scourged for 'being at a tumult in the paroch of Libbertoune in womens cloathes'.⁶

In the burghs, perceived abuses of political authority sometimes provoked crowd violence. A riot of May 1682 in Edinburgh was sparked by apparent attempts to press criminals into the service of the Prince of Orange, and targeted symbols of the privy council and military officialdom.⁷ By rioting, people outside the capital's elites could express a shared commitment to the protection of mutual interests. Indeed, the members of rioting crowds often exhibited considerable solidarity. During a riot on 31 January 1686, burgh authorities arrested Robert Grieve, a baxter's servant who had been among the crowd. The following day, as Grieve was being scourged through the Canongate as a punishment, he was seized from the hangman by some of his comrades, and allowed to escape.⁸ On 8 February, the shoemaker David Mowbray was convicted of raising the tumult that resulted in Grieve's rescue, and sentenced to hang. Mowbray's trial heard that he had refused a town officer's demand to leave the crowd, saying 'that he would take part with the trades'.⁹ The privy council's investigation also revealed that a meeting had taken place of 'Colleginers printices and others' on the evening of 31 January, at which Alexander Keith, a fencing master, had proposed toasts successively (and somewhat contradictorily) to the king, to the confusion of papists, to the college and to the trades.¹⁰

Economic difficulty also sparked crowd violence. This was particularly evident in the famine years of the late 1690s: Edinburgh witnessed crowd demonstrations in

⁶ *RPC*, iv, pp.147-8, 330. This riot seems to have been provoked by the admission to the parish of Ninian Paterson, who was subsequently deposed: Wodrow, *History*, ii, p.266; ch. 4 above, p.83.

⁷ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp.303-4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.306; John Lauder, *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs* ed. D. Laing, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848), ii, p.700.

⁹ NAS, High Court minute book, 1685-1690, JC6/12, fos. 39v.-41r., quotation at 40v.

¹⁰ NAS, Deposition of Joseph Ker, 22 Feb. 1686, JC39/27, fo. 1r.; NAS, Witness statements against Alexander Keith, 1686, JC39/89/6.

March 1699,¹¹ and three months later, Edinburgh women were accused of raising ‘Rables [...] for stopping the transport of Wool’.¹² Disputes over public resources could lead to violence. An attempt by a crowd to hold the council of Peebles to account over the use of common grass in March 1682 led to the arrest of two ringleaders, who were subsequently rescued from the tolbooth by sympathetic townspeople.¹³

Breaking prisoners from the tolbooth, holding unpopular political leaders to account, asserting the rights of the populace against oligarchic government – these were the familiar objectives of the Edinburgh crowd. The Porteous riot of 1736 included these elements, and has encouraged historians to think of the urban crowd as disciplined and cohesive.¹⁴ Rab Houston has argued that in the period before the mid eighteenth century, Edinburgh’s riots were generally conservative as well as ideologically and socially homogeneous.¹⁵ This interpretation is broadly applicable to the violent demonstrations against parliamentary union in Edinburgh on 23 October 1706, which especially targeted the lord provost, Sir Patrick Johnston, a commissioner for union.¹⁶ The political potential of crowd activity was made clear in June 1700, when news of a victory over the Spanish by the Scottish colonists at Darien provoked riotous celebrations in Edinburgh. This ‘Toubacanti’ riot was manipulated by the political opposition to reflect on the government’s lack of commitment to the Darien scheme.¹⁷

Given the economic and political conservatism of Edinburgh’s riots, it is unsurprising that religious change in the 1680s precipitated crowd action in the

¹¹ C.A. Whatley with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006), p.151.

¹² NAS, Privy council acta, 4 Sep. 1696-11 July 1699, PC1/51, p.574.

¹³ *RPC*, vii, pp.369-70.

¹⁴ H.T. Dickinson and K. Logue, ‘The Porteous riot: a study of the breakdown of law and order in Edinburgh, 1736-1737’, *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society*, 10 (1976), pp.21-40. Presumably the most influential account of the riot is Walter Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818).

¹⁵ Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp.291-2.

¹⁶ NAS, Privy council acta, 12 June 1703-30 Apr. 1707, PC1/53, pp.488-9; Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709), third part, pp.28-30; J.R. Young, ‘The parliamentary incorporating union of 1707: political management, anti-unionism and foreign policy’ in T.M. Devine and J.R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton, 1999), pp.37-9.

¹⁷ D. Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp.197-9; Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp.34-5.

burgh. The 1686 tumults that resulted in Grieve's rescue and Mowbray's execution responded to increasingly visible Catholic worship in the capital. According to the witness deposition of a smith's servant, the 31 January meeting of those involved in the disturbances resolved to 'pull doune the papists houses and stoppe their meetings'.¹⁸ This objective was decisively achieved on 10 December 1688 when, after the departure of the chancellor, the Roman Catholic earl of Perth, from Edinburgh, crowds of students, 'boys' and others ransacked Holyrood Abbey and the houses of prominent Catholics, burning organs, books and furniture. They secured access to the abbey after some of Edinburgh's trained men (commanded by the privy council) removed a body of troops led by Captain Wallace, who was guarding the building under orders from the chancellor.¹⁹ Writing to his son, Lord Yester, the earl of Tweeddale blamed Wallace's men, who had fired on the crowd, for provoking the violence of the tumult.²⁰ Yet it is evident that a careful anti-Catholic legalism motivated the rioters, who targeted specific houses and objects, and reportedly burned rather than stole the items removed.²¹

Historians have tended to see crowd violence as conservative and unifying, but it can be argued that crowds motivated by political differences and religious controversy were more often divisive and controversial.²² In the restoration period, the tensions between presbyterians and episcopalians were reflected in numerous instances of crowd violence.

Anti-Catholic unrest may have served to divide protestants. Even if most protestant inhabitants of Edinburgh in the 1680s feared Catholicism, they disagreed over how to respond to its growing influence. According to the privy council's investigation of the 1686 violence, one of those involved, Charles Littlejohn, said 'God damne all protestants that would not burne and throw downe Mistris Bruce hous befor Sunday

¹⁸ NAS, Deposition of Joseph Ker, JC39/27, fo. 1r.

¹⁹ NLS, earl of Tweeddale to Lord Yester, 11 Dec. 1688, MS. 7026, fos. 81-2; *Five Letters from a Gentleman in Scotland to his Friend in London* (London, 1689), pp.1-3. For other accounts see Wodrow, *History*, iv, pp.472-4; Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp.306-9.

²⁰ NLS, earl of Tweeddale to Lord Yester, 27 Dec. 1688, MS. 7026, fo. 91r.

²¹ NLS, Letter, 12 Dec. 1688, Wod. Fol. XXVI, fo. 267.

²² Cf. K. Bowie, 'Scottish Public Opinion and the Making of the Union of 1707' (University of Glasgow Ph.D. thesis, 2004), pp.249-50.

nixt'.²³ Violence may have been particularly divisive when it was organised by known presbyterians. The Jacobite earl of Balcarres attributed a leading role in Edinburgh's December 1688 riot to George Stirling, an apothecary who was elected one of the burgh's commissioners to the convention of estates in the following spring.²⁴ Stirling can be identified as a presbyterian.²⁵

By exposing the episcopalian elite's connivance at the advance of Catholicism, anti-Catholic violence in the 1680s often served to criticise episcopacy itself. At Christmas 1680, the future presbyterian pamphleteer George Ridpath, then an Edinburgh student, was involved in a plan to burn the pope in effigy, following the example of crowds demonstrating in London in favour of excluding the duke of York from the succession. Anticipating opposition, Ridpath and his fellow conspirators drew a bond of mutual defence. On the night before the effigy was burned, Ridpath and others were arrested and interrogated by the lord advocate, Sir George Mackenzie.²⁶ Their activities were an embarrassing reflection on the government, then led by the duke of York himself. According to Ridpath, the council tried to concoct a reason for executing him by placing a Cameronian prisoner in his cell, hoping thereby to 'infect' Ridpath with treasonous opinions. After being arrested for a second time, Ridpath was banished from Scotland in March 1681, although the council failed to find evidence that he was involved in burning the house of lord provost Sir James Dick at Priestfield.²⁷

Specifically anti-episcopalian disturbances were frequent. In the early 1660s, the admission of episcopalian ministers into parishes sparked riots in various places, particularly in south-western parishes such as Kirkcudbright and Kirkpatrick-

²³ *RPC*, xii, pp.12-13.

²⁴ Colin, earl of Balcarres, *Memoirs touching the Revolution in Scotland, MDCLXXXVIII-MDCXC* ed. A.W.C. Lindsay (Bannatyne Club, 1841), p.15.

²⁵ D.J. Patrick, 'People and Parliament in Scotland, 1689-1702' (University of St Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 2002), p.119; *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; or, the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons and Prayers* (London, 1692), p.115.

²⁶ [George Ridpath], *The Scots Episcopal Innocence: or, the Juggling of that Party with the late King, his Present Majesty, the Church of England, and the Church of Scotland, Demonstrated* (London, 1694), pp.52-7; see also T. Harris, 'The British dimension, religion, and the shaping of political identities during the reign of Charles II', in T. Claydon and I. McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998), p.139.

²⁷ [Ridpath], *Scots Episcopal Innocence*, pp.55-6.

Irongray, where violence was fomented by women.²⁸ In May 1682, hundreds of people in the parish of Dron, Perthshire, allegedly rioted against episcopalian minister George Drummond, who went to the parish to intimate the replacement of presbyterian Alexander Pitcairn, deprived for his refusal to take the Test.²⁹ In March 1682, the council heard a report of a tumult against the minister of Temple, a parish associated with conventicling.³⁰ In the previous month, George Brown, schoolmaster at Prestonpans, was given a warrant by the bishop to preach in place of its minister, James Buchan, who refused the Test. On the day appointed, 'a great rable of men, women and boyes' including a sea captain's servant, a baxter's apprentice and a maltman's son, tried to obstruct Brown's entry to the church, and threw stones and sticks when he preached. The heritors of Prestonpans were fined for failure to prevent the tumult, although they denied any involvement in it.³¹ These riots allowed for non-elite participation in religious controversy, indicating the unpopularity of the Test (even among those not required to take it) and of the role of bishops.

The invasion of William of Orange was followed by a series of pope burning displays, which did not always encourage harmony, even among protestants. In Aberdeen, figures representing the pope, Jesuits, priests and others took part in a procession on 11 January 1689, apparently at the instigation of Marischal College students.³² It is unclear whether any Aberdonians opposed this procession, but instances of pope burning elsewhere were certainly provocative. In St Andrews, regents prevented students from burning the pope in effigy, presumably because such an action would have been interpreted as support for William's invasion.³³ In Edinburgh, there was some opposition to student pope burning in late November 1688, but the privy council and burgh magistrates did not obstruct a similar

²⁸ Kirkton, *History*, pp.162-3; *RPC*, i, pp.357-9, 365-6, 401-3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vii, pp.459-61.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, p.364.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vii, pp.398-9; Lauder, *Historical Notices*, i, pp.349, 351, 353.

³² [Robert Reid], *An Account of the Popes Procession at Aberdene, the 11th of January 1689* ([Aberdeen], 1689).

³³ D.J. Patrick, 'Unconventional procedure: Scottish electoral politics after the revolution', in K.M. Brown and A.J. Mann (eds.), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707* (Edinburgh, 2005), p.222.

demonstration on 25 December, and instead authorised the ceremony – which caused no violence – by observing its progress.³⁴

The pope burning displays in Aberdeen and Edinburgh may not have reflected much anti-episcopalian sentiment. Aberdeen was a stronghold of episcopalian support, and it is possible that most Edinburgh students at the time held episcopalian sympathies.³⁵ In Glasgow, by contrast, a pope burning demonstration of 30 November 1688 was clearly anti-episcopalian. Students including the earl of Loudoun constructed effigies of the pope and the archbishops of Glasgow and St Andrews, and took them in procession to the cross with participants impersonating cardinals and episcopalian ministers.³⁶ Archibald Foyer, later presbyterian minister of Stonehouse, read a speech in the guise of a ‘converted curat’, explaining the attempts of episcopalians to subvert the protestant Church. He spoke of episcopalians ‘persecuting’ the godly ‘for not perjuring themselves as we basely & perfidiously had done’.³⁷ When in October 1689 Glasgow students and their parents compiled a list of objections against the university’s episcopalian regents, they noted the attempts of regents to obstruct another pope burning on 8 December 1688. Crowd violence was used in Glasgow in late 1688 to advance presbyterian interests to the dismay of the episcopalian authorities. It is perhaps evidence of the success of this that the regents themselves were reportedly threatened with violent removal from their positions.³⁸ As with the destructive riots in Edinburgh on 10 December 1688, Glasgow’s pope burners succeeded in advancing a religious cause without inflicting physical injuries; the strength of the crowd lay in intimidation.

³⁴ *Five Letters from a Gentleman in Scotland*, pp.1, 4.

³⁵ NLS, Memoirs of John Brand, minister of Bo’ness, MS. 1668, fo. 5v.

³⁶ Wodrow, *History*, iv, p.472; NLS, Account of the Glasgow pope burning, 30 Nov. 1688, Wod. Fol. XXVII, fo. 201r.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 202r.

³⁸ NLS, Exceptions of Glasgow students against the regents, Oct. 1689, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fos. 9r., 25r., 13r.

III

During the revolution, ordinary people took part in crowd action against Catholic worship and worshippers in England as well as in Scotland.³⁹ Yet Edinburgh's anti-Catholic riot of December 1688 should be seen in the context of earlier crowd violence in the burgh. Popular pressure encouraged privy councillors to ask the earl of Perth to leave Edinburgh, and the resulting opposition between different branches of government troops, as well as the council's desire to appease anti-Catholic sentiment, made crowd disturbances much more difficult to restrain than had been the case in 1686.⁴⁰ Anti-Catholic crowds also saw the breakdown of James VII's government as a chance to remove symbols of Catholic worship from prominent houses near Dumfries and Peebles. The care with which this was done is particularly evident in the case of Traquair House, whose 'Romish wares' were taken to the cross of Peebles and burned by a crowd under Cameronian leadership. Before being consumed by the flames, the various garments and devotional items were pedantically inventoried, perhaps to provide proof that the crowd acted only against illegal worship.⁴¹ Meanwhile, presbyterian crowds took the opportunity of the interregnum coercively to evict episcopalian ministers from parishes across the south of Scotland.⁴²

Recent literature has recognised the importance of these 'rabblings' to the outcome of the revolution. Tristram Clarke has argued that rabbling 'prejudiced the course of the Revolution' by weakening support for James.⁴³ This echoes the contemporary view of presbyterian minister Robert Langlands, who believed that those who

³⁹ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857), i, pp.483-4, 486, 490; Harris, 'The people, the law, and the constitution', pp.31-7.

⁴⁰ NLS, Tweeddale to Yester, 11 Dec. 1688, MS. 7026, fos. 81-2; same to same, 18 Dec. 1688, MS. 7026, fo. 87.

⁴¹ Patrick Walker, *Six Saints of the Covenant* ed. D.H. Fleming, 2 vols. (London, 1901), i, pp.319-20; D. Laing, "'Inventar of the popish trinkets, gotten in my Lord Traquair's house, anno 1688; all solemnly burnt at the cross of Peebles" with some remarks', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 2 (1859), pp.454-7.

⁴² For a fairly complete guide to the rabbled clergy, see NLS, Lists of ministers in 1662, 1689 and 1701, Adv. 32.3.6, fos. 13-27.

⁴³ T.N. Clarke, 'The Scottish Episcopalians, 1688-1720' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1987), p.9.

‘rabbed a prophane corrupt clergy out of the west did [...] likewayes rabble K[ing] James out of his throne’.⁴⁴ Occurring especially in a few months after December 1688, the forced removal of ministers formed an intimidating backdrop to the elections to the convention of estates in February and early March 1689.⁴⁵ According to Tim Harris, rabbling ‘had a significant impact on the nature of the eventual Revolution settlement north of the border’.⁴⁶ Historians illustrating the contribution of the rabblings to the revolution unsurprisingly stress their radicalism. Yet by placing rabbling in the context of violent popular participation in religious controversy before and after the revolution, one can recognise that it was not quite as unusual or radical as is suggested.

The general pattern followed by the rabblings was described in the months and years after the events by episcopalian pamphleteers complaining of ‘persecution’. Ministers reported receiving warnings to desist from preaching; they faced opposition when entering their churches, and were forcibly removed from manse by crowds whose members targeted symbols of episcopalian authority, notably prayer books and ministers’ gowns.⁴⁷ Chapter two shows that presbyterian writers accepted that rabbling had taken place, but disputed the lurid details narrated by episcopalians. Indeed, the most systematic pamphlet description of the rabblings, in *The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland* (1690), probably exaggerated the severity of violence and the similarities between different rabblings. Its eyewitness accounts seem to have been assembled by a small group of men in Edinburgh, notably John Park, clerk to the episcopalian synod of Edinburgh, and John Sage. This mode of authorship may have overemphasised the general pattern of the rabblings, while appearing to present unadulterated accounts of events.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, because many of the rabblings seem to have been carried out by members of the United Societies, it makes sense that they should have followed a

⁴⁴ NLS, Robert Langlands to William Dunlop, 4 Nov. 1691, MS. 9250, fo. 268.

⁴⁵ Patrick, ‘Unconventional procedure’.

⁴⁶ Harris, ‘The people, the law, and the constitution’, p.37.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.34-5; *The Present State and Condition of the Clergy, and Church of Scotland* (London, 1690).

⁴⁸ [John Sage], *The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland Truly Represented* (London, 1690), esp. appendix, pp.41, 46, 47, 49.

common pattern. Episcopalian reports stressed that Cameronians were the ‘most active’ in rabbling.⁴⁹ Gilbert Rule likewise blamed the Societies, stressing the ideological and social distinctions between moderate presbyterians and the rabblers.⁵⁰ The Societies’ own history claimed that the ‘generality of people in the five western shires’ participated in the rabblings, but admitted that the ‘most active’ were ‘of the United Societies’.⁵¹ Patrick Walker, their early eighteenth-century historian, emphasised Cameronian participation, claiming that he had received letters from presbyterian ministers requesting information about the fifteen rabblings he himself attended.⁵²

On 24 January 1689, the ministers and elders of the United Societies agreed the text of a paper to be presented to episcopalian incumbents warning them to cease preaching. The paper complained of the ‘insupportable yoke of Prelacy’, the ‘cruel oppressions and persecutions’ faced by nonconforming presbyterians, and the illegitimate entry of episcopalians into parochial charges.⁵³ On 1 February 1689, a copy of this document was given by ‘40 presbiterians’ to the wife of the minister of Livingston, George Honeyman.⁵⁴ While it is unclear whether Honeyman was rabbled by his parishioners, he was an early target of anti-episcopalian violence: it seems that his house had already been entered by groups of presbyterians before the summons of withdrawal was composed.⁵⁵ The desire of the United Societies to formalise the process of rabbling with a commonly-used document can be seen as evidence of the restriction of popular violence at the revolution to clearly specified religious targets. If rabbling was in some senses more radical than English rioting, it did (*pace* Harris) make a ‘pretense to legality’.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ *A Late Letter Concerning the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland* (London, 1691), p.7 (after p.8); see also [Thomas Morer, John Sage, Alexander Monro], *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church of Scotland in several letters* (London, 1690), p.1.

⁵⁰ [Gilbert Rule], *A [Second] Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), first part, pp.22-3, 32.

⁵¹ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.370, 371.

⁵² Walker, *Six Saints*, i, pp.320-3.

⁵³ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.375-6.

⁵⁴ NLS, Rabblers’ letter to George Honeyman, 1689, MS. 7035, fo. 86r.

⁵⁵ [Sage], *Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy*, appendix, pp.44-6.

⁵⁶ Harris, ‘The people, the law, and the constitution’, p.36.

Most commentators recognised that the rabblings took place during an interregnum. As with the events of December 1688 in Edinburgh, this undoubtedly made popular violence more likely. George Ridpath and Gilbert Rule described rabbling as an inevitable process of score-settling unfortunately made violent by the disintegration of royal authority.⁵⁷ More extreme writers argued that the interregnum could legitimate – as well as explain – the rabbling. One pamphlet claimed that the revolution restored the people’s ‘Native Right’, entitling them to resolve grievances. The rabblers had a legitimate complaint against episcopalian ministers, who were ‘obtruded upon’ their parishes ‘by force’, and were notoriously impious, avaricious and persecuting.⁵⁸ Alexander Shields explained that the Cameronians had ‘thought it a seasonable duty, to take the opportunity of the *Interregnum*, before the settlement of a Government that we could subject our selves to’, to remove episcopalian ministers. These clergymen were ‘Plants that the LORD never planted’, who had been illegitimately ‘intruded’ into parishes.⁵⁹ Walker described rabbling as a ‘publick work’, and stressed the efforts of those involved to avoid damage and to safeguard church possessions.⁶⁰ This latter practice was reported in the case of Honeyman’s rabbling.⁶¹ The Societies explicitly disowned the robbing of the minister of Carluke.⁶²

If the interregnum removed previous legal restraints on the coercion of ministers, other notions of legality were introduced by the rabblers. Unsurprisingly, one was provided by the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, according to which episcopalian ministers could be considered malignant opponents of reformation. The authority of the Solemn League and Covenant was allegedly cited by the rabblers of Robert Bell, minister of Kilmarnock.⁶³ The United Societies adopted a proposal to renew the Covenants at their 24 January meeting, noting that

⁵⁷ [Rule], *[Second] Vindication*, first part, pp.22-3; [George Ridpath], *An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), p.8.

⁵⁸ *A Brief and True Account of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland Occasioned by the Episcopalians Since the Year 1660* (London, 1690), pp.19-20.

⁵⁹ [Alexander Shields], *A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances, Past and Present, of the Presbyterians in Scotland: Particularly of those of them called by Nick-name Cameronians* ([Edinburgh?], 1690), p.49.

⁶⁰ Walker, *Six Saints*, i, pp.322 (quotation), 321; [Shields], *Short Memorial*, p.50.

⁶¹ [Sage], *Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy*, appendix, p.45.

⁶² [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, p.368.

⁶³ [Sage], *Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy*, appendix, pp.33-4.

‘this interregnum, and time of anarchy’ was a particularly suitable occasion. The paper presented to episcopalian ministers made reference to the ‘obligations of our solemn covenants’.⁶⁴

The United Societies’ paper was evidently written with a view to legitimating the rabblers’ actions. With its references to ‘persecutions’ and to ‘the intrusion of Episcopal Curates’, moreover, this document resembled William of Orange’s Scottish declaration of reasons for invading in November 1688.⁶⁵ At least one presbyterian crowd reportedly defended rabbling by invoking William’s reasons for invading. On 17 February 1689, James Gibson, a Glasgow bailie, attempted to restore a previously-rabbed episcopalian minister to the cathedral church. Gibson was obstructed by crowds of women, who claimed that their attempts to prevent ‘Arminian persecuting Curats’ from preaching accorded with William’s stated objectives.⁶⁶

Perhaps the rabbling of episcopalian ministers was not straightforwardly illegal. The fact that much of the violence took place during an interregnum was a convenient excuse for the failure of the convention of estates to offer any redress to those rabbed before 13 April 1689.⁶⁷ Episcopalians interpreted the estates’ actions, including the vote of thanks for the Societies men who guarded the convention,⁶⁸ as a vindication of the eviction of ministers. James Canaries, episcopalian representative in London, believed that parliament had debated the ‘the authorizing of the Rabbling’ and accused presbyterian minister Robert Wylie, whom he considered moderate, of approving of the actions of rabbles.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.374-5, 376. For the Societies’ renewal of the Covenants, see ch. 7 below, p.161.

⁶⁵ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, p.375; *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, &c. of the Reasons Inducing Him, to Appear in Arms for Preserving of the Protestant religion, and for Restoring the Laws and Liberties of the Ancient Kingdom of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1689).

⁶⁶ NLS, Account of the ‘carriage of the people of Glasgow to the curats anno 1689’, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 10r.; A. Raffe, ‘Propaganda, religious controversy and the Williamite revolution in Scotland’, *Dutch Crossing*, 29 (2005), pp.21-42, at p.32. For the allegation of Arminianism, see ch. 9 below.

⁶⁷ APS, ix, p.43; [Rule], *[Second] Vindication*, first part, p.8.

⁶⁸ APS, ix, p.23.

⁶⁹ NLS, James Canaries to Robert Wylie, 14 Nov. 1691, Wod. Fol. XXVI, fos. 316r., 318r.

While participants in the rabblings were remarkably well organised, their actions corresponded to patterns of popular violence seen before the revolution. Violence against clergy was frequent in the restoration period, and the rabblings were less aggressive than some earlier attacks by members of the Societies, notably the December 1684 murder of Peter Pierson, episcopalian minister of Carsphairn.⁷⁰ Interregnum rabbling had more success than earlier attacks on ministers, but it had the same objective: to obstruct episcopalian control of parishes. In both the restoration period and the interregnum months, crowds targeted symbols of ministers' authority, particularly their gowns. Lauder of Fountainhall reported that the tearing of gowns was a feature of the disturbance in the kirk of Dron in 1682.⁷¹ When members of a Glasgow crowd seized the gown of Alexander George on 17 January 1689, they allegedly said 'that they would tare it, as he had torne the church of god'.⁷² Members of the crowd that attacked Robert Bell of Kilmarnock tore his gown, 'telling him, *It was the Garment of the Whore of Babylon*'.⁷³ According to Patrick Walker, it was only due to the discipline of the Societies men assembled in Edinburgh at the revolution that Scotland's bishops were not stripped of their gowns when they were ejected from the convention of estates.⁷⁴ Just as the Edinburgh riots of December 1688 followed previous patterns of popular violence, so the rabblings resembled earlier instances of collective action against unwanted ministers.

Rabbling provided a means for popular participation in religious controversy. The rabblings created arguments, and advanced the notion that episcopacy was hated and that presbyterian government had widespread popular support. The rabblers' claim that episcopacy was an 'insupportable yoke' was almost identical to the Claim of Right's assertion that bishops were an 'insupportable greivance'.⁷⁵ As will be seen, popular violence continued to be used to advance presbyterian objectives – and those of the episcopalians – after 1689.

⁷⁰ I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-1688* (London, 1976), p.121.

⁷¹ Lauder, *Historical Notices*, i, p.359.

⁷² NLS, Account of the 'carriage of the people of Glasgow', Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 9v.; GRO, Account of the rabbling of Alexander George, D3549/6/2/2 (M14), fo. 1r.

⁷³ [Sage], *Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy*, appendix, p.35.

⁷⁴ Walker, *Six Saints*, i, p.253.

⁷⁵ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, p.375; APS, ix, p.40.

IV

Although rabbling was concentrated in the interregnum months, in some places it continued sporadically after the crown was settled on William and Mary. As well as advocating presbyterian re-establishment, crowd violence against episcopalian ministers promoted demands for the abolition of lay patronage.⁷⁶ At the end of September 1689, Margaret Kerr, countess of Roxburgh, wrote to her father, the earl of Tweeddale, complaining of the ‘insolencies [th]e rable is cappable to commite’. Eight days previously, the ‘litill pety fewers in Bowden’, in the presbytery of Selkirk, ‘with a number of such as themselvs brock open the church doors of bowden [...] and set up to preach on[e] mr lowther’.⁷⁷ The parish’s episcopalian incumbent, Henry Knox, had been deprived by the privy council on 10 September for failure to obey the estates’ 13 April proclamation, appointing prayers for William and Mary as monarchs.⁷⁸ Thus the feuars in Bowden were seeking to accelerate the settling of a presbyterian minister in the parish in what the countess regarded as a disorderly fashion. She likened these actions to events in nearby Morebattle parish, where people of similarly low social status ‘brock open the church doors’ during a service, ‘and puled the minister out of [th]e pulpit using him barbarously’. Such practices threatened the rights of patrons to call ministers, yet the countess saw no hope of redress, having received little sympathy from the earl of Crawford, the president of the privy council.⁷⁹ For the countess of Roxburgh, therefore, the actions of rabbles combined with the pro-presbyterian tendencies of the privy council to promote radical presbyterianism. Writing again to her father on 7 October, she noted that ‘nothing is thought one [i.e. on] hear but the promoting [th]e hight of presbetry, and all that goeth not to the same extravagances with some folks, is thought disaficted to all’.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Davidson, ‘Popular insurgency’, p.20.

⁷⁷ NLS, countess of Roxburgh to earl of Tweeddale, 30 Sep. 1689, MS. 7011, fo. 224r.

⁷⁸ *RPC*, xiv, pp.243-4.

⁷⁹ NLS, Roxburgh to Tweeddale, 30 Sep. 1689, MS. 7011, fo. 224.

⁸⁰ NLS, countess of Roxburgh to earl of Tweeddale, 7 Oct. 1689, MS. 7011, fo. 228r.

In early 1690, hostility towards Robert Knox, episcopalian minister of Peebles, sparked violence in the parish. On 16 February, Knox was threatened on the way to church by a crowd of men and women ‘assembled in a tumultuary way’. Individuals within the crowd swore at Knox and allegedly warned that if he ‘should offer to preach they would wring their hands in his heart blood’. In some respects events resembled patterns seen in interregnum rabblings. On the Sunday preceding the disturbance, a ‘publict placade’ had been fixed to the door of Knox’s church, warning him to cease preaching. After the crowd was dispersed, its members continued to intimidate Knox and his supporters, claiming that they would ‘call their neighbours out of other shyres to their assistance’ in removing Knox.⁸¹

Yet the divisions within the burgh and parish of Peebles complicated matters, temporarily frustrating the presbyterians’ objective. The duke of Queensberry, the patron who had nominated Knox, was joined by other heritors in support of Knox’s ministry, while the burgh’s council largely opposed it. During the confrontation on 16 February, John Balfour, Queensberry’s chamberlain, rode to the town’s presbyterian meeting house, where the magistrates were worshipping, in an attempt to gain their assistance against the unruly crowd. When they failed to respond to his requests, he allegedly returned ‘in a tumultuous maner’ with armed followers, entered the meeting house and proceeded to beat members of its congregation.⁸² According to Alexander Shields, this disturbance helped Knox to remain in possession of the church, ‘contrare to the inclinations of the Paroch’. Shields maintained that events in Peebles showed the necessity of a thorough purge of the church, and particularly the abolition of lay patronage.⁸³

Popular violence in the interregnum rabblings, and at Bowden, Morebattle and Peebles, challenged the rights of landed patrons to nominate ministers to parishes. Presbyterians had long been opposed to this form of patronage, seeing it as a popish corruption without scriptural warrant.⁸⁴ The temporary abolition of patronage was

⁸¹ *RPC*, xv, pp.130-1.

⁸² *Ibid.*, xv, pp.132-4.

⁸³ [Shields], *Short Memorial*, pp.48-9.

⁸⁴ *The Second Book of Discipline* ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1980), pp.234-5. The reformers of the 1560s had favoured congregational election of ministers: *The First Book of Discipline* ed. J.K. Cameron

one of the achievements of the radical presbyterian regime that came to power in late 1648.⁸⁵ After the restoration, the replacement of presbyterian ministers with episcopalians was facilitated by the reinstatement of patronage, increasing presbyterian hostility to the system. In 1677, Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson complained that ‘the [episcopalian] Curats come in upon congregations only by the Bishop and Patron, who are not the Church, nor have any power from her for what they do’.⁸⁶ In a work published in 1689, Robert Park argued that patronage was ‘a sinful and unjust usurpation, without warrant from the word of God, destructive to the true Liberties and Interests of the Church, and most scandalously offensive to all ranks of Christians therein’.⁸⁷ As has been noted, William of Orange’s Scottish declaration of reasons and the Societies’ summons of removal to episcopalian ministers emphasised the illegitimacy of the deprivation of presbyterians and the planting of episcopalians in the restoration period.⁸⁸

After the revolution, calls were made in parliament for the abolition of patronage and its replacement with a more popular system of calling ministers. In July 1690, the right of nominating a minister to a parish was withdrawn from its single lay patron. Instead, the parochial heritors and elders were collectively to propose a candidate for the congregation’s approval. Any call was to be agreed by the local presbytery of the re-established Church of Scotland.⁸⁹ The abolition of patronage was intended to satisfy the demands of presbyterian writers and violent crowds. In practice the act of parliament gave heritors control over the election of ministers, but the designers of the new system hoped that the voices of unlanded people would be heard.⁹⁰

(Edinburgh, 1972), p.96; *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, 3 vols. (Maitland Club, 1839-45), i, p.16.

⁸⁵ APS, vi, part 2, pp.261-2.

⁸⁶ [Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson], *An Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Persecuted Ministers & Professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion, in the Church of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1677), p.78.

⁸⁷ Robert Park, *The Rights and Liberties of the Church Asserted and Vindicated, against the Pretended Right and Usurpation of Patronage* (Edinburgh, 1689), pp.81-2.

⁸⁸ *Declaration ... Kingdom of Scotland*, p.3; [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.375-6.

⁸⁹ APS, ix, pp.196-7.

⁹⁰ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, pp.275-6.

V

Given the role of violence in the campaign to re-establish presbyterian government and to abolish patronage, it is not surprising that episcopalians recognised that crowd unrest could serve their agenda too. After the accession of Anne and the election of a new parliament, numerous elite episcopalians used the printing press to call for an act of toleration for episcopalian worship. Episcopalian pamphleteering was accompanied by a campaign of petitioning in favour of toleration, and by two prominent instances of crowd violence, which episcopalians seized on to add weight to their arguments.

One episcopalian strategy was to argue that violence against their ministers necessitated a toleration act. In a 1703 pamphlet, Robert Calder cited rabbling as one reason for toleration.⁹¹ When episcopalian preaching in Glasgow sparked riots in February 1703, the burgh's provost suspected that the violence had been deliberately fomented by episcopalians, who had invited to hear their minister preach 'such as they knew would not attend'.⁹² Presbyterian Robert Wodrow shared these suspicions, noting that violence against episcopalians 'noe doubt will be magnified at court'. As Wodrow recognised, the riot proved that Anne's February 1703 letter to the privy council did not offer adequate protection to episcopalian congregations.⁹³ According to the earl of Cromarty, a supporter of episcopalian toleration, one possible presbyterian argument against toleration was that increased freedom for episcopalian ministers would provoke the presbyterian laity to rise more frequently 'in mobbs & rables'.⁹⁴ Yet the prevalence of violence against episcopalians was in fact a reason to protect their worship.

Proponents of toleration also argued that episcopalian government was widely popular. According to Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Lord Justice Clerk and the earl of Cromarty's brother, it was clear by 1703 that two thirds of the commons and three

⁹¹ [Robert Calder], *Reasons for a Toleration to the Episcopalian Clergie* (Edinburgh, 1703), p.12.

⁹² NAS, Privy council acts, 13 July 1699-5 May 1703, PC1/52, p.524.

⁹³ L.W. Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709* (SHS, 1937), pp.254-6, 259-61, quotation at p.254. For Anne's letter, see ch. 1 above, p.14.

⁹⁴ BL, earl of Cromarty to earl of Nottingham, 5 June 1703, Add. MS. 29588, fo. 482v.

quarters of the landed elite preferred episcopalian worship.⁹⁵ To prove this point, elite episcopalians organised petitions from the clergy and laity in favour of toleration.⁹⁶ Supporters of toleration also made use of a second instance of crowd violence, in which presbyterians were on the receiving end.

After the death of one of Haddington's episcopalian ministers in December 1702, the local presbytery sent a presbyterian minister, John Bell, to preach there. Suspicions were raised by the lukewarm response of the burgh council to Bell's requests for assistance, and when he went to preach, he was opposed by an armed crowd.⁹⁷ Its members provided support for George Dunbar, the surviving episcopalian minister, who had been ordered to preach in place of Bell by the council as a protest against the presbytery's precipitate course.⁹⁸ Episcopalian politicians seized on events at Haddington, which could be used to illustrate the need for a toleration act. Heritors, magistrates and elders in the parish addressed the queen, complaining of attempts to impose a presbyterian minister.⁹⁹ According to Bell, the petition was masterminded by Sir Roderick Mackenzie, and presented to the queen by Cromarty, then secretary of state.¹⁰⁰ The episcopalians were wary of admitting their party's use of violence. Cromarty claimed that tories were more numerous than whigs in Scotland, 'tho not so ready to bragg of Mobbs'.¹⁰¹ The Haddington petition spoke mendaciously of the 'aversion to tumult and mob, which in all ages hes been signall in those of our persuasion'.¹⁰² Moreover, Bell argued that the disturbances at Haddington would not prove that episcopacy was popular, since the Glasgow riots against episcopalian preaching were on a much larger scale.¹⁰³ Although the Haddington violence did not resolve the argument in favour of episcopalian toleration, it is clear that episcopalians were prepared to use crowd unrest in religious controversy.

⁹⁵ BL, Roderick Mackenzie to earl of Nottingham, 9 May 1703, Add. MS. 29588, fo. 459r.

⁹⁶ Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p.37.

⁹⁷ NLS, 'The most memorable passages of the life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fos. 30-4.

⁹⁸ Bod., George Dunbar to ?, 8 Dec. 1702, Rawl. C 985, fos. 45-6.

⁹⁹ NAS, Address to Anne, 1703, GD26/10/92.

¹⁰⁰ NLS, 'Life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fos. 36v.-37r.

¹⁰¹ BL, earl of Cromarty to earl of Nottingham, 9 May 1703, Add. MS. 29588, fo. 457r.

¹⁰² NAS, Address to Anne, GD26/10/92.

¹⁰³ NLS, 'Life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fo. 37.

VI

The 1703 crowd disturbance at Haddington can be understood in the context of national politics, but it was at root a struggle for control of an individual parish. From the early 1690s, episcopalians used crowd violence to resist the spread of presbyterian authority across Scotland. Crowds were assembled to oppose ministers sent to preach in vacant parishes, and to obstruct the ordination of presbyterians and the actions of their courts. Such was the problem that in August 1698 parliament passed an act against the ‘godless abuse of rabling’, which had ‘so frequently happened in opposition to Ministers orderly sent to Supply vacant Churches’.¹⁰⁴ In 1711, the presbytery of Aberdeen complained that ‘the difficulties, which attend the planting of Vacancies in thir Northern bounds, are increasing more and more, so that often times there is opposition even unto the effusion of blood’.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the new system of calling ministers established in 1690 may have increased the likelihood of crowd violence, especially in parishes with little support for presbyterianism. An episcopalian critic of the 1690 arrangements, writing in 1712, the year in which the legislation was repealed, claimed that the abolition of patronage ‘was founded upon a Mistaken politick; as if thereby Tumults would be prevented in planting of Churches, whereas, that Law hath occassioned more Tumults, than ever was in Scotland formerly’.¹⁰⁶ While much of this violence was evidently organised by local elites, there were many willing non-elite participants.

One means by which presbyteries of the re-established Church attempted to impose authority over parishes in their bounds was by ordering ministers to supply vacant churches: to preach for one Sunday, usually as a prelude to settling an eldership or administering a call to a minister. Parishes with strong episcopalian sympathies often resisted this process. After the deprivation of John Johnston from the parish of Saline, Fife, the minister appointed to preach by the presbytery ‘was violently opposed by a number of rabble w[i]t[h] guns & swords battons & forks’ and other

¹⁰⁴ *APS*, x, pp.148-9.

¹⁰⁵ *NAS*, Aberdeen presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1711, CH1/2/31, fo. 84r.

¹⁰⁶ *GRO*, ‘A true view of Scots Presbytry 1712’, D3549/6/2/2 (M3), fo. 3r.

improvised weapons.¹⁰⁷ In November 1694, the presbytery of Haddington instructed Mungo Watson, one of its ministers, to preach in the vacant parish of Tranent. Two weeks later, Watson reported having faced opposition from ‘a rable of Clamorous people Making great noise and throing of stons among [th]e people mett to hear sermons’. Watson was forced to preach his morning and afternoon sermons in the kirkyard as the church was possessed by Bernard Mackenzie, an episcopalian minister.¹⁰⁸

On 11 March 1691, presbyterian minister William Spence was sent to preach in Kinross, where he faced ‘forceable opposi[tio]ne’ from Sir William Bruce and ‘7 or 8 scorr of men armed w[i]t[h] pistols & drawn swords’. Violent crowds obstructed presbyterian worship on the two following Sundays ‘to the wounding & beating of se[ver]all persons’.¹⁰⁹ When Spence pursued Bruce before the privy council for part of the vacant parish’s stipend, Bruce claimed that Spence and the presbytery of Dunfermline were backed by only the meanest heritors in the parish. Although Spence had preached to a Kinross meeting house under the 1687 toleration, he was now minister of Glendevon, and most of Kinross’s heritors and elders supported a call to another minister.¹¹⁰

In Kinross and elsewhere, crowd violence often expressed a desire among elites to resist the external influence of presbyterian church courts. After the death of Dingwall’s episcopalian minister in 1704, the local presbytery appointed William Stuart, minister of Kiltearn, to preach in the burgh. On 16 January, Stuart went there and was opposed by an armed ‘Rable of women and others’, who first nailed shut the door of the room in which Stuart was lodging and then obstructed his entry to the church. Wives and daughters of the burgh elite were implicated in the tumult as ‘ringladers of the Rable’. The magistrates were not to be found when Stuart requested assistance. When he gained access to the church, an armed group

¹⁰⁷ NAS, Dunfermline presbytery grievances, 1691, CH1/2/1, fo. 95v.

¹⁰⁸ NAS, Presbytery of Haddington minutes, 1694-1698, CH2/185/9, pp.5-7.

¹⁰⁹ NAS, Dunfermline presbytery grievances, CH1/2/1, fo. 95 (quotations); NAS, earl of Crawford to earl of Melville, 21 March 1691, GD26/10/59 (1).

¹¹⁰ *RPC*, xvi, pp.134-7; *Fasti*, v, pp.63, 66.

dispersed much of Stuart's congregation, and one man threatened him with a pistol, forcing his retreat.¹¹¹

Such was the success of violence in preventing presbyterian access to Dingwall's church that no minister was settled there until 1716.¹¹² According to Hugh Munro, presbyterian minister at Tain, representations to the privy council did not stop further riots in Dingwall, which involved people from the burgh itself and neighbouring parts of Ross and Cromarty.¹¹³ Indeed, the violence seems to have reflected a regional power struggle between rival political interests.¹¹⁴ Hugh Munro noted that an attempt by Dingwall's provost to mediate a compromise was opposed by 'a party headed & made By John Baine younger of Tulloch', a member of a prominent local family.¹¹⁵ In September 1707, Sir Robert Munro of Foulis complained that a privy council commission to try the rioters, which nominated him among other local gentry, was of limited use given that no troops had been ordered to protect the commissioners. He argued that the document was designed by the earls of Seafield and Cromarty to 'bafle the affair afront The Commissioners & Cary of The Delinquents in Coach & so fortifie The Malignant Interest here'. Munro also claimed that the earl of Cromarty hoped to redistribute parliamentary constituencies in the area to help the Jacobites.¹¹⁶ Parliamentary union probably increased the confidence of Dingwall's episcopalians, because it was hoped that the British parliament would enact episcopalian toleration.¹¹⁷

Crowd violence against presbyterians was often exacerbated by divisions within local elites. In March 1691, a meeting of the general assembly's committee of the north in Aberdeen was threatened by a 'great confluence of the baser sort of people, Consisting of Tradesmen, students of the universities, and a rabble of other persons'. This armed crowd surrounded the tolbooth, where the committee had met after being

¹¹¹ NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/53, pp.214-17.

¹¹² *Fasti*, vii, p.34.

¹¹³ NAS, Hugh Munro to Nicol Spence, 1707, CH1/2/26/4, fo. 384.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of this context, see W. Ferguson, 'Dingwall burgh politics and the parliamentary franchise in the eighteenth century', *SHR*, 38 (1959), pp.89-108.

¹¹⁵ NAS, Hugh Munro to Thomas Spence, 18 Aug. 1707, CH1/2/26/3, fo. 295v.

¹¹⁶ NAS, Sir Robert Munro to Thomas Spence, 23 Sep. 1707, CH1/2/27/3, fo. 211r.; NAS, Commission for the trial of a Dingwall riot, Aug. 1707, CH1/2/26/2, fo. 138.

¹¹⁷ NAS, Munro to Spence, 18 Aug. 1707, CH1/2/26/3, fo. 295v.

denied access to churches by the provost, John Sandilands.¹¹⁸ The committee's information to the privy council blamed the riot on elite figures from Aberdeen's colleges and the burgh council. Robert Paterson, the principal of Marischal College, was alleged to have offered money and drinks to 'traders' to resist the presbyterian visitors. George Liddell, a professor of mathematics, reportedly went to King's College to entice student rioters to New Aberdeen. One bailie was accused of having gone 'thorow the streets inciting all to goe and break open the [tolbooth] doors and raise the [presbyterian] meeting'. Bailies John More and the younger Walter Robertson supposedly imprisoned two participants in the tumult, but these rioters were freed by Sandilands.¹¹⁹ The pro-presbyterian bailies claimed that the provost wanted to call 'ane extraordinary head courte on purpose to oppose and hinder' the committee; Sandilands blamed the tumult on More and Robertson.¹²⁰

The privy council's investigation of these events led to the deposition of Sandilands, a known Jacobite, from the office of provost.¹²¹ This allowed the election of a council more favourable to the religious and political outcomes of the revolution, but it did little to reduce episcopalian strength in the ministry and universities. When the magistrates tried to provide a presbyterian preacher to supply the church vacated by George Garden, deprived in February 1693 for refusing to pray for William and Mary, crowds of students obstructed worship, invading the church, intimidating the congregation and mocking proceedings. The regents of King's and Marischal allegedly refused to discipline the students involved.¹²²

Members of the episcopalian elites were frequently accused of organising and supporting anti-presbyterian crowds. In February 1692, the privy council heard evidence of 'great tumult and Confusion' directed against Samuel Nairn, presbyterian minister of Errol, Perthshire. The crowd responsible had allegedly been

¹¹⁸ NAS, Petition to the privy council, 16 Apr. 1691, GD26/7/66, fo. 1r.; *RPC*, xvi, p.349.

¹¹⁹ NAS, Account of accessories to Aberdeen tumult, March 1691, GD26/7/66, fo. 2r.

¹²⁰ *RPC*, xvi, pp.350, 352.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, xvi, p.354; D. Findlay and A. Murdoch, 'Revolution to reform: eighteenth-century politics, c.1690-1800', in E.P. Dennison, D. Ditchburn and M. Lynch (eds.), *Aberdeen before 1800: A New History* (East Linton, 2002), p.268.

¹²² NAS, Privy council acta, 2 Feb. 1692-31 March 1693, PC1/48, pp.612-14; NAS, Privy council decreta, 5 Jan. 1692-31 May 1694, PC2/24, fos. 217-20.

‘Convocat’ by Francis Rait, tutor to the laird of Kinnaird’s children, whose repeated protests against Nairn were blamed for creating opposition to presbyterianism in this previously compliant parish.¹²³ In another incident, Harry Balfour, suspended episcopalian minister of Auchtertool in the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, was said to have been part of the threatening crowd that prevented a presbyterian minister from entering Auchtertool church.¹²⁴

In some cases, landowners seem to have ordered their tenants to take part in violent crowds. After being installed as presbyterian minister of Gairloch by fellow clergy at Kiltarn, near Cromarty, in March 1711, John Morrison travelled to the other side of the country to claim his church. Arriving in his vast parish, he was intercepted by ten tenants of Sir John Mackenzie of Coul. Claiming warrant from Rory McKenzie, tacksman to Sir John, they ‘laid violent hands’ on Morrison, imprisoning him in a cottage ‘full of Cattell, and ther dung’. His guards, who rotated on a daily basis, claimed that they were ‘forced by [th]e said Rorie McKeinzie, to use [tha]t Barbarity, and that it was most lamentable to [the]m to be thus Employed’.¹²⁵ In February, another presbyterian minister, Thomas Chisholm, went to Gairloch to inform the parish of Morrison’s institution.¹²⁶ He was also seized by locals before he could reach the church, and then marched (partially under cover of darkness) out of the parish bounds. His armed escorts said that ‘they did nothing but [wha]t they wer commanded to doe, by S[i]r John McKeinzie their master, [who]m they could not disobey’. They warned any other presbyterian minister attempting to enter Gairloch that Sir John had ‘guarded all passes to [tha]t country’.¹²⁷ Sir John later admitted to Morrison that he would obstruct attempts to settle any presbyterian minister without parliamentary or royal support.¹²⁸

There were many other cases of anti-presbyterian violence organised by landowners. When a December 1710 ordination at Benholm was violently obstructed, ministers of

¹²³ *Ibid.*, fos. 18-19, quotation at fo. 18v.

¹²⁴ NAS, Kirkcaldy presbytery grievances, c.1691, CH1/2/1, fo. 98r.

¹²⁵ NAS, United presbyteries of Chanonry and Dingwall minutes, 1706-1716, CH2/66/1, pp.111-12; NLS, Petition of John Morrison, Apr. 1711, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 69.

¹²⁶ NAS, Presbyteries of Chanonry and Dingwall minutes, CH2/66/1, p.109.

¹²⁷ NLS, Thomas Chisholm’s report, March 1711, Wod. Oct. XII, fos. 67-8

¹²⁸ NLS, Petition of Morrison, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 70r.

Fordoun presbytery claimed that the disturbance had been ordered by two heritors, Brotherton and Monboddo, whose tenants and domestics were among the crowd.¹²⁹ Similar claims were made about violence at the 1714 ordination of William Arnott in the neighbouring parish of Bervie. Here the viscount of Arbuthnott and the laird of Hallgreen reportedly ‘hounded out’ their tenants to create a tumult.¹³⁰ At Dingwall, violent crowds had allegedly been raised ‘by Instigation and upon designe’: Murdoch McKenzie, nephew to the sheriff officer, reportedly assembled a crowd of women, saying ‘that he was ordered to doe soe under the paine of being ffyned’.¹³¹ Presbyterian Hugh Munro even claimed that there would be no disturbances were the ordinary people not ‘imposed upon By a designed club whose tenents & neighbours they are’.¹³² Yet Munro’s rhetoric may have reflected wishful thinking. In most cases of crowd violence against presbyterian ministers, non-elite men and women seem to have been eager participants. At Bervie, supporters of the presbyterian ordination apparently stayed at home in defiance of their landlords’ orders, suggesting that the rioters themselves were willing to oppose the presbytery.¹³³ There is little evidence to assess the motivations of participants in crowd violence, although the rioters in Dingwall allegedly made Jacobite statements. They seemed to target representatives of landed presbyterian families from outwith the parish, injuring the young Lady Culloden and the sister of Sir Robert Munro of Foulis.¹³⁴ Jacobitism, localism and elite commands may have motivated members of violent crowds, but there is little evidence – apart from in Gairloch – of reluctance. It suited presbyterians to claim that rioters were ‘hounded out’ and ‘imposed upon’, but there were many willing non-elite participants in controversial violence.

VII

There is further evidence that violence could be motivated by religious enmity. It was not unusual for crowds to draw attention to their religious preferences, or to

¹²⁹ NAS, Account of a disturbance at Benholm, 1710, CH1/2/30/4, fos. 372-4.

¹³⁰ NAS, Account of a disturbance at Bervie, 1714, CH1/2/34/3, fos. 295-6.

¹³¹ NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/53, pp.218, 216.

¹³² NAS, Munro to Spence, 18 Aug. 1707, CH1/2/26/3, fo. 295r.

¹³³ NAS, Account of a disturbance at Bervie, CH1/2/34/3, fo. 295v.

¹³⁴ NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/53, pp.217-18.

emphasise specific differences between presbyterians and episcopalians. In 1711, the admission of John Grant as presbyterian minister of Kilmuir Wester in Ross-shire was forcibly obstructed. The violence seems to have been organised by local landowners, and probably reflected regional power struggles. Yet members of the crowd also expressed ideological opposition to Grant, threatening to kill him if he would not 'renounce' his 'Principles'.¹³⁵ Parishioners gave the presbytery of Chanonry and Dingwall a list of objections to Grant, complaining of his omission of the Lord's Prayer and his unsound doctrine, and affirming their refusal to accept a minister with 'whose Doctrine and Methode of Worship we cannot in our Consciences comply'. By settling a presbyterian minister in the parish, the paper went on, the presbytery had acted 'against the Inclinations of us & our people, which by our Law is declared the foundation of Church Government'.¹³⁶

When obstructing presbyterian worship, episcopalian crowds sometimes commented on the different practices of the two parties. In 1693, Aberdeen students were accused of beating members of a presbyterian congregation, shouting oaths and 'furiously louping and running over the Dasks' in the church. They reportedly threatened an old man to sing a doxology, 'whill they at the same time most Blasphemeously did sing Lillie Bulero', simultaneously ridiculing the presbyterians' style of worship and their Williamite political allegiance. Presumably the students expressed their own political inclinations when they sang the Jacobite song 'Carle and the king come'.¹³⁷ In the following year, Aberdeen saw repeated disturbance of presbyterian worship involving numerous students, the domestic servants of a regent, and other non-elite people such as weavers, tailors and a bookbinder. During one service, the minister was interrupted by people pretending to sing the doxology, presumably (it was recognised) with the intention of reflecting on presbyterian objections to that form of prayer.¹³⁸ Presbyterians commented on the irreverence

¹³⁵ NLS, Account of violence at Kilmuir, Sep. 1711, Wod. Oct. XII, fos. 75-7, quotations at fo. 76r. The account was also recorded in NAS, Synod of Ross and Sutherland minutes, 1707-1717, CH2/312/1, pp.150-5.

¹³⁶ NLS, Protestation against John Grant, Sep. 1711, Wod. Oct. XII, fos. 77v., 78r.; NAS, Presbyteries of Chanonry and Dingwall minutes, CH2/66/1, pp.127-8. See ch. 3 above, p.71.

¹³⁷ NAS, Privy council decreta, PC2/24, fo. 219.

¹³⁸ NLS, List of Aberdeen rioters, 1694, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fo. 87r.; NAS, Privy council acta, 4 Sep. 1694-3 Sep. 1696, PC1/50, pp.22-4.

with which crowds obstructed worship. When sent from the united presbyteries of Brechin and Arbroath to preach in the long-vacant parish of Menmuir, presbyterian Hugh McKendry was interrupted by shouts of ‘such obscene & blasphemous Language as cannot be repeated without horror’. When the ‘minister said let us sing to the praise of God, They Cryed out sing greensleeves’.¹³⁹

Presbyterian crowds also drew attention to differences between the two parties’ styles of worship. A few printed accounts of interregnum rabblings described the ceremonial burning of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, although the infrequency with which this was mentioned suggests that few episcopalian ministers then had prayer books.¹⁴⁰ The Prayer Book was again a target of violence in 1692 when a small group of Cameronians – all ‘mean countrey persones’ – entered Dumfries and kidnapped the resident episcopalian ministers. From each they seized a prayer book, returning the next morning to burn a copy at the mercat cross. The episcopalian ministers admitted having used the liturgy when questioned by Dumfries magistrates.¹⁴¹ According to leading Cameronian Sir Robert Hamilton, who praised the efforts of the Tinwald Cameronians responsible, the episcopalian ministers were so intimidated by their kidnap that they undertook never to preach again ‘in the three kingdoms’. The burning of the Prayer Book encountered no opposition even though Dumfries was a ‘very Indulged and malignant Citty’.¹⁴²

The tendency for violence to erupt against Anglican services is well illustrated by a disorderly funeral at Auchterarder, conducted in February or March 1712, shortly before use of the liturgy was permitted by the episcopalian toleration act.¹⁴³ A dispute developed among the friends and relatives of the deceased Archibald Paterson as to whether he ought to be buried according to the Anglican rite. Many people accompanied the coffin towards the burial ground, and fighting broke out

¹³⁹ NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/52, pp.51-2.

¹⁴⁰ [Sage], *Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy*, appendix, pp.2, 34; *Late Letter Concerning the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy*, p.13; [Morer, Sage, Monro], *Account of the Present Persecution*, p.17. Episcopalian pamphleteers, then appealing for Anglican support, might have done more to emphasise their support for the liturgy. See ch. 3 above.

¹⁴¹ NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/48, pp.70-1.

¹⁴² NAS, Collection of Sir Robert Hamilton’s letters, 1682-1701, CH3/269/16/3, pp.7-8.

¹⁴³ Wodrow, *Analecta*, ii, p.30.

between those who wanted to hear the liturgy and those who wanted to bury the dead man before the service could be read. Some had evidently expected violence, and 'had come to help the one party and some to help the other if there should be a Rable'.¹⁴⁴ The first Anglican burial in Glasgow after the toleration act did not provoke the sort of violence seen at Auchterarder, although there was a crowd of spectators and the episcopalian minister 'ventured not up the street' in his gown.¹⁴⁵ Episcopalian use of the Prayer Book, like presbyterian omission of the Lord's Prayer, could be a pretext for violence.

VIII

Crowd violence played a significant role in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century religious controversy. Riots in the period responded to political and economic provocations, and also expressed some of the main arguments between presbyterians and episcopalians. The activities of violent crowds thus provide further evidence that non-elite men and women participated in religious controversy.

The printed and manuscript sources from which historians can learn about collective violence were predominantly written by members of the educated elites. Most accounts of crowd unrest were addressed to courts or pamphlet readers, and employed exaggerated descriptions and stereotyped vocabulary. Indeed, the rabblings of 1688-9 were described as 'persecution' by episcopalian writers. If elite observers sometimes wrote about crowd violence in partisan or mutually contradictory ways, these sources underline an important point. Crowd violence was manipulated by clergy and politicians, who sought to prove that their religious parties had popular support, in parochial power struggles and on the national stage. Many violent disturbances were organised by local elite figures, including heritors, magistrates and ministers. Even tumults that were organised wholly or in part by non-elite people were the subject of controversy conducted by the elites. Not only

¹⁴⁴ NLS, Account of violence at Auchterarder, c.1712, Wod. Fol. XXXV, fos. 213-4, quotation at fo. 214r.

¹⁴⁵ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.362.

were non-elite people willing to participate in religious controversy through crowd action, they were actively drawn in by their social superiors.

Chapter 6: Controversy over the Covenants

I

This chapter assesses the various ways in which the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643) provoked and exacerbated arguments in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland. It begins with an overview of different senses of the word ‘covenant’, distinguishing theological from political uses. Arguments between presbyterians and episcopalians stemmed from what will be termed political covenants, of which the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant are the most important examples. These oaths will be referred to as the ‘Covenants’, with lower-case ‘covenants’ signifying other uses of the term.¹

After the restoration, the Scottish parliament declared the Covenants null and void, and individual episcopalians condemned them as treasonous. Meanwhile, presbyterians asserted that Scotland was bound by the Covenants in perpetuity. Those complicit in breaking the nation’s engagements to presbyterianism were therefore guilty of a grave sin. After the revolution, elite presbyterians repudiated allegations that their principles were rebellious, and refused requests for renewal of the Covenants. Some historians have suggested that the Covenants were no longer significant after 1690,² but the oaths remained central to the religious identities of elite and non-elite presbyterians, and were important in the politics of the post-revolution Church. The Covenants were still regarded as perpetually binding, and Covenant-breaking was mourned on regular fast days. As a result, the legacy of the Covenants continued to be controversial, reinforcing the divergence between presbyterians and episcopalians.

¹ Following L.A. Yeoman, ‘Heart-work: Emotion, Empowerment and Authority in Covenanting Times’ (University of St Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1991), p.xiii.

² A.I. Dunlop, *William Carstares and the Kirk by Law Established* (Edinburgh, 1967), p.78; J. Stephen, ‘The Kirk and the union, 1706-07: a reappraisal’, *RSCHS*, 31 (2001), pp.68-96, at p.76. For arguments between presbyterians over the Covenants, see ch. 7 below.

II

In the decades after the Scottish reformation, religious writers used the term ‘covenant’ with a bewildering range of meanings. Sometimes the word referred to a formal document, signed by one or more people; in other circumstances it was a metaphor for God’s relationship with humanity, the Scottish nation, or a particular group or individual within either. Some covenants committed their signatories to political action, whereas others were exegetical or devotional constructs. By placing clerical and lay writings in theological, social and political contexts, recent scholarship has done much to distinguish between these various uses.

A distinction can be made between political and theological senses of ‘covenant’. Before turning to Scotland’s tradition of political covenants, therefore, it is worth discussing the theological uses of the term. Most Scottish clergy from the late sixteenth century were familiar with federal theology, the tendency within Reformed thought to describe the relationship between God and humanity in terms of covenants. Taught in Scottish universities, notably by Robert Rollock at Edinburgh, federal theology provided a clear framework for Christian doctrine, and was a boon for preachers. It distinguished between a covenant of works, associated with the moral law, seen as binding for all humanity since Adam, and a covenant of grace, into which only the elect were permitted entry.³ It became a dominant mode of Calvinist theological discourse, and shaped the debates and resolutions of the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly. Federal theology continued to inform presbyterian preaching and the piety of lay people into the eighteenth century.⁴

In 1682, a series of sermons was delivered by an unidentified conventicle preacher, in the vicinity of Kippen, Stirlingshire. Despite occasional opposition from local episcopalian officials, the congregation was treated to extensive commentaries –

³ D.G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000), pp.196-7, 184-6; J. Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.130-1.

⁴ D.C. Lachman, *The Marrow Controversy, 1718-1723: An Historical and Theological Analysis* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.23-4, 29, 32; J.H. Leith, *Assembly at Westminster: Reformed Theology in the Making* (Atlanta, GA, 1973), pp.91-5; G.D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), pp.163-4.

running to over five hundred notebook pages – on Hosea 2:19-20, which describes the covenanting of Israel with the Lord. In an early sermon from the series, the preacher defined his topic in a way that made the relevance of federal theology to the secular affairs of ordinary hearers explicit. A covenant, he taught, is ‘an Agreement betwixt two or more parties; in which there’s a binding to [th]e p[er]formance of such things, as each of [the]m hath p[ro]mised’. The same preacher used the concept of divine covenants to awaken his congregation to an awareness of their sinful ways. ‘It may be; thou hast been a backslyd[e]r from God – thou hast been one [tha]t hath broken co[venan]t [th]e co[venan]t of thy God, by falling into sin’.⁵

Acknowledgement of backsliding under the covenant of works was supposed to engender conversion, thereby allowing access to the ‘inner authority’ granted to those included in the covenant of grace.⁶ This process was emotionally satisfying for converts: receiving God’s grace made Lilius Dunbar feel that ‘he had made me to pass under the rod and brought me into the bond of the covenant’.⁷ Although conversion was frequently the product of collective activity – hearing sermons and taking communion – it resulted in a personal relationship between the convert and God. This relationship was often expressed through another type of ‘covenant’, the personal covenant with God. Such covenants were usually written out, signed by the believer and renewed by him or her on important occasions. This practice was encouraged by presbyterian ministers.⁸ At an October 1688 communion service in Edinburgh, Robert Rule expressed a wish that there would be ‘many vows and engagements made this day that ye shall be the Lords: now cry to him to ratifie the bargain’.⁹ In April 1698, Alexander Shields preached a thanksgiving sermon after communion in which he advocated a ‘solid & cordiall closeing with’ Christ, by ‘renewing the mariadg Contract and Covenant’.¹⁰ In both cases, the excitement of public worship was expected to create a renewed intensity in parishioners’

⁵ NLS, Kippen conventicle sermons, 1682, MS. 1038, pp.273, 28, 15, 8.

⁶ Yeoman, ‘Heart-work’, pp.xii (quotation), 1-40.

⁷ Lilius Dunbar, ‘Experiences of the goodness of God’, in D.G. Mullan (ed.), *Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670-c.1730* (Aldershot, 2003), p.151.

⁸ D.G. Mullan, ‘Introduction’, in Mullan (ed.), *Women’s Life Writing*, pp.13-14.

⁹ NLS, Sermon notebook, 1688, MS. 5770, p.76.

¹⁰ NAS, Sermon notebook, 1697-1698, GD184/11/3, p.[95].

relationships with God. This would be followed by individual reflection, during which a personal covenant might be drawn or renewed.

Personal covenanting was often recommended by ministers who used covenant theology in their sermons. These theological senses of 'covenant' were familiar to, and used by, presbyterians and episcopalians. Aberdeen Doctors John Forbes of Corse and James Sibbald, erudite opponents of subscription to the National Covenant, employed the language of theological covenanting in private and public.¹¹ Giving these and other examples, Louise Yeoman stresses that covenanting piety was not monopolised by presbyterians.¹² It was not theological covenants, but rather political covenanting, that created controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians.

To a considerable extent, the reformation in Scotland was a result of political covenants. In the years before the reformation parliament met, nobles and lairds signed written bonds obliging themselves to pursue protestant reform and mutual defence. This reflected a widespread habit of bonding for political and military purposes in late medieval Scotland.¹³ Yet the bonds of the Lords of the Congregation also expressed a radical idea: that the elect's relationship with God bound them to follow divine law even in disobedience to secular authority. This idea, developed by John Knox, allowed protestants to defend the reformation as a necessary duty of apocalyptic significance.¹⁴ Political covenanting made Knox's theological principles the basis for action.

If the Lords of the Congregation thought that political covenants were necessary to guarantee commitment to their rebellious actions, it is unsurprising that covenanting subsequently played a role in legitimating the Church of Scotland. Owing to the underdeveloped state of Scottish institutions, Arthur Williamson argues, it was

¹¹ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, pp.201-2.

¹² Yeoman, 'Heart-work', pp.57-68.

¹³ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, pp.176-8; J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), esp. pp.3, 155-6.

¹⁴ R.A. Mason, 'Covenant and commonweal: the language of politics in reformation Scotland', in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland, 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp.99-100.

logical for reformers to adopt covenanting as a means of achieving the religious, legal, political and social reorganisation they desired. In the late sixteenth century (as in the late seventeenth), the use of Old Testament examples of national covenanting gave an authority to the reformation that Scottish history apparently failed to provide. What Professor Williamson describes as a ‘pressure to identify law and authority with a particular act made at a discrete moment in time’ reached a climax with the signing of the National Covenant in 1638.¹⁵ The Covenant responded to perceived religious innovations of the previous decades, notably the Five Articles of Perth (1618), the book of canons imposed in 1636 and the Prayer Book introduced in the following year. The Covenant was both a statement of religious and political principles, and a renewal of the so-called Negative Confession, first sworn in 1581, which formed part of the 1638 text.¹⁶

The signing of the National Covenant was a political revolt against Charles I’s government and a milestone in the religious lives of many Scots. Archibald Johnston of Wariston, the Covenant’s co-author, saw it as an opportunity to express at a national level the necessity of obedience to God.¹⁷ Moreover, the Covenant propagated the idea that Scotland had a particular, covenanted relationship with God; Wariston described the day on which it was signed as ‘that glorious marriage day of the Kingdome with God’.¹⁸ As with the reformers of the sixteenth century, the Covenant’s promoters used an apocalyptic rhetoric, adding ‘a sense of divine imminence to the political scene’.¹⁹ The prospect that the National Covenant might herald the millennium seems to have increased the document’s popularity, and encouraged Scots to think in pan-British terms.²⁰ The Solemn League and Covenant, signed between the Scots and English parliamentarians in 1643, was thus a

¹⁵ 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, 1979), pp. 46-7, 64 (quotation), 140. The National Covenant may be found at APS, v, pp.272-6.

¹⁶ D. Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution, 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp.42-55, 79-87.

¹⁷ P.H. Donald, ‘Archibald Johnston of Wariston and the politics of religion’, *RSCHS*, 24:2 (1991), pp.123-40, at pp.129-31.

¹⁸ *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639* ed. G.M. Paul (SHS, 1911), p.322.

¹⁹ A.I. Macinnes, ‘Covenanting ideology in seventeenth-century Scotland’, in J.H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political Thought in Seventeenth-century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony* (Cambridge, 2000), p.198.

²⁰ Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness*, pp.143-5.

culmination of ideological trends, as well as a result of political and military developments.²¹

Historians are right to stress the unifying effects of the National Covenant – its capacity to knit together a coalition of groups discontented with Charles I's rule. But it was also a source of division, even in 1638. Particularly vocal opposition to subscription came from the Aberdeen Doctors, who objected to the tendentious gloss placed on the Negative Confession by the drafters of the Covenant. While the Confession was vague, the Covenant's promoters believed that the 1581 document was incompatible with the various ecclesiastical innovations disliked by presbyterians, such as the Perth Articles and episcopacy itself.²² This sort of reading had been promoted by presbyterians since the mid 1580s, when James Melville and James Carmichael asserted that the Confession was both binding and incompatible with the Arran regime's Black Acts (1584) against presbyterianism.²³ The pro-presbyterian interpretation of the Confession (and of the National Covenant) was supported by Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, lord advocate in 1638, and adopted by the Glasgow general assembly of December that year.²⁴

From its broadly unifying beginnings, the National Covenant became the instrument of a presbyterian tendency in the Church of Scotland that, by 1660, had lost the support of much of the Scottish landed and clerical elites, not to mention that of Charles II. The treasonous potential of political covenanting was underlined by the limited and vague references to royal authority in the Solemn League and Covenant.²⁵ This document provoked opposition from some leading Scottish nobles, notably the earl of Montrose, who organised a counter-band to what he called a

²¹ A.I. Macinnes, 'Politically reactionary Brits?: the promotion of Anglo-Scottish union, 1603-1707', in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500: Integration and Diversity* (Dublin, 1999), pp.46-8.

²² J.D. Ford, 'The lawful bonds of Scottish society: the Five Articles of Perth, the Negative Confession and the National Covenant', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), pp.45-64, at pp.54-6; D.G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp.180-1.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp.181-2; Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, p.182.

²⁴ Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, pp.111-12, 114, 123-5; R.A. Mason, 'The aristocracy, episcopacy, and the revolution of 1638', in T. Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, Charter, and Party: Traditions of Revolt and Protest in Modern Scottish History* (Aberdeen, 1989).

²⁵ The text may be found at *APS*, vi, part 1, pp.41-2.

‘traitorous and damnable covenant’.²⁶ As will be seen, the Covenants’ challenge to royal government, their presbyterianism and the notion that they were binding on all Scots in perpetuity were issues of central importance to late seventeenth-century religious controversy.

III

Throughout the restoration period, lay and clerical representatives of the episcopalian regime grappled with the legacy of political covenanting. They argued that the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were treasonous documents, which were incompatible with royal government and were now null and void. Thus presbyterians who thought the Covenants were binding were a dangerous and rebellious remnant. While episcopalians sought to bury the Covenants, they also kept alive their memory as a test of loyalty to the restoration Church and state. In the decades before the revolution, arguments over the Covenants helped to confirm the division of episcopalians and presbyterians into hostile camps. After William took the throne, the Covenants continued to be a political weapon for both sides.

The restoration settlement in Scotland recognised how important the Covenants had been in challenging the authority of Charles I. According to Sir George Mackenzie, the Scottish parliament in 1661 found that the previous decades’ ‘Disorders’ were ‘all to be charged upon the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and those who adhered thereto’.²⁷ On 16 January 1661, parliament passed an act reviving legislation of 1584 and 1585 against convening and signing leagues without royal permission. As the act remarked, ‘the due observeance of these lawes might have contribute much to the preventing of these confusions & troubles, which in these later times have almost ruined both the Kings Ma[jes]tie & all his Loyall Subiects’.²⁸ Nine days later, an act was passed specifically condemning the Solemn League and Covenant, and asserting that making leagues and bands was part of the royal prerogative. The Solemn

²⁶ Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, pp.291-2; E.J. Cowan, *Montrose: For Covenant and King* (London, 1977), p.143.

²⁷ George Mackenzie, *A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1691), p.5.

²⁸ APS, vii, p.12; ratifying *Ibid.*, iii, pp.293, 376-7.

League and Covenant, the act stated, did not require subjects to attempt further reformation of England or Ireland in Church or state: ‘the league & Covenant and all treaties following therevpon, and acts or deids that doe or may relate therto, are not obligatorie’.²⁹ On 5 September 1662, parliament decreed that all persons in public trust were to endorse a declaration condemning the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant and all other leagues against, and resistance to, the crown.³⁰

Beyond parliament, episcopalians promoted these messages by other means. An anonymous verse, presumably dating from the early years of the restoration period, described either of the Covenants as ‘sublimated Treason’, ‘the murtherer of monarchie, and ‘advancer of all anarchie’. The Covenanting regime ‘ruined our posteritie, more than did adams fall’.³¹ In Linlithgow, the second anniversary of the restoration was celebrated with public festivities including an elaborate visual display representing the various treasonous acts, proclamations and slogans of the Covenanters. This structure – which incorporated a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant – was set alight to provide a bright spectacle of political catharsis. The return of traditional authority in place of Covenanting and Cromwellian government was stressed in a verse in the form a litany mounted on the burgh’s display:

From covenanters with uplifted hands
 From remonstrators with associate bands
 From such committees as governed this nation
 From kirk commissions and their protestations
*Good Lord deliver us.*³²

As late as 1737, part of this verse was written inside the title page of a copy of the protester work *Causes of the Lords Wrath against Scotland* (1653).³³

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vii, p.18.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, pp.405-6.

³¹ NLS, ‘The lyff & death of the Covenant’, Wod. Qu. XXVIII, fo. 33r.

³² Wodrow, *History*, i, p.320; T. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London, 2005), p.115.

³³ [Archibald Johnston], *Causes of the Lords Wrath against Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1653), NLS, Ry 1.2.124(5).

For episcopalians, the Covenants had initiated a political rebellion. According to John Cockburn, the Solemn League and Covenant was ‘an incroachment upon the *Magistrats right*, and did engage *privat Persons* to that which was not within their Sphere’. Any vow purporting to limit the prerogatives of a superior authority was ‘*ipso facto* null and void’.³⁴ In his *Reformed Bishop* (1679), James Gordon asserted that what presbyterians called ‘their *Covenant*’ was a ‘Rebellious Combination against Church and State’.³⁵ In a sermon before Princess Anne at Holyrood on 30 January 1682, Thomas Cartwright, a future bishop of Chester, argued that the opponents of Charles I had imported religious language to legitimate a political revolt. ‘Rebellion under pretence of Religion’, Cartwright preached, ‘is the *vertical point of Jesuitism*, the *top branch of Popery*, and *Jack Presbyter* was over familiar with the *Whore of Babylon* when he *stole that Doctrine* out of her bosome’.³⁶ In 1694, William Strachan reiterated this familiar argument against supporters of the Covenants. ‘If the Presbyterians will needs cover their Treasonable Designs against the State always with the Name of *Religion*, and when they are punished for Rebellion, pretend that they suffer for Conscience-sake, who can help it?’³⁷ For episcopalians, presbyterians’ refusal to accept that the Covenants had been annulled by the restoration settlement was at the root of their misuse of the vocabulary of ‘persecution’.³⁸

In the 1680s, further legislation asserted the episcopalian view that the Covenants were neither legal nor binding. The Test oath, enacted by parliament in August 1681, included a statement that ‘ther lyes no obligation on me from the National Covenant or the solemn League and Covenant’ to pursue religious or political reform. Those swearing the oath also made an explicit rejection of the legitimacy of all political covenants entered into ‘vpon pretence of Reformation or any other pretence whatsoever’.³⁹ After the accession of James VII, parliament passed a new

³⁴ John Cockburn, *Jacob's Vow, or, Mans Felicity and Duty* (Edinburgh, 1686), p.20.

³⁵ [James Gordon], *The Reformed Bishop: or, XIX Articles* ([London], 1679), p.209.

³⁶ Thomas Cartwright, *A Sermon Preached at Holy-rood House, January 30 1681/2 Before Her Highness the Lady Anne* (Edinburgh, 1682), p.14.

³⁷ [William Strachan], *Some Remarks upon a Late Pamphlet, Entitled, An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1694), p.24.

³⁸ See ch. 2 above.

³⁹ APS, viii, p.245.

act making it treason to take or support the Covenants.⁴⁰ In the same year, a declaration was drawn up and signed by the College of Justice asserting that the Covenants were ‘unlawfull oathes’ that ‘were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdome contrare to the fundamentall lawes and liberties of the same’.⁴¹ More theatrically, the privy council responded to the United Societies’ Lanark declaration of January 1682 by ordering that the Solemn League and Covenant be burned at the mercat cross of Edinburgh.⁴²

These developments offended presbyterians, who saw the Covenants as binding statements of the illegitimacy of episcopalian government. Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson accepted that oaths could be obligatory and binding only when their subject matter was ‘antecedently just’. Since the principles expressed in the Covenants could be shown to accord with the word of God, they argued, the Covenants should be upheld.⁴³ According to another presbyterian, the Solemn League and Covenant was ‘a sacred oath and vow obligeing thes nations to god, and on[e] to another in matters of his worship and service’. It was less important than the scriptures to presbyterians, but ‘seing our covenant agreeth with the word of god we looke on it as a secondary rule’ of faith.⁴⁴ There were ‘many thousands in the nations of all ranks’, a fourth writer argued, who were convinced of the legitimacy of presbyterian principles, could not ‘see any thing unlawfull in the matter of the Covenant’, and thus did not ‘think that any power on earth can dispense with, or loose from the obligation of it’.⁴⁵

As these quotations suggest, presbyterians thought that the Solemn League and Covenant was perpetually binding in England and Ireland, as well as in Scotland. In his August 1679 scaffold testimony, John King declared adherence to the National

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, viii, p.461.

⁴¹ *RPC*, xi, pp.430-1; D. Laing, ‘A declaration against the National Covenants of Scotland, 1685’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 4 (1860-2), pp.232-7.

⁴² *RPC*, vii, p.311; M. Wood and H. Armet (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1681 to 1689* (Edinburgh, 1954), p.37. See below, p.150.

⁴³ [Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson], *An Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Persecuted Ministers & Professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion, in the Church of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1677), sigs. *4v.-[*5]r.

⁴⁴ NLS, An answer to George Hickes’s *Spirit of Popery*, MS. 3470, fo. 19.

⁴⁵ NLS, An answer to ‘Hackstons Ghost’, Wod. Oct. V, fo. 363r.

Covenant and the ‘*Solemn-League betwixt the three Kingdoms*’, which ‘*cannot be dispensed with, nor loosed by any person or Party upon earth; but are fully binding these nations, and will be so ever hereafter*’.⁴⁶ This sort of statement seemed to justify episcopalians’ emphasis on the dangers posed by Covenanting to the political stability of the three Stuart kingdoms. Perhaps this explains why the statement was omitted by the presbyterian printer of King’s speech.⁴⁷ In his own version of Kid’s and King’s speeches, George Hickes noted that several passages of what he called ‘*Treasonable, Papal, Rebellious, Jesuitical stuff*’ had been left out in the other edition.⁴⁸

By 1679, however, many presbyterians showed little interest in the consequences of the Covenants furth of Scotland. King’s speech did not discuss English episcopacy, and condemned oaths and actions contrary to the Covenants in Scotland alone.⁴⁹ In 1684, James Muir, a prisoner in Lanark tolbooth, wrote home asking his friends to tell God that ‘this land [Scotland] is His, given Him of the Fathre for an inheritance and His rightes is confirmed therto and mead soor by our solem consente quhen we gave away ourselves to Him and band ourselwes in that mariag covinant’. In a subsequent letter, Muir expressed hope God would ‘retwrne to his own againe in Scotlande’, without mentioning God’s covenanted relationships with England and Ireland.⁵⁰ Like other late seventeenth-century presbyterians, King and Muir had apparently retreated from the pan-British agenda of their forebears and pursued instead the more limited goal of ‘presbyterianism-in-one-nation’.⁵¹

For ministers and non-elite presbyterians, the Covenants remained central to Scotland’s religious identity, even if that identity had been severed from any broader British context. As with the vocabulary of ‘persecution’, ministers used the concept

⁴⁶ [George Hickes], *The Spirit of Popery Speaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical-Protestants, or the Last Speeches of Mr John Kid and Mr John King* (London, 1680), p.42.

⁴⁷ *The Last Speeches of the Two Ministers Mr John King, and Mr John Kid, At the Place of Execution at Edenburgh On the 14th day of August, 1679* ([Edinburgh?], 1680), p.6.

⁴⁸ Hickes, *Spirit of Popery*, sig. [*2]v.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.43-7.

⁵⁰ *RPC*, viii, pp.685, 706.

⁵¹ C. Kidd, ‘Protestantism, constitutionalism and British identity under the later Stuarts’, in B. Bradshaw and P. Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.328-9.

of a broken Covenant to encourage their followers to remain steadfast in the cause. Conventicle preacher Michael Bruce denounced the council's treatment of the Covenants: the 'graceless gallants' in the political elite 'think no more of our Covenants, than to burn them at the market crosses'.⁵² According to Robert McWard, Scotland had 'proceeded from one degree of unfaithfulness & infixedness in our Covenant with the most High, to another, till the whole of that Covenanted-work of Reformation was surrendered'.⁵³ Only a small minority of presbyterians had stood out against this, John Welwood preached, and had 'kept their garments clean'.⁵⁴

In order to retain their principled stance, presbyterians sought to avoid swearing any oaths that contradicted the Covenants and the religious freedoms they were perceived to grant. One presbyterian, who may have been a minister or a lay person, condemned the Test oath, arguing that it was contrary to scripture to swear against public covenants made without royal approval. Giving biblical examples, the writer claimed that there was divine warrant for covenants for mutual security and reform of religion. Indeed, such covenants had been fundamental to the reformation in Germany, France and Switzerland, as well as in Scotland.⁵⁵ Quintin Dick, a non-elite presbyterian from Dalmellington in Ayrshire, also condemned 'that profane act of parliament' introducing the Test oath. News of the passage of this legislation led Dick to read Psalm 146, which warns 'Put not your trust in princes'.⁵⁶

The widespread imposition of the Test oath posed a dilemma for many concerning its compatibility with the Covenants.⁵⁷ Other oaths created similar problems for presbyterians. Around 1684, Andrew Young, a non-elite presbyterian, petitioned the privy council requesting that it cancel a bond against attending conventicles he had

⁵² Michael Bruce, 'Sermon', in J. Howie (ed.), *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, Preached upon Several Subjects, mostly in the Time of the late Persecution* (Glasgow, 1779), p.223.

⁵³ [Robert McWard], *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Ministred to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland* ([Edinburgh], 1678), p.18.

⁵⁴ John Welwood, 'Sermon', in Howie (ed.), *Collection of Lectures and Sermons*, p.294.

⁵⁵ NLS, Letter with reasons for refusing the Test, c.1681 Wod. Qu. XXVI, fo. 210; A. Raffe, 'Propaganda, religious controversy and the Williamite revolution in Scotland', *Dutch Crossing*, 29 (2005), pp.21-42, at p.29.

⁵⁶ NLS, Quintin Dick, 'A brief account of some signall passages of gods good providence', Wod. Qu. LXXV, fos. 203r.; Ps. 146:3; Raffe, 'Propaganda', p.31.

⁵⁷ Cf. ch. 3 above, p.54.

signed in order to be released from prison. Young claimed to be ‘mor and mor Convinced that I Hav Grivously sind’ in signing the bond, and stated that he would ‘Rather Undergou any sufering [wha]tsumeve’r than repudiate conventicles.’⁵⁸ In 1685, Alexander Shields reluctantly signed the oath abjuring the Cameronians’ ‘Apologetical Declaration’. Like Young, Shields later requested that his oath be annulled, and his signature was torn from the document.⁵⁹ In the same year, George Honeyman, episcopalian minister of Livingston, accompanied two local landowners who had commissions to tender the oath of abjuration to local lay presbyterians. When some voiced scruples about the oath, ‘they were expressly told by him [Honeyman] they were no divines and behoaved to swear the oath freely as it was tendered’. The refusal of some non-elite presbyterians to swear exposed the irrelevance of Honeyman’s distinction between educated divines and uneducated lay people.⁶⁰ Indeed, the Covenants led all presbyterians to worry about contradictory and multiple oaths.

Many presbyterians hoped to see a national renewal of the Covenants. As John Brown wrote in 1665, it was ‘a sweet day when the nationall Covenant, which had been long buried in oblivion, was raised out of the dust, & renewed’ in 1638. It would be a still sweeter day, he maintained, were the Covenants to be sworn again.⁶¹ In 1666, Brown’s hopes were fulfilled when presbyterian forces renewed the Covenants at Lanark before engaging government troops at Rullion Green in the Pentland hills. Covenant renewal was seen as an important and necessary action, even though most members of the presbyterian army had taken the Covenants before.⁶² Given the solidarity and determination derived from collective swearing, it is unsurprising that the episcopalian elite during the restoration period seems to have been particularly anxious about renewals of the Covenants. In May 1684, informer Robert Smith claimed that John Sinclair, erstwhile presbyterian minister of Ormiston, was the ‘most perversely violent against the Government’ of all the

⁵⁸ NAS, Petition of Andrew Young, c.1684, GD26/7/10.

⁵⁹ NAS, Abjuration oath sworn by Alexander Shields, JC39/73/4.

⁶⁰ NLS, ‘Ane account of the sufferings and troubles of the parishioners of Livingstoun’, Wod. Qu. XXXVII, fo. 37.

⁶¹ [John Brown], *An Apologeticall Relation, of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithfull Ministers & Professours of the Church of Scotland since August 1660* (n.p., 1665), sigs. **4v.-**5r.

⁶² Wodrow, *History*, ii, pp.24-5.

Scottish exile clergy in the Netherlands.⁶³ Smith claimed that Sinclair and others had encouraged him to take the Covenant as a sign of opposition to the government, although Sinclair denied that he had ever met Smith.⁶⁴ In Scotland, the lord advocate raised a criminal action against Sinclair, in part for his ‘principles of rene[w]ing and entring unto the solemne league and Covenant’.⁶⁵

By the 1680s, however, fidelity to the Covenants could no longer ensure presbyterian unity. After defeat at Bothwell Bridge, Richard Cameron and his followers began to argue that the authority of the Covenants trumped that of the king, and that Charles II’s rule was dependent on his adherence to the Covenants, which he had signed before his January 1651 coronation. In their Sanquhar declaration of 22 June 1680, the Cameronians declared Charles II to have ‘forfaulted’ the throne, as a result of his breach of the Covenants.⁶⁶ At a conventicle at Torwood in September 1680, Donald Cargill announced the excommunication of the king and his councillors, emphasising their defection from the Covenants.⁶⁷ When he was executed in December of the same year, lay Cameronian James Skene stated his approval of Cargill’s ministry and of the deposition of Charles II. Referring to the Westminster Confession, Skene expressed reservations about article twenty-three chapter four, which pledged the duty of obedience to monarchs regardless of their infidelity or difference of religion. When ‘ill expounded’, Skene argued, this article was unacceptable, as ‘our magistracy is but pur tyranny’. According to Skene, the National Covenant required its swearers to withdraw allegiance from a monarch who had broken its terms.⁶⁸ A similar view was expressed in a July 1682 letter between lay Cameronians: given the king’s perjury, ‘ye cannot oun him nor any of his laws unless ye disoun Jesus Christ and the Laws of God’.⁶⁹

⁶³ Thomas Sprat, *Copies of the Information and Original Papers relating to the Proof of the Horrid Conspiracy against the Late King, his Present Majesty, and the Government* (London, 1685), p.123.

⁶⁴ NAS, Robert Smith’s information, JC39/48/1; NAS, John Sinclair’s petition, JC39/48/4.

⁶⁵ NAS, Letters criminal against John Sinclair, JC39/48/2 (quotation); see also G. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004), pp.31-2.

⁶⁶ [James Renwick, Alexander Shields *et al.*], *An Informatory Vindication of a Poor, Wasted, Misrepresented Remnant* ([Edinburgh?], 1707 edn.), p.175.

⁶⁷ Donald Cargill, *Torwood Excommunication* ([Glasgow?], 1741), pp.13-16.

⁶⁸ NLS, ‘Last speech of James Skene’, Wod. Qu. XXVII, fo. 164.

⁶⁹ NLS, Alexander Gordon to Glasgow prisoners, 7 July 1682, Wod. Oct. XXVIII, fos. 63v.-64r.

For most presbyterians, the United Societies were an unrepresentative ‘handfull’ who had misunderstood the Covenants on the point of political obedience.⁷⁰ One writer condemned their principles as ‘antipresbyterian’; another regretted the ‘horrible and lamentable lengths’ of their opposition to episcopacy, ‘to the reproach of our profession’.⁷¹ Yet many of their presbyterian critics shared the Cameronians’ zeal to uphold the Covenants. Quintin Dick of Dalmellington disowned the Cameronians, whom he called the ‘wild partie’, and repudiated their ‘Apologetical Declaration’. He nevertheless refused to comply with episcopacy, even after all mainstream presbyterian ministers had stopped preaching in 1684. Dick accepted that Charles II was lawfully king, but scrupulously avoided breaking his Covenant vows to presbyterianism.⁷² The Covenants remained central to the presbyterian cause, even in a context of fragmentation and suppression.

IV

Considering the polemical uses to which the Covenants were put during the restoration period, it made sense for episcopalian controversialists after 1688 to paint an alarming picture of the strength of Covenanting fervour among their opponents. By doing so, they hoped to present the re-establishment of presbyterianism as a more dangerous step than William, his court and the Scottish parliament appreciated. One such polemic, attached to some copies of James VII’s *Reasons for Withdrawing himself from Rochester* (1689), argued that ‘if Presbytry be Established, the *Covenants* must be renewed’. This would perjure the many Scots who had sworn oaths contradicting the Covenants, and lead to calls for the punishment of those who had served episcopalian governments.⁷³ A similar pamphlet warned members of the convention of estates that presbyterian moderation was a pretence: ‘must we not

⁷⁰ NLS, Answer to ‘Hackstons Ghost’, Wod. Oct. V, fos. 362v., 364v.-365r.; *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687* ed. W. MacLeod (SHS, 1893), p.95.

⁷¹ NLS, Letter with reasons for refusing the Test, Wod. Qu. XXVI, fo. 208v.; NLS, Patrick Simson, ‘Ane occasionall enquire into the present case concerning the hearing, receiving ordinances from, and subjecting to the ministrie of the conformists’, 1683, Wod. Qu. XVI, fo. 42v.

⁷² NLS, Dick, ‘Brief account’, fos. 204v., 207v., 205.

⁷³ *His Majesties Reasons for Withdrawing Himself from Rochester Wrote with His Own Hand and Ordered by Him to be Published. Reasons Why in this Conjunction no Alteration Should Be Made in the Government of the Church of Scotland* ([Edinburgh], 1689), pp.3-4.

renew the *Covenant*, and vomit up all Oaths contrare thereunto?’⁷⁴ Writing for an English audience after episcopacy had been abolished, another episcopalian predicted that the Covenants would be renewed, and that ‘they who from a Zeal for the Covenant, so early petitioned the King for Presbytery in *Scotland*, will for the preservation thereof address to him again, that it may be established in *England* and *Ireland*’.⁷⁵ A fourth pamphlet questioned the much-asserted loyalty of presbyterians to William, arguing that the reluctance of presbyterians to support an uncovenanted monarch accounted for parliament’s delay in imposing the oath of allegiance on ministers.⁷⁶

Presbyterian ministers and politicians quickly showed their opponents’ claims to be exaggerated scaremongering. Very few elite presbyterians called for renewal of the Covenants at the revolution; the majority instead pursued the re-establishment of presbyterian government through supplications to William and parliament.⁷⁷ The Claim of Right became a politically acceptable point of reference for presbyterians, much appealed to in debates preceding parliamentary union.⁷⁸ Once a presbyterian Church had been established, both Covenants could to some extent be sidelined, particularly after parliament ratified presbyterianism as agreeable to the word of God in November 1700.⁷⁹ In May 1702, Robert Wodrow recorded the opinion that the ‘Solem League cannot be renewed, the National Covenant is approven materially; and all in it, yea, more then what is in it, is really done’.⁸⁰ Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine, could even dismiss the National Covenant as a mere confession of faith, ‘very praiseworthy in its time’, but inferior to the Westminster Confession.⁸¹

⁷⁴ *A Letter from the West to a Member of the Meeting of Estates of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1689), sig. A2r.

⁷⁵ *The Danger of the Church of England, from a General Assembly of Covenanters in Scotland* (London, 1690), p.30.

⁷⁶ [John Sage], *The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy truly Represented* (London, 1690), p.77.

⁷⁷ [George Mackenzie and George Mackenzie], *A Memorial for His Highness the Prince of Orange, in Relation to the Affairs of Scotland* (London, 1689), pp.10-23; *To his Grace, his Majesties High Commissioner; and to the Right Honourable, the Estates of Parliament the Address of the Presbyterian Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1689). Renewal of the Covenants by the United Societies is discussed in ch. 7 below.

⁷⁸ NAS, Papers of the commission of the general assembly, 1706, CH1/2/5/4, fos. 227r., 236r. See ch. 8 below.

⁷⁹ APS, x, p.215; see also *Ibid.*, xi, p.164.

⁸⁰ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.28.

⁸¹ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.122-3.

Presbyterian pamphleteers assured their readers that the re-established Kirk posed no threat to the Church of England. In his role as official presbyterian vindicator, Gilbert Rule reflected the essentially national perspective of his party, arguing that the Solemn League and Covenant did not bind the Church of Scotland to impose its government on England. Rather, it merely allowed Scots 'to concur with' English clergy, 'when lawfully called, to advance Reformation'.⁸² Interpreting the Solemn League and Covenant in the same way, George Ridpath told readers that 'English Prelacy is in no Hazard'.⁸³ This opinion dominated in the presbyterian clerical elite. When lay Cameronians petitioned the 1690 general assembly for renewal of the Solemn League and Covenant, they were told that the 1643 document could not be revived, owing to the strength of Anglican episcopacy.⁸⁴

The accession of Anne raised fears for the security of the presbyterian settlement, encouraging some presbyteries to call for renewal of the National Covenant.⁸⁵ This proposal never attained majority support in the general assembly, presumably because Covenant renewal would have divided people at all ranks, and undermined the presbyterians' political position. As David Williamson warned the fractious 1703 assembly, renewing the Covenant would be 'a Business of such moment, as would take no small time to dispose a Nation for it'. Indeed, since the Covenant was binding, renewal was unnecessary. Williamson was not 'now pressing the taking or renewing the Covenant, altho' I own the binding vertue of it'.⁸⁶ Even without calling for Covenant renewal, Williamson's frank and 'venomous'⁸⁷ sermon was an unusually forthright statement of presbyterian principles. A correspondent of the duke of Hamilton thought that the sermon went 'to the highest pins of presbitrie': 'I

⁸² [Gilbert Rule], *A [Second] Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), first part, p.14.

⁸³ [George Ridpath], *A Continuation of the Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), p.6.

⁸⁴ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, p.455.

⁸⁵ See ch. 7 below, pp.177-8.

⁸⁶ David Williamson, *A Sermon Preached in Edinburgh at the Opening of the General Assembly of this National Church of Scotland, Upon the 10th Day of March 1703* (Edinburgh, 1703), p.13; cf. [John Sage], *Some Remarks on the late Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to a Minister in the Countrey* ([Edinburgh?], 1703), p.17.

⁸⁷ NLS, Robert Mylne's library catalogue, 1709, Adv. 23.6.17, fo. 228r.

have not heard so perremptar a preatching on that subject since the revolutione'.⁸⁸ Yet in spite of the surprise caused by Williamson's sermon, it typified the moderate attitude to the Covenants prevalent among the presbyterian clerical elite.⁸⁹

Leading figures within the Church were wary about expressing support for the Covenants in such a public forum as the general assembly. Indeed, any presbyterian actions that resembled Covenant renewal, even at synod level, could be seized upon by episcopalian opponents. In October and November 1702, several synods passed acts in favour of presbyterianism, reflecting years of discontent at encroachments on the Church's 'intrinsic power' to hold its own meetings.⁹⁰ Although Robert Wodrow thought that the synod of Glasgow and Ayr's act 'will give noe just occasion of offence', he recognised that the various acts 'made a mighty noise at London' among the Church's enemies.⁹¹ The 'mighty noise' centred on claims that the synodal acts constituted a threat to Anne's authority comparable to the Solemn League and Covenant's challenge to her grandfather. Anglican nonjuror Charles Leslie included the act of the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in his high-selling anti-presbyterian pamphlet, *The New Association*. 'This is directly the Old *Solemn League and Covenant*, in a New *Dress*', he declared, but 'in *That*, they spoke more Dutifully towards King *Charles I* than in *This* to Queen *Ann*'.⁹² In *The New Association Part II*, Leslie informed his readers of a second '*Scotch-Presbyterian-Covenant*', the 8 October 1702 act of the synod of Glasgow and Ayr in defence of presbyterian government.⁹³ Further copies of the synods' acts seem to have been in circulation in

⁸⁸ NAS, James Hamilton to duke of Hamilton, 11 March 1703, GD406/1/11003.

⁸⁹ C. Kidd, 'Constructing a civil religion: Scots presbyterians and the eighteenth-century British state', in J. Kirk (ed.), *The Scottish Churches and the Union Parliament, 1707-1999* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.9.

⁹⁰ NAS, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr minutes, 1687-1704, CH2/464/1, pp.318-19; NAS, Synod of Dumfries minutes, 1691-1717, CH2/98/1, p.169; NAS, Synod of Galloway minutes, 1689-1712, CH2/165/2, pp.137-8; NAS, Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale minutes, 1698-1710, CH2/252/7, p.133. J. Stephen, 'Scottish Presbyterians and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1707', (University of Aberdeen Ph.D. thesis, 2004), p.101, argues that these acts responded in particular to proposed parliamentary union. However, only the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale referred to union negotiations. Glasgow and Ayr and Dumfries had been planning acts asserting presbyterian government since April 1701: NAS, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr minutes, CH2/464/1, pp.285, 305; NAS, Synod of Dumfries minutes, CH2/98/1, pp.145, 150. For more on the context of the acts, see ch. 7 below, p.178.

⁹¹ L.W. Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709* (SHS, 1937), pp.247-8.

⁹² [Charles Leslie], *The New Association of those called Moderate-Church-man, with the Modern-Whigs and Fanaticks* (London, 3rd edn., 1702), supplement, pp.1-2.

⁹³ [Charles Leslie], *The New Association Part II with farther Improvements* (London, 1703), pp.1-2.

England, including one deposited with the papers of John Sharp, archbishop of York.⁹⁴

After the revolution, therefore, elite presbyterians downplayed the radical heritage of the Covenants.⁹⁵ To the offence of some, politics in the higher church courts was conducted with an eye to possible episcopalian and Anglican reactions. When addressing non-elite lay people and their clerical brethren, however, presbyterian ministers continued to assert that both Covenants were binding on Scotland. In a 1706 manuscript, Robert Wylie, minister of Hamilton, argued that ‘tho it should cease as a League in the Duties to be performed to the neighbouring Nations’, the Solemn League and Covenant remained a ‘firm and Inviolable’ Covenant in the Church of Scotland.⁹⁶ In Edinburgh, David Williamson consistently asserted the binding force of the National Covenant. In August 1696, he explained the Covenant’s significance to his West Kirk congregation with reference to Deuteronomy 29, the same text used by the Cameronians to warrant Covenant renewal in 1689.⁹⁷ Even William Carstares, when arguing for the lawfulness of incorporating union in 1706, accepted that the National Covenant was binding.⁹⁸

Presbyterians continued to assert that the Covenants summarised divinely warranted precepts. For Wylie, the Solemn League and Covenant was binding because it was an oath sworn to God, and also because it stated ‘our mutual antecedent Duties within this Realm’.⁹⁹ According to Robert Rowan, minister of Penninghame in Wigtown presbytery, ‘no creature can loose the obligation’ of the Covenants ‘from off [th]e Persons or their Posterity who took them, by reason [tha]t [th]e word of God makes them good and just and perpetually to be so, because the things engaged to in

⁹⁴ GRO, Presbyterian documents, 1702, D3549/6/4/28.

⁹⁵ Cf. Kidd, ‘Constructing a civil religion’, pp.3-4.

⁹⁶ NLS, Draft petition of the commission of the general assembly to parliament, 1706, by Robert Wylie, Wod. Fol. XXXV, fo. 143r.

⁹⁷ David Williamson, *Scotland’s Sin, Danger, and Duty Faithfully Represented in a Sermon Preach’d at the West-Kirk, August 23d, 1696* (Edinburgh, 1720), pp.35-7; *The National Covenant and Solemn League & Covenant; with the Acknowledgement of Sins, and Engagement to Duties: As they were Renewed at Lesmahago, March 3 1688* ([Edinburgh?], 1690), pp.1-36.

⁹⁸ NLS, Robert Wodrow to James Wodrow, 19 Dec. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 130r.

⁹⁹ NLS, Draft petition to parliament, by Robert Wylie, Wod. Fol. XXXV, fo. 143r.

them are commanded of God'.¹⁰⁰ Speaking to the commission of the general assembly during its debates over parliamentary union, Fife minister Allan Logan argued that the National Covenant expressed a biblical prohibition of civil office-holding by clergy, which applied in all Churches.¹⁰¹ John Brand, minister of Bo'ness, made a similar point, telling his congregation that '[th]e Articles of [th]e Coven[ant] being founded on G[od's] Word, all [th]e Churches of Ch[rist] who o[wn] [th]e same Founda[tio]n are bound unto [th]e s[eve]ral Art[icles] [the]r[e]of, tho n[o]t draun up in Form of Covenant'.¹⁰²

Although they were not renewed by the Church of Scotland, presbyterians kept the memory of the Covenants alive in their sermons, prayers and conversation. When intimating the national fast held in January 1691, ministers were instructed to explain national sins, including breach of the Covenants, to their congregations.¹⁰³ In October 1703, the synod of Galloway passed an act obliging its ministers to explain the National Covenant to their parishioners. Subsequent synod meetings heard assurances that this act was observed.¹⁰⁴ The presbytery of Hamilton claimed that 'we know no sound presbyterians who do not own them [both Covenants] and mention them with honour'.¹⁰⁵

Ministers and non-elite presbyterians remembered the sins of the past, including the nation's defections from the Covenants. Preaching against immorality in 1701, one minister told his congregation that 'breach of Covenant with GOD, is one of the main grounds of the LORDS Controversie with these Nations', a point he had 'often' made before.¹⁰⁶ In December 1695, George Home of Kimmerghame recorded hearing Thomas Linning preach at the Tolbooth church in Edinburgh. Linning obviously made some impact, as Home's diary entry was unusually explicit on the

¹⁰⁰ NLS, An answer to the United Societies, 1704, by Robert Rowan, Wod. Qu. XCVI, fo. 22v.

¹⁰¹ NLS, 'The most memorable passages of the life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fos. 62v.-63r.

¹⁰² NLS, Memoirs of John Brand, minister of Bo'ness, MS. 1668, fo. 109v.

¹⁰³ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.123-4.

¹⁰⁴ NAS, Synod of Galloway minutes, CH2/165/2, pp.161, 169, 181.

¹⁰⁵ NLS, Hamilton presbytery's answer to a separatist petition, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fo. 136r.

¹⁰⁶ *A Discourse of Suppressing Vice, and Reforming the Vicious. Delivered in Several Sermons in the Moneths of June and July 1701* (Edinburgh, 1702), p.31.

content of the sermon, noting that Linning ‘insisted upon the sins of the land, particularly covenant breaking, bloodguiltiness, and persecution’.¹⁰⁷

In February 1700, James Webster, minister of the Tolbooth church, interpreted a recent fire in Edinburgh as a providential punishment for the burgh’s sins. ‘[I]n Edinburgh was burnt Gods Covenant, that blessed mariage contract betwixt God and Scotland, that was the glory of this Land, this was condemned by the Magistrates and was caused to be burnt, and because of that God sent a fire on the chief place of the city’.¹⁰⁸ On a fast day called in the wake of the fire, George Meldrum preached about the burgh’s present and past sins, also mentioning the burning of the Covenant. It seems to have been widely remarked that the owner of many of the buildings damaged in the fire, Thomas Robertson, had been the bailie who gave the Covenant to the hangman to be burned in 1682.¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth West, whose *Memoirs* recorded this story, claimed that the flames spread from Robertson’s land to the mercat cross, where the Covenant had been burned. According to West, the fire led all sorts of people, both godly and sinful, to say ‘*O! the burnt Covenant, O! the burnt Covenant: This is come upon us for burning of the Covenant*’.¹¹⁰

V

Members of the political elites ceased to place emphasis on the Covenants after the revolution, but ministers and non-elite men and women continued to refer to them, helping to confirm the divide between presbyterians and episcopalians. Contributing to this process were national and local fasts, which were used with considerable frequency after the revolution to assert the authority and sentiments of the presbyterians. Fast declarations usually contained reasons for fasting, including such prevalent sins as breaches of the Covenants. These reasons were read from the pulpit and discussed in sermons on the fast days. In January 1689, the synod and

¹⁰⁷ NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame’s diary, 1694-1696, GD1/649/1, pp.147-8.

¹⁰⁸ NLS, James Webster sermon, 1700, MS. 2206, fo. 29r.

¹⁰⁹ NLS, Memoirs of Brand, MS. 1668, fo. 48. Robertson was made a bailie in October 1681, three months before the burning of the Covenant: Wood and Armet (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of Edinburgh*, pp.28, 37.

¹¹⁰ West, *Memoirs*, pp.123-4.

presbytery of Glasgow drew up a list of reasons for fasting, including the ‘general apostasie & backslydeing from solemn engagements & work of reformation’.¹¹¹ Another Glasgow fast in 1694 was explained with reference to insufficient ‘mourneing for publick nationall sins And former breach of Covenants & vowes’.¹¹² A 1700 fast declaration of the presbytery of Hamilton lamented Scotland’s ‘dreadfull guilt of avowed perjury’ in breaking the Covenants. If the imposition of the Solemn League and Covenant had been in some ways regrettable, the declaration suggested, the 1643 oath was nevertheless ‘a most sacred, awfull and universall dedication of the land unto the Lord’.¹¹³ Among the presbyterian faithful, these declarations presumably had the effect of refreshing the memory of episcopalian defections. This was the case with Elizabeth West, who spent a September 1698 fast day lamenting national sins including ‘*Breach of solemn Covenant, which was the Glory of our Land, in shedding the Blood of the Saints*’.¹¹⁴ Fasts allowed presbyterians to catalogue the various objections against their religious opponents in a highly public fashion.¹¹⁵

Fast declarations fuelled controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians over the Covenants. According to episcopalian commentators, the 1690 general assembly sought to use a national fast to divide the episcopalian clergy and reduce their credit with the civil government.¹¹⁶ One reason for episcopalian objections to the fast was the questionable authority of the general assembly over episcopalian clergy. Even though the privy council added its sanction to the assembly’s act for a fast, thus requiring observance from all Scottish clergy, episcopalians scrupled at supporting a presbyterian initiative. More important was the confrontational, albeit ambiguous, statement of reasons for fasting contained in the assembly’s act. Although few episcopalians appear to have observed the fast, several papers were produced

¹¹¹ NLS, Reasons for a fast, 1689, Wod. Qu. XXVIII, fo. 78r.

¹¹² NLS, Reasons for a fast, 1694, Wod. Fol. XXVIII, fo. 148r.

¹¹³ NLS, Act of Hamilton presbytery for a fast, 1700, Wod. Fol. XXVIII, fo. 186.

¹¹⁴ West, *Memoirs*, p.91.

¹¹⁵ Some presbyterians thought that the fast declarations issued by the general assembly were insufficiently explicit with respect to Covenant breaking: see ch. 7 below, p.158.

¹¹⁶ P.W.J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979), p.63; [John Cockburn], *A Continuation of the Historical Relation of the Late General Assembly in Scotland* (London, 1691), p.16.

debating its legitimacy.¹¹⁷ James Canaries, an episcopalian representative at court, petitioned the king in the name of thirty-eight ministers, requesting among other things that ‘they may not be obliged to read such Papers, as the Reasons for the Fast appointed by the last Generall Assembly, which are directly contrary to their Persuasions, and which they cannot read with a good conscience’.¹¹⁸ One paper, intended to be read by complying episcopalian clergy in Haddingtonshire and the Merse, provided a commentary on the terms of the general assembly’s reasons. While the assembly lamented false swearing, people’s ‘breaking their oaths, and imposing and taking unlawful oaths and bonds’, the episcopalians asserted the righteousness of taking the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and the Test.¹¹⁹ Still more provocatively, the reasons criticised sins committed in spite of ‘solemn vowing, and covenanting with God to the contrary’. The episcopalians protested that they refused to imply when reading these words ‘any reference to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which some do apprehend to be the meaning of the *General Assembly*’.¹²⁰

For episcopalian John Cockburn, this dispute reflected the presbyterians’ desire for revenge on their clerical opponents. It was also an occasion on which controversy was enunciated from the pulpit. According to Cockburn, presbyterian congregations celebrated the fast day with ‘invectives against the Episcopal Clergy’, intended by the preachers ‘partly to satisfie their Revenge’, and ‘partly to enflame the peoples rage’.¹²¹ Meanwhile, episcopalian Laurence Charteris drew attention to the sins of presbyterians, including rabbling. When announcing the fast to his congregation, Charteris lamented that the presbyterians had behaved ‘so schismatically, and refused to joyn in worship on such slender grounds’ as differences over government. The assembly’s fast provoked Charteris to discuss controversy with unwonted candour: ‘I use not to speak so much of these things in such an auditory, nor had I now spoken of them, if we had been so discreetly dealt with as not to be driven to it’.¹²²

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.16-24.

¹¹⁸ NAS, Petition by James Canaries to the king, c.1691, GD26/10/46.

¹¹⁹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p.228; [Cockburn], *Continuation of the Historical Relation*, p.22.

¹²⁰ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p.229; [Cockburn], *Continuation of the Historical Relation*, p.23.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.28.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp.26, 28; [George Garden], *The Case of the Episcopal Clergy and those of the Episcopal Perswasion, Considered, as to the Granting them a Toleration & Indulgence, the Second Part* ([Edinburgh], 1704), pp.39, 41.

After 1691, it seems to have been normal for episcopalian ministers to ignore national fasts. In some instances, non-compliance was noted in privy council cases against clergy. In September 1701, nonjuring ministers James Crocket, Harry Murray and Robert Gordon were accused of failure to obey fast declarations; instead they were known ‘most maliciously’ to ‘redicule Dispise and moke at the Causes and reasones’ given for fasting.¹²³ Presbyterians watched episcopalian reactions to fasts with interest, presumably recognising that non-compliance served to compound the refusal of many episcopalians to take the oaths of allegiance and assurance.¹²⁴

In February 1700, the general assembly appointed a national fast, which subsequently received the sanction of the privy council. The assembly’s act was unusually emphatic in its enumeration of sins, making an explicit reference to unfaithfulness to God ‘notwithstanding of our Solemn Covenants and Engagements’.¹²⁵ In response to this declaration, James Graeme, episcopalian minister of Dunfermline, seems to have observed the fast, but also to have preached a critical commentary on the assembly’s reasons for fasting. In June 1701, the synod of Fife heard evidence that Graeme’s sermon constituted a ‘wicked, bitter reflecting upon & aspersing of the Covenant’. Graeme had, ‘without contradicting it’, cited passages from a recent pamphlet, *Scotland’s Present Duty* (1700), which the synod saw as ‘false, unjust & grossly scandalous; and a malicious reflection upon the designes of our renouned ancestors’.¹²⁶

Scotland’s Present Duty may have been the work of Archibald Foyer, presbyterian minister of Stonehouse, although Fife presbyterians blamed it on Robert Wylie of Hamilton.¹²⁷ It defended the Darien scheme, the failure of which it explained in terms of national sins, ‘amongst which, our Covenant-breaking seems to me to cry

¹²³ NAS, Privy council acta, 4 Sep. 1696-11 July 1699, PC1/51, pp.431-3, 464-6; NAS, Privy council acta, 13 July 1699-5 May 1703, PC1/52, pp.263-5, 291-4, quotation at p.292.

¹²⁴ NLS, John Law to William Dunlop, 12 Feb. 1695, MS. 9251, fo. 94r.

¹²⁵ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p.290; NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/52, pp.73-7.

¹²⁶ NAS, Extracts from synod of Fife minutes, 1701, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 148r.

¹²⁷ NAS, Account of James Graeme’s principles, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 122v.; cf. ESTC and appendix below, p.257.

loudest'.¹²⁸ In an attempt to unite his compatriots around the Company of Scotland, the author acknowledged criticisms of the Covenants, including 'the mixing of things Civil and Religious in Covenants, and pressing them on people, and treating the Refusers as Enemies'. He also granted that there was reason to regret 'the Politick and sinister Ends of some, in contriving and carrying on the Covenant, of their mingling and thrusting some things into it to serve a Turn'.¹²⁹ Graeme admitted citing both of these passages.¹³⁰ He claimed that he preached as he did 'in order to peace', but he acted on a belief that Covenanting was not the 'highest piece of reformatione'.¹³¹ In doing so, he gave the lay presbyterians of Dunfermline kirk session an excuse to refer him to the presbytery, triggering an investigation that led to his deposition from the ministry.¹³² At the same time, Graeme proved that controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians over the Covenants was still alive. Indeed, both sides reiterated the arguments of the restoration period. Episcopalians condemned the politically subversive nature of the Covenants, while presbyterians criticised their opponents' perjury, blackening the reputations of the episcopalian clergy.

VI

For more than a century and a half after the reformation, political covenanting for the purpose of religious reform remained a controversial phenomenon in Scotland. In the late 1550s, in 1638 and 1643, covenants led to massive political upheavals, involved many ordinary people in religious change, and created lasting divisions in Scottish society. The division between presbyterians and episcopalians was confirmed by the controversies of the restoration decades, in which different attitudes to the Covenants were highly significant. Episcopalian attempts to bury the Covenants and the ideas they contained were unsuccessful. Presbyterians maintained that Scotland was a perpetually covenanted nation. By resisting the restoration of

¹²⁸ [Archibald Foyer?], *Scotland's Present Duty: or, a Call to the Nobility, Gentry, Ministry, and Commonality of this Land* ([Edinburgh], 1700), p.14.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.17, 14.

¹³⁰ NAS, Synod of Fife minutes, 1696-1705, CH2/154/5, p.180.

¹³¹ NAS, Papers concerning James Graeme, CH1/2/3/2, fos. 139r., 122v.

¹³² *Ibid.*, fos. 124r., 151v. For the theological issues surrounding Graeme's deposition, see ch. 9 below, pp.223-5.

episcopacy, presbyterians remained true to their oaths to God, and upheld scripturally ordained principles.

The Covenants were not renewed at the revolution, but 1690 saw the establishment of a Church whose clergy believed that presbyterianism was based on divine commands. The Covenants stated principles that ought to have been observed in all Churches, although presbyterians no longer expressed much desire to reform England. At the time of the union, most ministers still held the view that the 'Church of Scotland had always walked Conform to the [National] Covenant since the Revolution, and therefore saw no need to Renew it'.¹³³

Even so, the Covenants continued to be the subject of arguments on several levels. First, controversy about the Covenants was a feature of national and British politics, with episcopalian and Anglican politicians and pamphleteers rehearsing familiar claims of the Covenanting fervour and disloyalty of their opponents, while presbyterians emphasised their moderation and scriptural legitimacy. Second, elite and non-elite presbyterians remembered the nation's defections from the Covenants, and mourned the sinful actions of the episcopalians in sermons, fasts and conversation. Third, some ministers and non-elite presbyterians criticised the dominant attitude to the Covenants within the Church. As the next chapter argues, controversy over the Covenants created problems of presbyterian separatism.

¹³³ NLS, 'The life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fo. 62v.

Chapter 7: Presbyterian Separatism

I

Controversy over the Covenants helped to confirm the long-standing division between presbyterians and episcopalians. At the same time, different attitudes towards the Covenants developed among presbyterians. As chapter six illustrates, presbyterians split into Cameronian and non-Cameronian factions after 1679, reflecting rival interpretations of the Westminster Confession and of the Covenants. After the revolution, the United Societies themselves split, and a considerable proportion of the Cameronians joined the re-established Church. Others propagated an extreme form of separatism, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Church, Scotland's uncovenanted monarchs or the state. While the post-revolution Societies were unusual in their view of civil authority, many of their criticisms of the ecclesiastical establishment were shared by ministers and non-elite people within the Church. Moreover, some presbyterians practised what will be described as 'semi-separatism'. These men and women did not repudiate the Church, but worshipped under a group of dissident ministers who voiced strident criticisms of the Church's apparent neglect of the Covenants. Although they recognised church courts for the purposes of petitioning, ministers such as John Hepburn refused to cooperate with the discipline and administration of the Church, and failed to obey sentences against them.

This chapter begins with an overview of the criticisms made by elite presbyterians of the 1690 settlement and the subsequent religious politics. It then examines the origins and activities of presbyterian separatist and semi-separatist groups, describing their grievances and their influence on people within the Church. Previous historians have stressed that only small numbers were involved in separatism and semi-separatism after the revolution.¹ Yet the pious men and women who formed the United Societies and followed Hepburn and John Macmillan had an ideological

¹ A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp.25-6, 43; J. Stephen, 'Scottish Presbyterians and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1707', (University of Aberdeen Ph.D. thesis, 2004), pp.54-6.

impact out of proportion to their numbers.² They created considerable administrative challenges for the Church, which responded with a mixture of repression and conciliation, reflecting the sympathy of some mainstream clergy with the separatists' grievances. A few ministers were involved in post-revolution dissent, but it was driven by non-elite people. It reflected an evolving pattern of controversy, in which ordinary people criticised the faults and defections of ministers.

II

From the early 1690s, a series of issues relating to the Covenants and the authority of the re-established Church caused discontent among presbyterians. First, some objected to the caution with which leading ministers and elders treated the legacy of the Covenants, particularly in the general assembly. James Hog, a frustrated presbyterian minister, criticised the political reasoning that prevented renewal of the Covenants. Hog complained that the affairs of the re-established Church were managed by men advocating '*Prudence*' and '*Just Moderation*', specious terms implying the burial of former testimony and the Covenants.³ Itinerant preacher James Allan was unimpressed by the moderation of the 1690 general assembly, in which political considerations seemed to trump the needs of the Church. The assembly did too little to condemn breaches of the Covenants in the opinion of Allan, who hoped to see them renewed.⁴ In 1699, lay presbyterian Adam Blackadder mocked the timorous attitude to the Covenants still prevalent in the Church. '[H]ave a Care for the Word *COVENANT*', Blackadder cautioned his readers, 'for that's enough to Frighten us out of our Little Wits [...] as if we were with *Paul* and *Silas*, going to turn the World upside-down'.⁵

² W. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968), p.112; C. Kidd, 'Conditional Britons: the Scots Covenanting tradition and the eighteenth-century British state', *English Historical Review*, 117 (2002), pp.1147-76; E.J. Cowan, 'The Covenanting tradition in Scottish history', in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp.124-5.

³ James Hog, *Memoirs of the Public Life of Mr James Hogg* ([Edinburgh], 1798), pp.28, 35-6.

⁴ J.R. Barrett (ed.), *Mr James Allan: The Journey of a Lifetime* (Kinloss, 2004), pp.261, 263, 267.

⁵ [Adam Blackadder], *A Proper Project for Scotland* ([Edinburgh], 1699), p.6. See appendix below for the attribution of this work to Blackadder. From 1700, Blackadder was an active member of one of Edinburgh's societies for the reformation of manners: EUL, Register of an Edinburgh society for the reformation of manners, 1700-1707, La. III. 339. He was the second son of John Blackadder, presbyterian minister of Troqueer at the restoration: A. Du Toit, 'Blackadder, Adam (b. 1659, d. in or after 1696)', *ODNB*.

There was also controversy about how openly the Church's fast declarations should condemn Covenant breaking in the period before the revolution. This issue was fiercely debated whenever the general assembly appointed a national fast. Dissident minister John Hepburn claimed that the royal commissioner to the 1690 general assembly interposed his authority to emasculate the assembly's fast declaration, removing references to the 1662 declaration against the Covenants and the Test oath of 1681.⁶ At the 1701 assembly, there was much argument over whether these instances of Covenant breaking ought to be specified in the fast declaration, with a policy of prudent vagueness eventually prevailing.⁷ Five years later, the assembly voted to remove from its draft fast declaration a clause lamenting breaches of the Covenants, an action that led to criticism from separatists.⁸ In 1711, Robert Wodrow noted that fast declarations remained the most politicised issue discussed by the general assembly, attracting the attention of those ruling elders who were otherwise uninvolved in the Church's affairs.⁹

A third controversial issue concerned the crown's apparently Erastian management of the general assembly and its commission. Presbyterians complained about the sudden dissolution of the assemblies of 1692, 1702 and 1703, and other adjournments and delays, particularly in the 1690s. In July 1695, for instance, ministers were shocked when the adjournment of the assembly was announced on the day before it was due to convene. Some planned to address William directly on the subject, but more cautious clergy prevented this measure.¹⁰ Nevertheless, there were growing calls for annual assemblies and for a formal declaration of the Church's intrinsic power to convene and dissolve its courts. According to Archibald Foyer of Stonehouse, 'some Court pleasing men basely doth obstruct' the passage of a general

⁶ NAS, Synod of Dumfries minutes, 1691-1717, CH2/98/1, p.28.

⁷ NLS, Robert Maxwell to Robert Wodrow, 4 March 1701, Wod. Lett. Qu. III, fo. 45r.; Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.4.

⁸ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.145; [Hugh Clark], *A Modest Reply to a Pamphlet, intituled; A Letter from a Friend to Mr John M'millan* ([Edinburgh?], [1710]), p.14.

⁹ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.332. The declaration of fasts was complicated by the union: see ch. 8 below, pp.192-5.

¹⁰ J. M'Cormick (ed.), *State-Papers and Letters, Addressed to William Carstares* (Edinburgh, 1774), p.254.

assembly act asserting the intrinsic power, 'to the ruin of religion'.¹¹ The uncertainty surrounding the intrinsic right allowed the monarch to behave as a 'Civil pope'.¹²

Further arguments were created by the requirement, introduced in 1693, that ministers take oaths of allegiance to the reigning monarchs. According to one preacher, it was unnecessary to ask presbyterian clergy, who were known for their loyalty to the revolution settlement, to swear allegiance to William and Mary. By multiplying oaths, moreover, ministers mocked God.¹³ James Fraser of Brae, minister of Culross, refused the oath of allegiance on the basis that the 'Oath of the Covenant' guaranteed his loyalty.¹⁴ James Hog likewise saw the Covenants as true statements of allegiance to the crown. Hog argued that by taking the oath of allegiance, a swearer implied that his loyalty to the crown was limited only by the laws that the king promised to uphold in his coronation oath. Thus the oath of allegiance seemed to contradict the Covenants, since it vindicated various anti-Covenanting statutes passed in the restoration period that had not been repealed.¹⁵ These ministers were unusual in refusing oaths of allegiance, but the issue rankled with non-elite presbyterians, and caused renewed controversy after the accession of Anne.

As will be seen, this cluster of issues created discontent within the Church and encouraged some to separate from it. Mainstream ministers complained that separation from a well-constituted national Church was sinful and disorderly. In December 1698, the commission of the general assembly issued *A Seasonable Admonition and Exhortation to some who Separate from the Communion of the Church of Scotland*. Citing biblical injunctions to peace and unity, this pamphlet argued that separatists' grievances were either groundless or no excuse for separation. The Church of Scotland contained weak and sinful men, the commission granted, but refusing to communicate with sinners was contrary to presbyterian

¹¹ NLS, 'The land of prosperity newly discovered', by Archibald Foyer, 1700, Wod. Lett. Qu. I, fo. 144r.

¹² NLS, 'A letter to a learned & dear friend concerning the causes of the growth of popery', by Archibald Foyer, 1700, Wod. Lett. Qu. I, fo. 146r.

¹³ NLS, George Mair to Alexander Douglas, 2 Feb. 1694, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 51v.

¹⁴ NLS, James Fraser letter, 29 July 1695, MS. 2565.

¹⁵ Hog, *Memoirs*, pp.46-52

principles.¹⁶ A decade later, one minister condemned what he described as a ‘most unaccountable’ schism, which was ‘carried on by three weak Men, Supported by a Poor People, and both are Equally Ignorant of the Nature of Union with, and Separation from a Church’.¹⁷ Since the Solemn League and Covenant condemned schism, another minister declared, John Macmillan and his followers were ‘Covenant Breakers’.¹⁸

Separatist writers responded by asserting that the Church’s faults were sufficient to warrant separation. ‘[T]he Defects we charge you with are Totall and Universal’, ‘nourished and defended’ by the whole Church, one separatist claimed.¹⁹ The Church itself was a separatist organisation, having accepted Erastian ‘Mock-Presbytrie’ in place of its former principles.²⁰ None of the period’s presbyterian separatist groups formally renounced the ideal of a national Church. Even the Societies described themselves as ‘anti-sectarian’ and denounced independency.²¹ Rather than outlining a separatist ecclesiology, therefore, presbyterian dissenters defended their actions with reference to the Church’s faults. As a result, the main arguments created by separatist and semi-separatist groups did not concern separatism itself, but focused instead on the problems of the Church and the failings of its ministers.

III

At the revolution, moderate presbyterians followed political developments carefully and lobbied for parliamentary acts in their favour. In this context, Covenant renewal

¹⁶ *A Seasonable Admonition and Exhortation to some who Separate from the Communion of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1699), pp.3-11.

¹⁷ [James Webster], ‘Preface’, in [Thomas Linning], *A Letter from a Friend to Mr John Mackmillan, wherein is Demonstrate the Contrariety of his Principles and Practices to the Scripture, our Covenants, Confession of Faith, and Practice of Christ* ([Edinburgh?], [1709]), p.2.

¹⁸ [Gavin Hamilton], *Just Reflections upon a Pamphlet, entitled, A Modest Reply to a Letter from a Friend to Mr John M’millan* ([Edinburgh?], 1712), p.5.

¹⁹ Patrick Grant, *The Nonconformists Vindication, or a Testimony against the Indulged Assembly of Separatists* (n.p., 1700), pp.36, 38.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.3; [Patrick Grant], *Rectius Declinandum, or a Testimonie Discovering the Nakedness of the Dissenting Parties Declinatur* (n.p., 1709), p.10; [James Renwick, Alexander Shields *et al.*], *An Informatory Vindication of a Poor, Wasted, Misrepresented Remnant* ([Edinburgh?], 1707 edn.), p.234 (quotation); see also [Clark], *Modest Reply*.

²¹ [Renwick, Shields *et al.*], *Informatory Vindication*, sigs. ¶r., [¶3]v.

would have been a provocative irrelevance. The United Societies, by contrast, sought unilaterally to impose an extreme presbyterian settlement. Their agenda included the rabbling of episcopalian ministers, and enforcement of penal laws against Catholic worship.²² On 3 March 1689, furthermore, the Societies renewed the Covenants at Borland hill in the parish of Lesmahagow. The ceremony confirmed the exclusive character of the group: only people deemed to have mourned Scotland's defections sufficiently were allowed to swear.²³ As a printed account of the renewal explained, the Societies followed the practice of ancient Israel (itself imitated by Scotland in 1648-9) by renewing their Covenant 'with suitable explications and applications to the times'. Thus the Acknowledgement of Sins and Engagement to Duties issued in 1648 was updated to include practices of which many moderate presbyterians were guilty, including complying with the indulgences and the toleration of 1687.²⁴

If the renewal of the Covenants was meant to have brought unity to the Societies, it was later seen as a cause of their fragmentation. To the frustration of hard-liners, who refused to cooperate with William of Orange, Cameronians aided the revolution of 1688-90 in various ways. William Boyd and others joined a public reading of the Prince of Orange's Scottish declaration, Societies men guarded the convention of estates in 1689, and a Cameronian regiment was formed, which went on to defeat the Jacobites at Dunkeld in August 1689.²⁵ These developments provoked dissent from members who feared the Societies were espousing 'a malignant interest', and that their armed men had entered a 'sinful association'.²⁶ Such suspicions were reinforced when the Societies' three ministers, Alexander Shields, Thomas Linning and William Boyd, made terms with the general assembly of 1690 and united with

²² See ch. 5 above.

²³ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.380-2.

²⁴ *The National Covenant and Solemn League & Covenant; with the Acknowledgement of Sins, and Engagement to Duties: As they were Renewed at Lesmahago, March 3 1688* ([Edinburgh?], 1690), pp.7-8, 50-62; Deut. 29:1-29; *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland Holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1648 and 1649* eds. A.F. Mitchell and J. Christie (SHS, 1896), pp.78-89.

²⁵ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.370, 373-4, 387-8, 390-7; P. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* (Edinburgh, 1998 edn.), pp.182-92.

²⁶ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.373, 393.

the Church of Scotland.²⁷ The ministers then sought with some success to encourage lay members of the Societies to hear presbyterian ministers. Their conduct considerably weakened active support for the Societies, leading to a temporary suspension of general meetings.²⁸

After their submission to the assembly, Shields, Linning and Boyd admitted that they had hoped the Lesmahagow Covenant renewal would prepare members of the Societies for union with the moderate presbyterians.²⁹ Sir Robert Hamilton and members of the Tinwald prayer society produced a paper denouncing Shields and the others for perverting the Covenants to this agenda.³⁰ As Shields remarked, he and his fellow ministers were accused of ‘appropriating and applying that article in the Nationall Cove[nan]t that concerns the King’ to William of Orange. Shields insisted that his behaviour before and after the revolution had been consistent,³¹ but the lay members of the Societies who remained outside the Church of Scotland continued to denounce the three ministers’ treachery.³²

Although a significant proportion of Cameronians followed the ministers into the Church of Scotland, Hamilton and his associates reconvened a general correspondence of societies on the basis of total separation from Church and state. In declarations issued in 1692, 1695, 1703 and 1707, the Societies expressed a series of grievances with the Church, some of which they shared with ministers and non-elite presbyterians within the Church. The Church had failed to renew the Covenants, the Societies argued, and in their place ministers had taken oaths of allegiance to William and Anne. Episcopalian ministers had been allowed to join the Church; other episcopalians enjoyed a *de facto* toleration.³³ To the frustration of ministers, Cameronians and their sympathisers continued to raise old objections to the 1687

²⁷ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp.224-5; Thomas Linning, Alexander Shields, William Boyd, *An Account of the Methods and Motives of the late Union and Submission to the Assembly* ([London?], 1691).

²⁸ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.459-62; M. Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: Its Origin and History, 1680-1876* (Paisley, 1893), pp.104-6.

²⁹ Linning, Shields, Boyd, *Account of the Methods and Motives*, p.11.

³⁰ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.467-8.

³¹ NLS, Alexander Shields’s answer to Sir Robert Hamilton’s protest, Wod. Qu. XVI, fos. 101r., 99r.; Patrick Walker, *Six Saints of the Covenant* ed. D.H. Fleming, 2 vols. (London, 1901), i, pp.143-6.

³² [Renwick, Shields *et al.*], *Informatory Vindication*, pp.212-16, 230-1.

³³ *Ibid.*, sig. [¶¶4]v., pp.235, 245.

toleration and the restoration state's system of indulgences for moderate presbyterian clergy.³⁴ More radically (and unusually), the Societies condemned the civil settlement of 1689. William and Mary were admitted to the throne without professing support for the Covenants, contrary to an act of parliament of 1649.³⁵ Indeed, William and Mary behaved in ways contrary to the Covenants, upholding the episcopalian Church of England, and entering alliances with Catholic powers.³⁶ While the Societies claimed that their rejection of the civil and religious settlements was consistent with their former principles, others denounced their failure to recognise the changes brought by the revolution.³⁷

From 1691, the United Societies were a highly exclusive sect, open only to political and religious pariahs. Affiliated prayer societies were purged of sinners, taxpayers, those who recognised the Church's ministers, and all who differed from the Societies' principles. Applicants to societies were carefully vetted. Members were expected to limit their religious worship to prayer and discussion, as the Societies refused to condone any ministers in Scotland. Indeed, the general meeting condemned those who worshipped under David Houston, a pre-revolution Societies minister, and Hugh McHenry, a dissident banned from preaching by the Church, who failed to accept the Societies' principles.³⁸ Hostility to the uncovenanted state led a group of Cameronians arrested for issuing the 1692 Sanquhar declaration to decline the authority of the privy council. The council was a 'pretended' court, they argued, which pursued 'the buriall of our broken down covenanted work of Reforma[ti]on'.³⁹ The Societies remained an entirely lay phenomenon until 1706, when a call was made to John Macmillan, a deposed minister who agreed to accept the Societies' principles.⁴⁰ Between 2 December 1706 and 23 December 1707, Macmillan baptised

³⁴ *Seasonable Admonition and Exhortation*, p.15; NLS, Memoirs of John Brand, minister of Bo'ness, MS. 1668, fo. 24r.

³⁵ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.468-70; APS, vi, part 2, p.161.

³⁶ [Renwick, Shields *et al.*], *Informatory Vindication*, sig. ¶¶2; [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.466-7.

³⁷ Walker, *Six Saints*, i, pp.138-49.

³⁸ NAS, Conclusions of the United Societies' general meeting, 1681-1724, CH3/269/1, pp.3, 5-6, 11, 17, 20, 43; Hutchison, *Reformed Presbyterian Church*, pp.76-7, 129; *Fasti*, ii, p.201.

³⁹ NLS, Cameronian declinatures of the privy council, Wod. Fol. XXXVIII, fos. 100, 102r. (quotation); Walker, *Six Saints*, ii, p.233.

⁴⁰ H.M.B. Reid, *A Cameronian Apostle: Being some account of John Macmillan of Balmaghie* (Paisley, 1896), pp.143-6.

over one hundred and seventy-five people across the south of Scotland. At least three quarters of those baptised were aged two years or above, and would not have been baptised before.⁴¹ The sudden demand for Macmillan's ministry illustrates the rigorous separatism of members of the Societies, an extreme response to Scotland's defections from the Covenants.

Despite their exclusivity, the Societies posed an ideological challenge to ministers and non-elite presbyterians within the Church. Following the imposition of the oath of allegiance on ministers in 1693, criticism from the Societies reached 'a much greater ferment then befor', and it was feared that their arguments would influence ministers in the general assembly.⁴² A decade later, Robert Wodrow of Eastwood sought to keep abreast of controversies generated by the separatists, because 'I have soe many of that gang here'.⁴³ The Societies' separatism was an affront to the presbyterian belief in an all-encompassing national Church. When cited by the kirk session of Craigie for recusancy around 1694, lay Cameronians presented a paper criticising the 'pretended' session. The session's members condemned the Cameronians as 'promoters and Ringleaders of seperatione & shissim'.⁴⁴ Writing to Lady Carllops, one of the more socially elevated separatists, presbyterian minister Archibald Riddell argued that by refusing to accept any ministers, she became like a heathen.⁴⁵

Non-elite separatism undermined the parochial authority of mainstream presbyterian ministers. For Thomas Boston, the 'considerable number' of his Ettrick parishioners who followed John Macmillan constituted 'a dead weight on my ministry in the place'. The 'dissenters were in great reputation among' Boston's parishioners, and were 'continually buzzing in their ears something to the disparagement of the church and the ministry'.⁴⁶ Wodrow acknowledged that the separatist James Biggart was

⁴¹ *Register of the Rev. John MacMillan, Being a Record of Marriages and Baptisms Solemnised by Him among the Cameronian Societies* ed. H. Paton (Edinburgh, 1908), pp.2-6.

⁴² NLS, 'Overtures for delaying the meeting of the assembly after dissolution 1692', Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 41r.

⁴³ L.W. Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709* (SHS, 1937), pp.281-2.

⁴⁴ NLS, Review of a Societies paper, Wod. Fol. XXXVIII, fos. 104-5.

⁴⁵ NLS, Archibald Riddell to Lady Carllops, 6 May 1698, Wod. Fol. XXXVIII, fo. 111r.

⁴⁶ Boston, *Memoirs*, pp.214-15.

‘one of the most knowing of mountain men [i.e. Cameronians] that ever I conversed with’, and feared that Biggart would not submit to discipline in his parish.⁴⁷ In 1697, a group of Cameronians in Hamilton parish exchanged papers with the kirk session. Describing themselves as ‘unlearned men and most unfit for debateing matters w[i]t[h] men of learning’, the separatists nevertheless expressed their grievances with the Church’s neglect of the Covenants, its failure to repent former sins, and its admission of episcopalian clergy to ministerial communion. The petitioners regretted their withdrawal from the Church – their ‘sighing over our silent Sabbath as sheep without a shepherd’ – but considered separation a duty given the defections of the ministry.⁴⁸

Members of the reconvened United Societies were not the only presbyterians to refuse to join the Church after the revolution. Some non-elite extremists kept aloof from parochial congregations and from Sir Robert Hamilton’s organisation. One group, known as the Coat-muir Folk, began to meet for prayer and discussion at Coat-muir (in the parish of Dalmeny) in 1690. Seeking to draw up a testimony against the sins of the time, they approached the leading men in the United Societies but were rebuffed.⁴⁹ The Folk then produced their own testimony, complaining of defections from the Covenants before and since the revolution, a document highly similar to the Societies’ 1692 Sanquhar declaration.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the Folk became violent critics of Hamilton, Macmillan and the Societies.⁵¹

There may have been fewer than a dozen Coat-muir Folk. Nevertheless, the group had an influence comparable to that of the Societies, albeit on a smaller scale. Like the Societies, they were a minor menace to the government, whose authority they questioned. In June 1696, the lord advocate told the privy council that a committee had examined two ‘Coatmuir Lads’, brothers Andrew and John Harley, finding them

⁴⁷ Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Wodrow*, p.282.

⁴⁸ NLS, Separatists’ papers, c.1697, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fos. 137-40, quotations at fos. 137r., 139r.

⁴⁹ *The Ravished Maid in the Wilderness, or, A True Account of the Raise, Causes and Continuance of the Difference between a Suffering Party of Presbyterians, commonly called Cotmure Folk, and these that follow Mr John Mackmillan, commonly called Mountain Men* ([Edinburgh?], 1708), pp.6-8. For the identification of Coat-muir, see A. Macdonald, *The Place-names of West Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1941), p.9.

⁵⁰ *Ravished Maid*, pp.39-51; [Renwick, Shields *et al.*], *Informatory Vindication*, sigs. ¶r.-[¶¶¶3]v.

⁵¹ *Ravished Maid*, pp.2-5, 35-6.

‘very Insolent and extravagant against the Government of Church and state’. When, after their interrogation, they were led back to the Canongate tolbooth, where they were imprisoned, three women – Margaret Harley (sister to Andrew and John), and sisters Grisell and Mary Spritt – shouted in the street that the privy councillors were ‘Bloody persecuters and persecuting Rascalls’.⁵²

The Coat-muir Folk also presented an ideological challenge to the Church of Scotland. Several virulent pamphlets condemning the hypocrisy of the Church’s ministers, particularly their juggling with respect to the union, can probably be attributed to the Harley brothers or to Patrick Grant, another separatist who held similar views.⁵³ The anti-monarchical sentiments of one of these tracts, *The Smoaking Flax Unquenchable* (1706), have been discussed by historians of the union, although these ideas were rare among presbyterians.⁵⁴ While their opinions may have been extreme, the Coat-muir Folk created a temptation for non-elite presbyterians (perhaps for women in particular) who were frustrated with the Church. Around 1698, a pious female friend of presbyterian memoirist Elizabeth West announced that she would abandon the Church of Scotland and join the Coat-muir Folk, whom she described as ‘two or three singular Ones’ who had ‘kept their Garments clean from all the Pollutions of the Times’. West herself seems to have visited the Harleys, who were still in the Canongate tolbooth, but regretted spending a sabbath worshipping with them.⁵⁵

For more than a decade after the revolution, the most extreme non-elite presbyterians refused to recognise any ministers in Scotland, though it seems that the Harleys set

⁵² NAS, Privy council acts, 4 Sep. 1694–3 Sep. 1696, PC1/50, pp.541, 556–7.

⁵³ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.272; Walker, *Six Saints*, i, p.241, ii, pp.124, 167–8. In addition to the *Ravished Maid*, the pamphlets include [Andrew Harley and John Harley?], *The Smoaking Flax Unquenchable; Where the Union Betwixt the two Kingdoms is Dissected, Anatomized, Confuted and Anuuled* ([Edinburgh], 1706); [Patrick Grant?], *A Speech in Season against the Union, or a Smoaking Furnace and a Burning Lamp* ([Edinburgh?], [1707?]), [Andrew Harley and John Harley?], *The Beam Pull’d out of the Hypocrites Eye; or, the Querier Questioned* ([Edinburgh], [1710]), and perhaps also *We Heard that the Parliament is Sitting at Edinburgh* ([Edinburgh?], [1706]). See appendix for further details.

⁵⁴ J. Robertson, ‘An elusive sovereignty: the course of the union debate in Scotland, 1698–1707’, in J. Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.217–18; Stephen, ‘Scottish Presbyterians and the Anglo-Scottish Union’, pp.147–51.

⁵⁵ West, *Memoirs*, pp.96–7.

themselves up as preachers without formal ordination.⁵⁶ Godly men and women who did not agree with the Societies' rejection of civil authority, or who wished to avoid the rigours of full separation, had various alternatives within and on the fringes of the Church. Thomas Linning and Alexander Shields advised members of the Societies who joined the Church to 'hear those ministers who were most free and faithful', those willing to criticise past and future defections.⁵⁷ James Allan, one such minister, frequently spoke against episcopalians from the pulpit, and refused to observe fasts and thanksgivings appointed by civil authority alone. In early 1690, some Edinburgh presbyterians declined to hear Allan, 'alleging I was a Cameronian, as they expressed it'.⁵⁸ By contrast, Hog remarked of his parishioners in Dalserf, in Hamilton presbytery, that 'some of them were so strict, that there were not many amongst Presbyterian ministers they had freedom to hear'.⁵⁹ Thomas Boston was thought 'too hot' a minister for Duns, and was encouraged to pursue a call to Ettrick, a place 'as hot as I'.⁶⁰

Former Cameronians and likeminded lay people found some of the more hard-line ministers in the Church to their liking. Robert Wylie of Hamilton persuaded a number of Cameronians to join his congregation by allowing them to make a formal statement of their grievances with the Church.⁶¹ In December 1690, the presbytery of Paisley recorded in its minutes a protest received from thirty male Cameronians who intended to join the Church.⁶² In Bo'ness, a parish long associated with Cameronian and Gibbite activity, John Brand had some success in regaining separatists to the Church.⁶³ The decision of Elizabeth Wilson, a widely-respected separatist, to join Brand's congregation strengthened his position in the parish. Wilson was followed by Robert Spears and his wife Margaret Stewart, who brought two children, aged between seven and nine years, to be baptised. In his relations

⁵⁶ Walker, *Six Saints*, i, p.242.

⁵⁷ [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, p.459.

⁵⁸ Barrett (ed.), *Mr James Allan*, pp.68, 94-5, 102-4, 110, 151, 156 (quotation), 210, 227.

⁵⁹ Hog, *Memoirs*, p.42.

⁶⁰ Boston, *Memoirs*, p.166.

⁶¹ NLS, Robert Wylie to Robert Wodrow, 11 Dec. 1712, Wod. Lett. Qu. VI, fo. 268r.

⁶² NLS, Societies members' statement on entering communion with the Church of Scotland, Dec. 1690, Wod. Fol. XXVIII, fos. 144-5.

⁶³ P. Cadell, 'The Reverend John Brand and the Bo'ness of the 1690s', in G. Cruickshank (ed.), *A Sense of Place: Studies in Scottish local History* (Edinburgh, 1988), p.7.

with separatists, Brand seems to have benefited from his youth: Cameronians were 'more angry' with old ministers, who had been guilty of backsliding in the restoration decades.⁶⁴

Between complete separatism and full communion with the Church lay a third option: that of worshipping under semi-separatist ministers. Despite being formally or originally members of the Church, these men used sermons to criticise their ministerial brethren and to maintain a testimony against ecclesiastical backsliding. They preached outwith the bounds of their own parishes, and often refused to attend or comply with church courts. Historians have tended to describe these ministers' lay supporters as distinct parties, but it seems that some lay people moved back and forwards between Church of Scotland congregations and the conventicles of John Hepburn and even those of John Macmillan.⁶⁵ Semi-separatist ministers presented administrative and ideological challenges to the Church, particularly in the south-west of Scotland. They responded to a considerable demand from the non-elite laity for clergy who were strongly committed to Scotland's Covenanting heritage.

The difficulties created by clerical dissent can be seen in the case of William Houston. In 1691, he began to preach in the parish of Kilsyth, after receiving an irregular call from some of the residents. He refused to submit his call to the presbytery of Glasgow for its approval and was imprisoned by the privy council. On release in June 1691, he went to Flanders to represent his case to the king, gaining royal support.⁶⁶ Houston still failed to conciliate the presbytery, which cast doubt on whether he was ever ordained as a minister, and produced evidence that he had converted to Catholicism to secure release from prison during James VII's reign.⁶⁷ In 1692, the presbytery successfully petitioned the privy council to remove him from

⁶⁴ NLS, Memoirs of Brand, MS. 1668, fos. 22v.-23r.

⁶⁵ W. McMillan, *John Hepburn and the Hebronites: A Study in the Post-Revolution History of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1934), esp. pp.10-12; Hutchison, *Reformed Presbyterian Church*, pp.153, 159; Boston, *Memoirs*, p.216; NAS, Conclusions of the Societies' general meeting, CH3/269/1, p.43; NLS, John Simson to Robert Wodrow, 26 Apr. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 62r.

⁶⁶ NLS, Papers concerning William Houston, MS. 9255, fos. 92-4, 98r.; *RPC*, xvi, pp.299-300.

⁶⁷ NLS, Papers concerning Houston, MS. 9255, fos. 93r., 102r., 111r., 122r.

Kilsyth.⁶⁸ Houston's actions may have been opportunistic, but they could have arisen in part from dissatisfaction with the 1690 presbyterian settlement. He asserted that presbyterian courts were illegitimate owing to the defections of the clergy, whom he compared to their episcopalian predecessors.⁶⁹

A more enduring challenge was posed by John Hepburn, whose refusal fully to cooperate with ministerial discipline troubled the Church of Scotland for more than fifteen years after 1690. Hepburn was a field preacher from the late 1670s, and had some links with the United Societies before and after the revolution.⁷⁰ From around 1687, his home base was Urr, a parish in the presbytery of Dumfries. Despite sitting temporarily in the presbytery in 1689,⁷¹ he became well known for his forthright condemnation of the Church's faults. In fact, Hepburn's principled stance after the revolution contrasted with his reputation for caution in the 1680s, leading some to accuse him of opportunism.⁷² By 1692, nevertheless, Hepburn's reputation had gained him support from members of the pre-revolution Societies who (like the Coatmuir Folk) had neither joined the Church nor submitted themselves to Sir Robert Hamilton's reconvened general correspondence. After the cessation of Societies' general meetings in 1690, these lay presbyterians seem to have continued to meet in prayer societies, enduring 'many silent Sabbaths' before reaching an agreement with Hepburn.⁷³ One of Hepburn's followers, Gavin Witherspoon, had been a Cameronian activist in the 1680s, but had been ejected from the Societies after paying the teinds and locality incurred by his small landed estate.⁷⁴

In 1706, some of Hepburn's Urr parishioners summarised the formation of his party, the Hebronites, as follows:

⁶⁸ NAS, Privy council decreta, 5 Jan. 1692-31 May 1694, PC2/24, fos. 81-2; NAS, Privy council acta, 2 Feb. 1692-31 March 1693, PC1/48, p.355.

⁶⁹ NLS, William Houston's appeal, 12 Nov. 1691, MS. 9250, fo. 272r.; NLS, William Houston to Margaret Dagleish, 1 March 1693, MS. 9251, fo. 3r.

⁷⁰ *Fasti*, ii, p.305; [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.42, 50; Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.197. I am grateful to Mark Jardine for information on this point.

⁷¹ McMillan, *Hepburn and the Hebronites*, p.28.

⁷² Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.289.

⁷³ [Gavin Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings for the Good Old-Way, or a Plain Representation* ([Edinburgh?], 1713), appendix, pp.13-16, preface, sig. [**3]r.

⁷⁴ NAS, Conclusions of the Societies' general meeting, CH3/269/1, p.5

it is notourly known that there was & yet is a people in this land, before & since the Revolution, who have been dissatisfied with some things in the ministry, as to their management of the affairs of [th]e Church, which occasioned them to withdraw from ordinances administred by such of the ministers, as they were dissatisfied with. And after Mr John Hepburn came to be acquainted with that people, the Synod of Glasgow thought it fit to allow some of their number to tell Mr John Hepburn that they judged it expedient, that he should administer ordinances to the forsaid people, rather than that they should be without preaching, & want the priviledge of Baptism to their children.⁷⁵

It seems unlikely that the synod of Glasgow and Ayr acted as midwife to a group of semi-separatists. In October 1693, the synod condemned Hepburn for ‘his trafficking to draw the people to shism and separa[ti]one, and for his insolent & calumnious reflections on the ministrie’.⁷⁶ Yet Hepburn’s ministry may not have been so detrimental to the Church: the Hebronites earned the opprobrium of the Societies, who accused them of seeking to divide faithful Covenanters and thereby to strengthen the Church.⁷⁷

While the geographical extent and numerical size of Hepburn’s support are unclear, he was known to preach without permission across the south-west of Scotland, in breach of ministerial discipline, and to draw worshippers from outside the parishes in which he preached. While living near Penpont in 1696, Thomas Boston noticed that the local Church of Scotland minister attracted only small congregations, due to ‘the thronging away to separate meetings, kept, I think, by Mr Hepburn’.⁷⁸ After banishment in Brechin between 1696 and 1699, Hepburn returned to Urr, preached itinerantly in various south-western parishes, and again failed to accept the discipline of the presbytery of Dumfries.⁷⁹ One witness to a May 1702 sermon by Hepburn at Fenwick, Ayrshire, reported that around a thousand people from the surrounding area attended. ‘I believe many of them resorted thither from curiosity, because it was bruited abroad that the Covenant was to be renewed, & the sacrament of the supper

⁷⁵ NAS, Letter from Urr parishioners to the commission of the general assembly, 1706, CH1/2/5/4, fo. 264/1r.

⁷⁶ NAS, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr minutes, 1687-1704, CH2/464/1, p.98.

⁷⁷ [Renwick, Shields *et al.*], *Informatory Vindication*, sig. [¶¶¶3]v.

⁷⁸ Boston, *Memoirs*, p.24.

⁷⁹ McMillan, *Hepburn and the Hebronites*, pp.65-6, 68-9.

to be celebrated'.⁸⁰ By 1704, Hepburn had also preached in the Kirkcudbrightshire parishes of Rerrick and Balmaghie. In the latter, he disrupted the deposition of John Macmillan by the presbytery of Kirkcudbright. In his sermon, Hepburn reportedly equated ministerial defections before and after the revolution, claiming that the 'black Curots [i.e. curates] killed Christ Jesus & the presbi[teri]an m[i]n[iste]rs & professing people of this nation had layd the stone on his head'. Comparing the presbytery to the wicked servant in Matthew 24:48, Hepburn 's[ai]d [tha]t the people of Balmaghie had now put their hand to the work of God & [he] exhorted them to stand to it for they would meet with persecution in so doing'.⁸¹ In an argument between groups of presbyterians, the vocabulary of 'persecution' would have been particularly inflammatory.

As his brief alliance with Macmillan suggests, Hepburn made common cause with, and attracted support from, other dissident presbyterian clergy. At around the time that James Hog refused the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, he invited Hepburn, who had also refused the oath, to preach in his parish, a censurable offence in the view of the presbytery of Hamilton.⁸² During the period of Hepburn's banishment, it seems that Hugh McHenry, suspended minister of Dalton in the presbytery of Lochmaben, preached to the Hebronites.⁸³ In 1706, Hepburn joined forces with James Farquhar, minister of Tyrie in the presbytery of Deer, to celebrate a fast of their own appointment to lament the 'sins of [th]e Ministrie'. '[G]reat multitudes' reportedly took part, and heard Farquhar preach that presbyterian clergy who had 'willingly taken the oath of Alleadgence' were more culpable than those who took oaths contrary to the Covenants before the revolution. On another occasion, Hepburn and Farquhar addressed a large congregation gathered at the laird's house in Dalswinton, near Dumfries. There they baptised children born to the laird, two of his tenants, and his chaplain John McNeil, who was later assistant to John Macmillan when the Societies renewed the Covenants in July 1712.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ NLS, Notes of a sermon by John Hepburn, 31 May 1702, Wod Lett. Qu. II, fo. 45r.

⁸¹ NAS, Papers concerning John Hepburn, 1702-1704, CH1/2/4/2, fos. 151-153, quotations at fo. 153.

⁸² Hog, *Memoirs*, pp.55, 91.

⁸³ McMillan, *Hepburn and the Hebronites*, p.115.

⁸⁴ NAS, Papers concerning James Farquhar, 1706, CH1/2/5/4, fos. 266r., 262r.; Reid, *Cameronian Apostle*, pp.177-8.

The grievances of the Hebronites were catalogued in a 1713 pamphlet, *Humble Pleadings for the Good Old-Way*. Starting with the failure of the Church to enquire into the pre-revolution sins of its ministers and elders, the pamphlet detailed thirty-six errors and omissions of the mainstream clergy, many of which related to the place of the Covenants after 1690. Episcopalians were received into ministerial communion, showing the Church's 'lukewarmness in Prosecuting the ends of our Sacred and Solemn Covenants'. Indeed, no endeavours were made to renew the Covenants, nor to remedy the defective Claim of Right with a formal statement of the divine right of presbyterian government.⁸⁵ Of course, similar complaints were made within the Church. Patrick Walker, a former Cameronian who had joined the Church after the revolution, shared the Hebronites' grievances, and condemned Hepburn's treatment by his ministerial brethren.⁸⁶ Hepburn had supporters among the mainstream clergy. These seem to have included Fife ministers George Mair, Allan Logan and James Hog, ex-Cameronian Thomas Linning, and James Ramsay, minister of Eyemouth.⁸⁷ When he was deposed by the assembly in April 1705, fourteen members voted in his favour.⁸⁸

Hepburn and his followers propagated their opinions by means of petitions submitted to church courts and ministers. In fact, the Hebronites claimed that their defining characteristic as a party was 'pleading in face of Judicatories for Redress of Grievances'.⁸⁹ *Humble Pleadings* printed a series of Hebronite addresses, starting with a petition from members of the United Societies to the 1690 general assembly. The inclusion of this address, which complained of the Church's failure to repent restoration defections, and its unwillingness to emphasise the Covenants, suggests that the Hebronites saw their petitioning campaign as a continuation of the activities of the Societies.⁹⁰ Although this address had little impact, another paper was drawn up, probably by the prayer groups that went on to follow Hepburn, to be presented to

⁸⁵ [Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings*, pp.6, 10, 13, 41, 24.

⁸⁶ Walker, *Six Saints*, i, pp.28-9.

⁸⁷ McMillan, *Hepburn and the Hebronites*, p.90; NLS, Alexander Wodrow to Glasgow ministers, 7 Apr. 1705, Wod Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 25.

⁸⁸ NLS, Alexander Wodrow to Glasgow ministers, 10 Apr. 1705, Wod Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 26.

⁸⁹ [Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings*, sig. [**2]r.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.137-52; [Shields], *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, first part, pp.448-54.

the next assembly in 1692. This complained of the Church's lenient treatment of episcopalians, its employment of insufficiently godly ministers, and the neglect of the Covenants.⁹¹ Around 1694, Hepburn wrote to Neil Gillies and William Dunlop, ministers in Glasgow, explaining his withdrawal from a recent communion. Hepburn's letter, which seems to have been written to influence non-elite people, argued against communicating with a ministry whose fidelity to the Covenants was compromised by the oath of allegiance and the Erastian management of general assemblies. Indeed, Dunlop and other ministers had spoken hypocritically when they told those 'who were Covenant breakers, and all hinderers of [th]e work of Reformat[i]o[n]' not to come to the table.⁹²

The grievances expressed by the Hebronites exercised the consciences of many non-elite people. In March 1710, for example, the presbytery of Selkirk received a paper, reportedly drawn up by a correspondence of lay prayer societies within the Church, stating various grievances, including the failure to renew the Covenants.⁹³ Ministers noted among their parishioners a widespread interest in religious politics, which distracted them from spiritual concerns. In 1693, an anonymous paper described those among the laity who inclined to separatism as 'a heady and heedless Multitude, who place if not the whole, yet the greatest part of their Religion in these giddy opinions about Governm[en]t that have been inculcated upon them by some preachers in the tyme of the late persecution'.⁹⁴ Thomas Boston found that his sermons were coldly received by his Ettrick parishioners, 'but remarkable was the pricking up of ears, when anything relative to the public fell in; which was a wounding observe to me'.⁹⁵ Robert Wodrow recalled reading from the pulpit a sentence of the commission of the general assembly against John Macmillan, during which one of his parishioners, Margaret King, walked out of church. She confessed later, with reference to the scriptural text Songs 1:6, that she thought that the Church's actions against Macmillan constituted a betrayal of the trust placed in

⁹¹ NLS, Petition to the 1692 general assembly, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fos. 67-70.

⁹² NLS, John Hepburn's explanation of withdrawal from communion, MS. 9251, fos. 74-5; for other copies see NAS, CH1/2/4/2, fo. 156; EUL, La. II. 17, 2.

⁹³ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.261.

⁹⁴ NLS, Proposal to the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 10 Jan. 1693, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fo. 115v.

⁹⁵ Boston, *Memoirs*, p.215.

ministers. Wodrow 'endeavoured to convince her, that the plain meaning of the place [i.e. verse] rather related to herself, as looking to the public management of Ministers, and not to her own soul's state'.⁹⁶

IV

By the mid 1700s, lay and clerical dissent was perhaps the most important issue in Scottish Church politics. In 1704, one minister wrote to John Stirling, principal of Glasgow University, asking him to bring Hepburn's itinerant preaching to the attention of the general assembly. '[I]n my opinion severall things [tha]t come before' the assembly 'ar but trifls in respect of this', he wrote.⁹⁷ Robert Wodrow expressed a similar view, remarking that the problems created by Hepburn and Macmillan were 'of weight and will cause some heats'.⁹⁸ In their attempts to tackle separatism and semi-separatism, church courts followed two contrasting approaches. Some courts, particularly in the south-west, called for tough action against ministers whose preaching campaigns drew people away from mainstream congregations. Yet other ministers preferred to address complaints made about the Church, both because they shared some of the concerns of Hepburn and Macmillan, and because they hoped to appease the non-elite separatists in their midst. As a result of these two perspectives, and because of the complications added by the Church's relations with the crown and the episcopalians, ministers pursued an inconsistent mixture of repression and appeasement.

There were repeated calls for John Hepburn, the most troublesome of the separatist and semi-separatist ministers, to be prosecuted. By 1704, it was rumoured that Hepburn was set upon splitting the Church.⁹⁹ Measures were needed to stop him, the presbytery of Dumfries wrote, otherwise before 'long we shall have independencie set up in these bounds'.¹⁰⁰ In 1705, the presbytery of Glasgow complained that too

⁹⁶ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.152.

⁹⁷ GUL, James Brown to John Stirling, 27 March 1704, MS. Gen. 204, no. 54.

⁹⁸ NLS, Robert Wodrow to ?Alexander Wodrow, 23 March 1704, Wod. Lett. Qu. III, fo. 146r.

⁹⁹ GUL, Brown to Stirling, 27 March 1704, MS. Gen. 204, no. 54.

¹⁰⁰ NAS, Letter of Dumfries presbytery to the commission of the general assembly, 1706, CH1/2/26/1, fo. 85r.; cf. NAS, Petition of Dumfries presbytery to the general assembly, 1702, CH1/2/4/2, fo. 151r.

little was being done and instructed its commissioners to the assembly to report the 'Great offence taken at Mr Hepburnes being suffered to goe on In his divisive Courses'.¹⁰¹ If the privy council were to remove Hepburn from the south-west, one Dumfries minister argued, dissent would decline, 'for the head being away, the members would have no force'.¹⁰²

Yet the Church's relations with Hepburn exemplify the competing attitudes among ministers and elders towards dissent. In spite of receiving detailed reports of Hepburn's inflammatory preaching, the 1704 general assembly did not pass judgement on him, instead handing his case to its commission.¹⁰³ In June, the commission suspended Hepburn, referring in its sentence to the Church's previous lenient treatment of him.¹⁰⁴ At its meeting in the following December, some of the commission's members advocated deposing Hepburn, although a majority favoured conciliation with the Hebronites.¹⁰⁵ In February 1705, therefore, members of the commission met Hepburn and representatives of his lay followers at Sanquhar, and undertook extended discussions aimed at removing the separatists' scruples.¹⁰⁶ Hepburn continued his disorderly preaching even after being deposed by the assembly in 1705, yet he was again treated with some favour by the Church after November 1706.¹⁰⁷

The conciliatory treatment of other dissenting clergy frustrated ministers who called for a strict policy against separatism. After the 1700 deposition of Hugh McHenry, one of Hepburn's collaborators, the presbytery of Lochmaben complained that McHenry had taken advantage of the 'lenity' of the 1699 general assembly, which had restored him to his ministry without 'any acknowledgement of his faults'.¹⁰⁸ In August 1706, James Farquhar, who had left his north-eastern parish of Tyrie to support Hepburn in the south, was rebuked, but neither suspended nor deposed, by

¹⁰¹ NAS, Glasgow presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1705, CH1/2/5/1, fo. 17r.

¹⁰² NAS, Robert Paton to Nicol Spence, 22 July 1706, CH1/2/26/1, fo. 89r.

¹⁰³ NAS, Papers concerning Hepburn, CH1/2/4/2, fos. 151-3; *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp.332-3.

¹⁰⁴ NLS, Sentence of the commission suspending Hepburn, 1704, Wod. Fol. XXXIX, fo. 55r.

¹⁰⁵ NLS, Robert Maxwell to Robert Wodrow, 14 Dec. 1704, fo. 171v.

¹⁰⁶ HMC, *Report on the Laing Manuscripts preserved in the University of Edinburgh* ed. H. Paton, 2 vols. (London, 1914-25), ii, pp.101-9; another copy is at NAS, CH1/2/24/2/1, fos. 47-50.

¹⁰⁷ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp.385-6; see ch. 8 below, p.189.

¹⁰⁸ NAS, Petition of Lochmaben commissioners to the general assembly, 1703, CH1/2/4/2, fo. 191r.

the commission of the general assembly. This leniency provoked a protest from Andrew Reid, representing the presbytery of Dumfries, who complained that Farquhar had not been required to admit his errors. As Reid argued, previous sentences of this kind 'had not only been unsuccessful, but had proven very hurtfull to [th]e bounds' of the presbytery of Dumfries.¹⁰⁹ Yet a majority of the commission considered Farquhar cooperative and useful in the north, and it was hoped he could be reclaimed from the influence of separatists' counsels. As late as February 1709, a committee of the synod of Aberdeen was providing him with books to dissuade him from 'his divisive & schismatical courses'.¹¹⁰

The case of John Macmillan, minister of Balmaghie, suggests that repressive policies towards clerical dissent were futile. In July 1703, following a dispute in the presbytery of Kirkcudbright over the legitimacy of the oath of allegiance to Anne, Macmillan and two other ministers presented a paper of grievances concerning the Church.¹¹¹ His two collaborators came to an agreement with the presbytery, but Macmillan was proceeded against, and deposed on 30 December. The presbytery's sentence did little to chasten Macmillan, who was buoyed by significant support in his parish. After the commission of the general assembly failed to overturn his deposition in the summer of 1704, Macmillan abandoned the Church, denied the authority of an uncovenanted monarchy, and became minister to the United Societies.¹¹² Instead of removing a source of criticism of the Church, the presbytery's tough stance towards Macmillan created a cheerleader for separatism.

The Church could not overcome the problem of separatism simply by deposing dissenting preachers. Clergy in the presbytery of Dumfries came to recognise the limited effect of ecclesiastical censures against Hepburn. One minister even suggested that excommunicating Hepburn might have increased his lay following. Action by the civil courts would have been more effective, another argued, but the

¹⁰⁹ NAS, Register of the commission of the general assembly, 1705-1706, CH1/3/8, pp.207-9; NAS, Protest of Andrew Reid, 1706, CH1/2/26/1, fo. 84r.

¹¹⁰ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/8, pp.166, 208; NAS, James Osborne to William Carstares, 21 Feb. 1709, CH1/2/28/4, fo. 373r. Farquhar demitted his charge in August 1709, but accepted a call to Nigg (Aberdeen presbytery) in 1717: *Fasti*, vi, pp.245, 70.

¹¹¹ NAS, Grievances with the Church, 1703, CH1/2/4/1, fo. 16.

¹¹² Reid, *Cameronian Apostle*, pp.102-33, 140-7.

lord advocate seemed reluctant to proceed.¹¹³ When the civil authorities did attempt to assist the Church, they faced opposition from non-elite separatists. In 1709, the sheriff depute of Kirkcudbright reluctantly raised a party of men to make patent the church doors at Balmaghie, only to withdraw from the parish when threatened with violence.¹¹⁴

Many ministers hoped that their own actions in support of presbyterian principles would help to address the grievances of non-elite separatists and semi-separatists. In the late 1690s and 1700s, several presbyteries campaigned for a general assembly act asserting the Church's intrinsic right, partly because this issue concerned the clergy, and partly to appease separatists. Writing in 1700, one commentator complained that motions and overtures for such an act 'hath alwayes bin waved by Ministers of Influence in the Assembly'. The Church's failure to assert its intrinsic right was arguably the 'strongest and most unanswerable exception that the Separatists adduce against the present constitution of presbitery'.¹¹⁵ To the frustration of the presbytery of Hamilton, its commissioners to the general assembly of 1704 failed to make a formal protest at the early dissolution of the previous year's assembly, which was seen as an encroachment on the intrinsic right. Hamilton's moderator wrote to the commissioners expressing his disappointment, arguing that separatism resulted from the Church's failure to condemn Erastian infringements of its rights.¹¹⁶

Some called for the Church to do still more to reclaim lay separatists. The presbytery of Penpont instructed its commissioners to the 1705 general assembly to demand an assertion of the Church's intrinsic right, renewal of the Covenants, a full and specific fast declaration, and 'all o[the]r effectuall Means [...] for removing [th]e Grievances of these amongst us who separate from the Com[m]union of this Church'.¹¹⁷ Instructions to the commissioners to the 1703 assembly do not seem to be extant, but it is probable that formal requests were made at the assembly for

¹¹³ NLS, Simson to Wodrow, 26 Apr. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 62; NAS, Paton to Spence, 22 July 1706, CH1/2/26/1, fo. 89.

¹¹⁴ NLS, James Guthrie to Robert Wodrow, 24 Oct. 1709, Wod. Lett. Qu. II, fo. 126.

¹¹⁵ NLS, Anonymous letter, 17 Nov. 1700, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 237r.

¹¹⁶ NLS, Presbytery of Hamilton letter, 1704, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 256r.

¹¹⁷ NAS, Penpont presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1705, CH1/2/5/1, fo. 34r.

renewal of at least the National Covenant.¹¹⁸ Kirkcudbright presbytery overtured the assembly for Covenant renewal in 1705, and called for the Covenants to be declared binding in 1708. Surprisingly, given its negligible problems with presbyterian dissent, the presbytery of Dornoch called for Covenant renewal in 1708.¹¹⁹

In the absence of a general assembly act asserting the intrinsic right, several synods passed their own acts in defence of presbyterianism. The October and November 1702 acts of the synods of Glasgow and Ayr, Dumfries, and Galloway shared the same basic text, which intended in part to reassure separatists. Ministers, particularly in the south-west, 'have been exposed to the mistakes of many weak, tho otherwise weell-meaning people, as if they did not maintain a Just zeal for true presbyterian principles'. The synods therefore exhorted their ministers to renew efforts against profanity and other abuses, in order that 'misled people, and the world may know our constancie to the true principles of the covenanted work of reformation'.¹²⁰ The synod acts can be seen as a victory for ministers who had been arguing in favour of such measures for some time. Robert Wylie of Hamilton seems to have encouraged separatists to present a petition to the synod of Glasgow and Ayr in December 1700 (going as far as to write a paper for them) calling for an assertion of the Church's rights.¹²¹ Presumably Wylie thought that such an address would encourage the synod to pass an act like that agreed in October 1702. Even if his cooperation with the separatists was a cynical ploy in pursuit of his own ends, Wylie recognised that the work of the ministry might be eased if dissenters' scruples were addressed.

There was little that could be done at a national level to address godly scruples concerning the post-revolution Church, not least because of the attention of episcopalian and Anglican enemies of the settlement. At a local level, however, there was more opportunity for gestures aimed at conciliating dissent. In a dispute over rival ministerial calls to the vacant parish of Crawfordjohn, which lasted from

¹¹⁸ NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame's diary, 1702-1705, GD1/649/4, p.162.

¹¹⁹ NAS, Kirkcudbright presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1705, CH1/2/5/1, fos. 30r.; NAS, Presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1708, CH1/2/27/1, fos. 75r., 63r.

¹²⁰ NAS, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr minutes, CH2/464/1, pp.318-19; cf. NAS, Synod of Dumfries minutes, CH2/98/1, p.169; cf. NAS, Synod of Galloway minutes, 1689-1712, CH2/165/2, pp.137-8.

¹²¹ NLS, Separatists' petition to the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, Dec. 1700, Wod. Fol. XXVIII, fos. 179-80. The synod did not meet as scheduled in December.

1704 to at least 1709, the presbytery of Lanark clearly felt the need to appease the grievances of parishioners who inclined towards separatism. It was impossible to ordain the candidate favoured by the earl of Selkirk and other heritors, the presbytery argued, given the temptations posed to non-elite godly parishioners by the Societies, which held general meetings in the parish, and by John Hepburn, who had recently celebrated communion nearby. A petition from the parishioners who opposed Selkirk's call argued that the settlement of the earl's choice would 'creat great schisms & divisions'.¹²² The presbytery's actions in this case were criticised by the earl of Selkirk and, at the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, by Robert Wylie, minister of Hamilton, who on this occasion represented the views of the Hamilton family, of which Selkirk was part. According to Wylie, the presbytery of Lanark had disregarded the advice of the synod in the interests of 'humouring a factious party among' the parishioners of Crawfordjohn.¹²³

As Wylie's complaints make clear, efforts to appease separatists' grievances could cause discontent in the Church. In October 1697, the synod of Glasgow and Ayr condemned the 'absurd & groundlesse separation' of the United Societies, and 'the connivance of ministers or the neglect in taking Just and right methods to reclame these separatists'.¹²⁴ In January 1693, a paper addressed to the synod complained that ineffectual strategies were used in response to lay separatists, 'partly by the direct concurrence of some m[i]n[iste]rs with them, but chiefly by the unseasonable cautiousnes and care used by church judicatories to keep measures with their absurd and giddy humors'. The attempts of some ministers within the Church of Scotland to preserve or attain a favourable reputation among separatists had distorted the relationship between presbyterians and episcopalians, by preventing a sufficient accommodation of the latter in the Church. This in turn had earned presbyterians the displeasure of the crown in the early 1690s.¹²⁵ The Church of Scotland had of necessity to tread a narrow line between its episcopalian and Anglican critics on one hand, and presbyterian separatists on the other. With so many competing attitudes to

¹²² NAS, Papers concerning Crawfordjohn, c.1707-1708, CH1/2/28/3, fos. 229Ar., 231r.

¹²³ NLS, Information for the earl of Selkirk, 1708-1709, Wod. Fol. XXVIII, fos. 215-16; NLS, Robert Wylie's protest, 4 Oct. 1709, Wod. Fol. XXXV, fo. 174r.

¹²⁴ NAS, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr minutes, CH2/464/1, p.181.

¹²⁵ NLS, Proposal to the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fos. 115r.-116r.

its troubles, the Church found it difficult to address the problems created by separatism.

V

Throughout the reigns of William and Anne, presbyterian separatism was a major issue for Scottish church courts and clerical pamphleteers. It posed ideological and administrative challenges to the re-established Church, questioning its principles and authority. Moreover, separatism and semi-separatism reflect the importance of popular participation in religious controversy. Although Hepburn and Macmillan were the targets of much of the mainstream ministry's frustration with separatism, the phenomenon was driven by non-elite men and women.

Godly lay people across the south of Scotland subjected their ministers to increased scrutiny, and found many wanting. In 1703, Robert Rowan, minister of Penninghame in Wigtown presbytery, reported that two lay societies in his area, few of whose members were even elders, had sat 'as a faculty of theology', and declared that the oath of allegiance to Anne was unlawful. Rowan was clear that ministers ought to take the oath regardless of the views of their parishioners: 'Peoples scruples or humors are not [th]e rule of m[i]n[iste]rs duties'.¹²⁶ Another writer expressed a similar view, arguing that ministers ought to teach separatists 'to mind substantial christian duties more, and to medle less out of their sphere with points of Governm[en]t'.¹²⁷ Yet meddling 'out of their sphere' had become a habit for numerous non-elite presbyterians, whose activities continued to give life to controversy over the Covenants. As the next chapter suggests, the union of 1707 gave further encouragement to presbyterian separatism, and led more non-elite people to criticise their ministers.

¹²⁶ NLS, Vindication of juring ministers, 1703, by Robert Rowan, Wod. Qu. XVI, fos. 134v., 133v.

¹²⁷ NLS, Proposal, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fo. 116r.

Chapter 8: The Union of 1707

I

In the mid 1700s, the Church of Scotland was a troubled institution. Its relations with the crown had improved after the nadir of 1702-3, but the Church remained under close scrutiny by hostile Anglican courtiers and pamphleteers. It had gained ground against episcopalians in most parts of Scotland, but was frequently pestered by parochial obstruction, particularly in the north-east. Arguments over the Covenants had encouraged presbyterian separatism, significantly weakening the Church's authority over non-elite presbyterians in southern and central Scotland.

The passage of the act of union through the Scottish parliament in the winter of 1706-7 exacerbated the Church's problems. It subjected Scotland to a British parliament of overwhelmingly Anglican membership, increasing the influence of English peers and bishops over religious affairs north of the Tweed. The union also improved the fortunes of the episcopalians, who benefited from the abolition of the Scottish privy council in 1708, and from statutory toleration in 1712. Most importantly, the union fuelled presbyterian separatism, as new disputes emerged over the declaration of fasts, episcopalian toleration and the abjuration oath.

The union continues to be one of the most intensely discussed issues in Scottish history. Numerous historians have analysed the debates over union in the Scottish parliament, emphasising in various combinations the contributions of parliamentary management, pecuniary incentives and political principles to the successful passage of the articles.¹ Other scholars have complemented this perspective by studying printed controversy and popular opposition to the union, expressed particularly through crowds and addresses to parliament.² Karin Bowie has demonstrated that

¹ P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1978); W. Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp.180-272; C.A. Whatley with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp.184-321.

² J. Robertson, 'An elusive sovereignty: the course of the union debate in Scotland, 1698-1707', in J. Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995); J.R. Young, 'The parliamentary incorporating union of 1707: political management, anti-

public opinion mattered to the elite participants in the debate, even if it did not have a decisive impact.³ Reflecting the diversity of the recent literature, the most authoritative of the books issued to mark the union's tercentenary places events in broad social, economic and ideological contexts.⁴

Although a considerable degree of opposition to the union stemmed from the concerns of presbyterians, the religious arguments surrounding the act have not been fully investigated. Jeffrey Stephen has challenged the received notion that the Church was a 'bulwark of the opposition' to the treaty, and shed much light on the attitudes and actions of leading churchmen.⁵ Nevertheless, questions concerning non-elite opinion among presbyterians and the consequences of the union for Scottish religious politics remain to be asked. This chapter argues that presbyterian separatism was an important consideration for ministers taking part in debates over union, and that the adverse consequences of the act weakened the Church's standing in the eyes of many of its non-elite members.

II

The union gave new energy to many of the disputes within the Church of Scotland discussed in chapter seven. The most fundamental presbyterian objection to union was that it was incompatible with the Covenants. This objection was different from the widespread fear that the 1690 settlement would lack security under a predominantly Anglican British parliament, although both issues became closely intertwined. Two main criticisms of the union arose specifically from the Covenants. The first was that the National Covenant explicitly bound Scots to uphold parliamentary government. Among other statutes, the Covenant referred to the commission for union granted by parliament in 1604, which guaranteed the

unionism and foreign policy' in T.M. Devine and J.R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton, 1999), pp.29-39; C.A. Whatley, *Bought and Sold for English Gold? Explaining the Union of 1707* (East Linton, 2nd edn., 2001), pp.3-5, 77-80.

³ K. Bowie, 'Public opinion, popular politics and the union of 1707', *SHR*, 82 (2003), pp.226-60; K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, 2007).

⁴ Whatley with Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*.

⁵ J. Stephen, 'Scottish Presbyterians and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1707', (University of Aberdeen Ph.D. thesis, 2004), quotation at p.280; J. Stephen, 'The Kirk and the union, 1706-07: a reappraisal', *RSCHS*, 31 (2001), pp.68-96.

fundamentals of the Scottish constitution, assumed by many to include the Scottish parliament.⁶ By emphasising the 1604 commission in their arguments against union, presbyterians echoed legal authorities of the restoration period. At the time of the aborted union negotiations in 1702-3, Thomas Mack wrote to Robert Wodrow expressing hostility to parliamentary union, noting that Sir John Nisbet, lord advocate under Charles II, had proved that the abolition of the Scottish parliament would be ‘intolerable treason’.⁷ In a pamphlet of 1706, Robert Wylie of Hamilton quoted Nisbet so as to prove that commissioners to parliament lacked the authority to abolish the institution. Wylie also published Sir George Mackenzie’s opinion of the 1604 commission, which maintained that the fundamentals of the constitution could not be overturned.⁸ In another pamphlet, John Bannatyne, minister of Lanark, suggested that agreeing to the union would ‘involve the Nation in Perjury; seeing the National Covenant obligeth this Nation to maintain the Authoritie of Parliaments’.⁹

The second criticism, that the union confirmed the civil power of bishops, was expressed in numerous forms, as this was seen to contradict clauses of both Covenants. In its second address to parliament concerning the union, presented on 8 November 1706, the commission of the general assembly protested that ‘it is contrary to Our known Principles and Covenants, that any Church-man should bear Civil Offices, or have Power in the Common Wealth’.¹⁰ In January 1707, Edinburgh minister James Webster identified various ways in which the presence of bishops in the British parliament would contradict the Covenants. If the Solemn League and Covenant did not oblige Scots ‘to Reform *England* without their [i.e. English] concurrence [*sic*]’, the union was nevertheless unlawful because it would ‘for ever preclude both them and us from performing the Design’ of the 1643 agreement.¹¹

⁶ APS, v, p.274, iv, pp.263-4.

⁷ NLS, Thomas Mack to Robert Wodrow, 18 Dec. 1702, Wod. Lett. Qu. III, fos. 55r.-56r.

⁸ [Robert Wylie], *A Letter concerning the Union, with Sir George Mackenzie’s Observations and Sir John Nisbet’s Opinion* ([Edinburgh?], 1706).

⁹ [John Bannatyne], *Some Queries Proposed to Consideration, Relative to the Union* ([Edinburgh], [1706]), p.1.

¹⁰ *Unto his Grace Her Majesty’s High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament, the Humble Representation and Petition, of the Commission of the General Assembly* (Edinburgh, 1706); NAS, Register of the commission of the general assembly, 1705-1706, CH1/3/8, pp.273-5.

¹¹ [James Webster], *Lawful Prejudices against an Incorporating Union with England* (Edinburgh, 1707), p.6. The copy at NLS 1.301(25) is endorsed, in Robert Wodrow’s hand, ‘Jan. 14. 1707’.

Webster's pamphlet provoked a reply from William Adams, minister of Humbie, which questioned whether the Covenants indeed forbade clergymen from holding civil power.¹² This was an unusual view; the only other minister whose recorded opinions were close to this position was William Carstares.¹³

One priority of the commission of the general assembly that met in Edinburgh in October 1706 was to attain parliamentary measures to secure the 1690 settlement.¹⁴ The commission quickly agreed its first address to parliament, calling for presbyterianism to be guaranteed as the only government of the Church, and for the ratification of various acts of parliament in its defence.¹⁵ There was widespread support on the commission and the lower courts for this measure; the moderator of the presbytery of Stirling wrote that 'it will be a prejudice to this Church if she be not consulted at this time with respect to her security'.¹⁶ In fact, most of the letters received by the commission in support of its actions post-dated its second, more explicit address, suggesting that the opposition of some ruling elders and three ministers to parts of the second address was not widely shared.¹⁷

While all ministers on the commission concurred about the necessity of measures for security, parliament's response disappointed many. The act of security for the Church introduced to parliament did not address several of the concerns expressed in the commission's second address, including the requirement that office-holders in England satisfy the Anglican sacramental test.¹⁸ The act exempted Scots from 'any Oath Test or Subscription' contrary to presbyterian principles within Scotland, but the sacramental test could still be required of Scots nominated to offices south of the

¹² [William Adams], *A Letter from the Country containing some Remarks concerning the National Covenant and Solemn League* (Edinburgh, 1707).

¹³ NLS, Robert Wodrow to James Wodrow, 19 Dec. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 130r.; NLS, same to same, 21 Dec. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 133r. Stephen, 'The Kirk and the union', pp.75-6, exaggerates Adams's typicality. See *Fasti*, i, p.376 for some conflicts between Adams and his brethren.

¹⁴ Stephen, 'Scottish Presbyterians and the Anglo-Scottish Union', pp.183-224.

¹⁵ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/8, pp.230-2; *APS*, xi, p.307.

¹⁶ NAS, Stirling presbytery letter to the commission of the general assembly, 9 Dec. 1706, CH1/2/5/4, fo. 253r.

¹⁷ NAS, Presbytery letters to the commission, 1706-1707, CH1/2/5/4, fos. 228, 230, 233, 252, 253, 255.

¹⁸ [Robert Wylie], *The Insecurity of a Printed Overture for an Act for the Church's Security* ([Edinburgh], [12 Nov. 1706]), pp.2-3.

border.¹⁹ In parliament, Lord Belhaven proposed to amend the act to exempt Scots from the sacramental test, a measure that was rejected by thirty-nine votes.²⁰ The commission of the general assembly then lobbied for the introduction of a presbyterian test for office-holders in Scotland, which was proposed in parliament on 10 January 1707 but defeated.²¹ In the absence of such a test, presbyterians complained, ‘the greatest Enemies of this Church [...] are capable to enjoy any Place in *Scotland*’.²²

Parliament failed to resolve a series of other issues raised by presbyterians. The act of security specified that the 1690 statute settling presbyterian government would remain inviolable, but did not explicitly mention other acts in favour of presbyterianism, most significantly the act abolishing patronage.²³ Parliament did not clarify the ambiguous sense of the English abjuration oath. The future of the Scottish privy council was in doubt. Episcopalian toleration seemed likely to follow the union.²⁴ Given these omissions, one commentator argued, ‘our act of security is of very little value’.²⁵ The crux of the matter was that a simple majority in the British parliament would be sufficient to repeal any act of security.²⁶ Many presbyterians insisted that the Claim of Right and the Scottish parliament offered the best security for the Church. Before voting against the act of security as insufficient, Belhaven entered a protest that the union vitiated the Church’s security by undermining the Claim of Right and abolishing the Scottish parliament.²⁷ Robert Wylie concurred, arguing that ‘the Civil and Religious Rights and Interests of this Church and Nation are so Intwisted’.²⁸

¹⁹ APS, xi, pp.403, 414.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, xi, p.320; HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie* ed. H. Paton, 2 vols. (London, 1904-30), i, p.318.

²¹ NAS, Draft acts for a presbyterian test, CH1/2/5/4, fos. 239, 260; APS, xi, pp.395, 397.

²² *The Grounds of the Present Danger of the Church of Scotland* ([Edinburgh], [15] Jan. 1707), p.1.

²³ [Wylie], *Insecurity of a Printed Overture*, p.2.

²⁴ *Grounds of the Present Danger*, pp.1-2. For the arguments over the abjuration oath and episcopalian toleration, see below, pp.199-206.

²⁵ NLS, Union newsletter, 13 Jan. 1707, probably by Robert Wylie, Wod. Qu. XL, fo. 31r.

²⁶ *Grounds of the Present Danger*, p.2; [Webster], *Lawful Prejudices*, p.9.

²⁷ APS, xi, pp.322, 320.

²⁸ [Wylie], *Insecurity of a Printed Overture*, p.5.

Furthermore, the act of security did nothing to counter the perjury that many thought would result from the union. The commission's addresses did not seek to avert the passage of the act itself, but most of the ministers and some of the ruling elders meeting in Edinburgh agreed that it was necessary to express their opposition to the aspects of the union that broke the Covenants. The second address's statement against bishops (quoted above) was included 'lest our Silence should be constructed to Import Our Consent to, or Approbation of the Civil Places and Power of Churchmen'.²⁹ According to one writer, this sort of testimony was required 'for the discharge of duty to God, to conscience and to the present and succeeding Generations'.³⁰ Likewise, the presbytery of Lochmaben advised the commission to do all requisite 'for their full exoneration before God and men'.³¹ If divine judgement was perhaps uppermost in ministers' minds, the likely reaction of parishioners to the commission's conduct was important too. John Bell, a minister on the commission, wrote that the vote in favour of the exonerating second address 'made Glad the hearts of all honest people' in Edinburgh.³² In January 1707, the moderator of the presbytery of Penpont wrote to the commission calling for a further address. If parliament were to refuse the commission's demands, he argued, members should protest publicly, to 'Honour our Lord, exonor your Consciences, and ease the Minds of Gods people'.³³ Another presbyterian clearly linked addressing against breaches of the Covenant to maintaining popular support for the Church. '[O]ur great security is in [th]e Body of [th]e people, and to lye silent nou will both stumble and exasperat [the]m[.], and if we lose [th]e people, our pretended Court friends [tha]t cajoll us in a fair day, will noe way Ballance [tha]t losse'.³⁴

These shrill calls for exoneration of conscience reflect the lack of complete consensus on the issue. The exonerating article of the commission's second address was adopted after a vote, with ministers William Carstares and David Blair of

²⁹ *Unto his Grace Her Majesty's High Commissioner*; NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/8, p.275.

³⁰ NLS, Letter to the commission, c.1706, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 279r.

³¹ NAS, Lochmaben presbytery instructions, CH1/2/5/4, fo. 227r.

³² NLS, 'The most memorable passages of the life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fo. 64v.

³³ NAS, Penpont presbytery letter to the commission, 22 Jan. 1707, CH1/2/5/4, fo. 255r.

³⁴ NLS, Union newsletter, 4 Nov. 1706, probably by Robert Wylie, Wod. Qu. XL, fo. 27v.

Edinburgh, and Robert Bell of Cavers, voting against the article's inclusion.³⁵ Several ruling elders, including the earls of Rothes and Marchmont, leading advocates of union from the squadrone party, entered a protest against this article of the address.³⁶ Still more divisive was the campaign of a minority on the commission for a further address to parliament in January 1707. Those in favour pointed out that only one article of the second address had stated conscientious objection, that parliament had not resolved several grievances, and that it was legitimate for ministers to reiterate warnings of danger.³⁷ Indeed, it was conventional wisdom among presbyterians that clergy should draw attention to all threats to the Church and religion.³⁸

In spite of these arguments for a January address, a majority in its favour did not initially exist on the commission, and the measure was rejected without a vote on 15 January.³⁹ That day, however, parliament proceeded to engross the articles of union into an act, and added to the act of security for the Church a provision allowing the English parliament to pass a measure for the Church of England's security.⁴⁰ In response, the commission met early on 16 January, and rapidly drew an address to parliament against the clause, describing it as a 'manifest Homologation' of legislation in favour of episcopacy. This was done with considerable unity of purpose, although one minister voted against the address, and two abstained (including Carstares).⁴¹ The capacity for a small clause in the act of security to rouse a further address from the commission was baffling to outsiders.⁴² For ministers on the commission, however, the most important consideration was the preservation of

³⁵ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/8, p.272; NLS, 'The life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fo. 64v.

³⁶ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/8, p.272; NAS, Register of the commission of the general assembly, 1706-1709, CH1/3/9, pp.28-32.

³⁷ NLS, Union newsletter, 13 Jan. 1707, probably by Robert Wylie, Wod. Qu. XL, fo. 31; NLS, James Wodrow to Robert Wodrow, early Jan. 1707, Wod Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 173r.; NLS, ?Thomas Brown to Robert Wodrow, 13 Jan. 1707, Wod Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 175r.

³⁸ See e.g. William Wishart, *A Sermon, Preached before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale at Edinburgh the 5th day of May 1702* (Edinburgh, 1702), p.29.

³⁹ NLS, Robert Wodrow to James Wodrow, 16 Jan. 1707, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 147r.

⁴⁰ See 5 Ann. c. 8, *Statutes at Large*, iv, p.231. The clause is not in the text of the act of security printed in *APS*, xi, pp.402-3, 413-14.

⁴¹ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/9, pp.124-9, quotation at p.129; NLS, Wodrow to Wodrow, 16 Jan. 1707, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fos. 147-8.

⁴² G.E.M. Kynynmound (ed.), *Correspondence of George Baillie of Jerviswood, MDCCII-MDCCVIII* (Bannatyne Club, 1842), pp.179-80.

unity. On 15 January, supporters of a further appeal to parliament were prepared to let the matter rest, rather than demanding a vote, seeing harmony as more desirable than an address.⁴³ Robert Wodrow thought that a vote against addressing would have inspired formal protests from members of the commission. The 16 January address, therefore, was a shrewd means of satisfying demands for further exoneration of conscience, while avoiding a divisive protest against the union as a whole. The speed with which the commission was required to act (given that the union was ratified on the same day) helped to silence calls for a fuller address.⁴⁴

While ministers struggled to maintain unity on the commission, the question of harmony in the Church as a whole cannot have been far from their thoughts. John Bannatyne warned that union ‘may beget a Schisme and Convulsion, both in Church and State, that may be attended with fatal Consequences’.⁴⁵ James MacDougal, minister of Mearns, told Robert Wodrow that uncertainty over the treaty was such that ‘instead of union with our neighbours we are like to have sad divisions among ourselves’.⁴⁶ James Forrester, moderator of Biggar presbytery, wrote to the commission approving its first two addresses, and requested ‘a suitable expedient for the preservatione of unity and concord in this Nationall Church [so] that separte courses’ could be avoided.⁴⁷ Of course, the union did not raise the prospect of clerical division alone; lay separatism was likely to increase. As has been seen, advocates of exonerating addresses hoped that they would reassure the anti-union laity. One writer suggested that a January address ‘may tend much to [th]e calming of The godlys spirits’.⁴⁸

The commission was soon made aware of the responses of separatists to the prospect of incorporating union.⁴⁹ The debates in the winter of 1706-7 coincided with the

⁴³ NLS, Union newsletter, 14 Jan. 1707, probably by Robert Wylie, Wod. Qu. XL, fo. 33r.; William Wishart, *Two Sermons on Jeremiah 30:7* (Edinburgh, 1707), p.22, stressed the value of unity.

⁴⁴ NLS, Wodrow to Wodrow, 16 Jan. 1707, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fos. 147-8.

⁴⁵ [Bannatyne], *Some Queries Proposed*, p.3.

⁴⁶ NLS, James MacDougal to Robert Wodrow, 30 Nov. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 160r.

⁴⁷ NAS, Biggar presbytery letter to the commission, 28 Nov. 1706, CH1/2/5/4, fo. 228r.

⁴⁸ NLS, Union newsletter, 13 Jan. 1707, probably by Robert Wylie, Wod. Qu. XL, fo. 32r.

⁴⁹ There was some danger that followers of Macmillan and Hepburn would rise against the union: Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp.147-8, 152-3.

start of John Macmillan's ministry to the United Societies.⁵⁰ The moderator of Penpont presbytery reported that 'Discontent and heart burnings are so increased against the Union, that a very small Incendiary may soon Ruine our Ministry'. '[B]eing in a great ferment about the union', the presbytery's laity were 'under no small Temptation, from his [Macmillan's] Doctrine & practice [...] for which they flock after him in Thousands'.⁵¹ In December, the presbytery of Middlebie reported similar problems. Macmillan was preaching 'to great multitudes of people who flock to him up and down the whole Countrey'.⁵² The initial success of Macmillan's ministry may have led to exaggerated estimates of his future influence, but the timing of his activities increased the pressure on the commission in Edinburgh.

At the same time as Macmillan's preaching threatened to leach support away from the established ministry, the commission had still found no way to resolve the relationship between the Hebronites and the Church. Irregular preaching by John Hepburn was under investigation in mid October 1706, when the commission postponed his case until March.⁵³ Hepburn himself observed the debates of the commission over the second address, and some of his lay collaborators presented a petition applauding the commission's testimony, and asking for measures to heal the 'Lamentable breach' between the Church and the Hebronites.⁵⁴ Some ministers seem to have advocated a conference with the Hebronites; one called for both groups of presbyterians to 'stand firm and united ag[ain]st the common enemy'.⁵⁵ It is unclear how much support existed for reconciliation, but the commission reponed Hepburn to his ministry in August 1707.⁵⁶ Some presumably hoped that, by addressing against the union's breach of the Covenants, the commission had

⁵⁰ See ch. 7 above, pp.163-4, 176.

⁵¹ NAS, Penpont presbytery letter, 22 Jan. 1707, CH1/2/5/4, fo. 255r.

⁵² NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/9, p.72.

⁵³ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/8, pp.235-6.

⁵⁴ NLS, 'The life and times of Mr J[ohn] B[ell]', Wod. Qu. LXXXII, fos. 64v.-65r.; NAS, Hebronite petition to the commission, 8 Nov. 1706, CH1/2/5/4, fo. 235r. (quotation).

⁵⁵ NLS, Robert Wodrow to James Wodrow, 26 Nov. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 118v.; NLS, Letter concerning the union, March 1707, probably by Robert Wylie, Wod. Fol. XXVIII, fo. 209r. (quotation).

⁵⁶ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/9, pp.225-8. The commission's moderator, John Stirling, who was absent from the sederunt that reponed Hepburn, later expressed his disapproval: *Ibid.*, p.277. The 1708 general assembly refused to approve the commission's proceedings, suggesting that it had acted *ultra vires*: NAS, Register of the general assembly, 1702-1708, CH1/1/18, pp.499-500.

removed the scruples of many dissenters from the Church. Any such expectations were soon proved unrealistically optimistic.

III

In the winter of 1706-7, therefore, ministers tried to balance competing commitments to clerical unity and individual conscience, while recognising that their actions might provoke hostile lay responses. In addition to the commission's addresses to parliament, addresses were signed by representatives of three presbyteries and over sixty parishes, as part of a wider campaign of anti-union petitioning.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the conduct of the ministry was not sufficient to satisfy many opponents of the treaty. Indeed, there may have been little anti-union preaching and public prayer.⁵⁸ The earl of Selkirk complained in September 1706 that clergy no longer expressed opposition to the union.⁵⁹ George Lockhart of Carnwath accused ministers of 'sinful silence' once a measure of security had been achieved. This 'enraged the populace against them', making them 'universally hated and despised'.⁶⁰

On this point, as on others, Lockhart exaggerated.⁶¹ But there is evidence that lay people, including some at non-elite levels, were dissatisfied with the ministry's conduct. One writer complained that the capital's clergy were 'so great Fearers of men', that they had failed in their duty to God, in which they should 'have caused all the Pulpits of *Edinburgh* to ring' against the union.⁶² In 1712, Allan Logan, minister of Torryburn, Fife, alleged that '*Presbyterian Ministers* are defamed by their Adversaries, as if they had made the *Union*, and many of their Friends reflect severely on them, for not being more plain and full in their Address to the

⁵⁷ Stephen, 'Scottish Presbyterians and the Anglo-Scottish Union', pp.255-80; Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp.115-37.

⁵⁸ Stephen, 'The Kirk and the union', p.83.

⁵⁹ Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations*, p.253.

⁶⁰ George Lockhart, '*Scotland's Ruine*': *Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs of the Union* ed. D. Szechi (Aberdeen, 1995), pp.155, 211.

⁶¹ On this subject, see now C.A. Whatley and D.J. Patrick, 'Contesting interpretations of the union of 1707: the abuse and use of George Lockhart of Carnwath's *Memoirs*', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 27 (2007), pp.24-47.

⁶² [Patrick Grant?], *A Speech in Season against the Union, or a Smoaking Furnace and a Burning Lamp* ([Edinburgh?], [1707?]), p.7.

Parliament'.⁶³ Presbyterian memoirist Elizabeth West was appalled by a sermon she heard on Edinburgh's 31 October 1706 fast day, which 'endeavoured to please both Parties', rather than unequivocally opposing the treaty.⁶⁴ Robert Wodrow heard rumours from Paisley presbytery that parishioners threatened to desert the sermons of one pro-union minister, and to rabble another.⁶⁵

In the years after 1707, lay perceptions of the Church's conduct with regard to the union undermined the reputation of clergy. Thomas Boston, who was admitted to the parish of Ettrick on the day the union came into force, commented that 'the spirits of the people of that place' were 'embittered' by the union 'against the ministers of the church', even those, such as Boston, who opposed incorporation.⁶⁶ Wodrow linked 'a sad and heavy change among' the godly in his area to the divisions resulting from union. Dissenters in his parish had been 'upon the growing hand since our late Union', he reported in 1709.⁶⁷

Wodrow complained that lay people criticised ministers' preaching for not being 'free enough, as they foolishly term it, against our late change of constitution'.⁶⁸ Part of the ministry's problem may have been parliament's guarantee of security for the Church. One supporter of John Macmillan argued that the act of security 'involved' the Church in 'all the Guilt of that Union'. The act was the Church's 'undoubted Sanctuary', and was explicitly cited in the commission of the general assembly's August 1709 act against religious innovations.⁶⁹ Although not all separatists placed much emphasis on the act of security,⁷⁰ Wodrow encountered difficulties in reading the 1709 act from the pulpit. '[S]uch is the temper of the people at this juncture, that

⁶³ [Allan Logan], *The Oath of Abjuration Enquir'd into: in a Letter to a Friend* ([Edinburgh?], 1712), p.7.

⁶⁴ West, *Memoirs*, p.222.

⁶⁵ NLS, ?Thomas Brown to Robert Wodrow, 11 Nov. 1706, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 155r.; NLS, same to same, 2 Dec. 1706, Wod Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 161r.

⁶⁶ Boston, *Memoirs*, pp.208-9.

⁶⁷ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.48, 50.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, i, p.30.

⁶⁹ [Hugh Clark], *A Modest Reply to a Pamphlet, Intituled; A Letter from a Friend to Mr John M'millan* ([Edinburgh?], [1710]), p.9; NAS, Register of the commission of the general assembly, 1709-1712, CH1/3/11, pp.39-41.

⁷⁰ NLS, James Guthrie to Robert Wodrow, 24 Oct. 1709, Wod. Lett. Qu. II, fo. 127r.

they cannot hear that act [i.e. the union] spoken of by ministers, even by way of narration, but they stumble at it, as if we were approving that alteration'.⁷¹

Despite the act of security, parliamentary union led to a series of blows to the Church's position, which weakened its standing among parishioners. The first of these setbacks was the abolition of the Scottish privy council, which followed an act of the British parliament in February 1708. The change was favoured by squadrone politicians, as a challenge to the dominance of the duke of Queensberry and the Scottish court party.⁷² For the Church of Scotland, which saw the privy council as a crucial prop to its establishment, the abolition was alarming. Lord Grange reported the disappointment of many in Edinburgh at the squadrone policy. Some ministers had become accustomed to the union, he wrote, but 'they begin now to lose any hope they began to entertain of their security'.⁷³ With the privy council gone, it was argued, the Church would receive limited support for the resolution of irregularities such as rabbling and ministerial intrusion into parishes. Indeed, episcopalians in Elgin were reportedly celebrating the abolition months before it took effect.⁷⁴

It is not clear whether lay presbyterians objected to the abolition of the privy council in the same terms as their ministers. Yet controversy at non-elite levels resulted from some of the consequences of the abolition, most notably an altered procedure for calling national fasts. The standard practice after 1690 had involved the general assembly, commission or another court meeting in Edinburgh passing a resolution for a fast, and then applying for the sanction of the civil authorities, typically gained from the privy council or parliament.⁷⁵ Ministers thought that this procedure was practical and scripturally warranted.⁷⁶ Yet the civil sanction was not always sought;

⁷¹ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.41.

⁷² 6 Ann. c. 6, *Statutes at Large*, iv, pp.275-6; P.W.J. Riley, *The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727* (London, 1964), pp.90-5; W.A. Speck, *The Birth of Britain: A New Nation, 1700-1710* (Oxford, 1994), pp.126-9.

⁷³ HMC, *Mar and Kellie*, i, pp.421-2.

⁷⁴ J. Grant (ed.), *Seafield Correspondence from 1685 to 1708* (SHS, 1912), pp.436, 450.

⁷⁵ See e.g. the appointment of the 28 March 1700 fast: *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp.290-1; NAS, Privy council acta, 13 July 1699-5 May 1703, PC1/52, pp.73-7. The privy council determined the date of the fast, and issued a proclamation to be read by ministers.

⁷⁶ NLS, 'Anent the power of appointing Nationall Fasts and Thanksgivings', Wod. Oct. XII, fos. 33v.-34r.

the power to appoint fasts was seen as part of the Church's intrinsic right.⁷⁷ Although church courts sometimes acted alone, it was unusual for fasting to be ordered solely by the civil authorities.⁷⁸

With no Scottish privy council or parliament, it was unclear where the Church's requests for fasts ought to be directed, particularly as the British parliament and council contained bishops.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the court began to take the initiative in calling fasts, without consulting representatives of the Church. The first such fast was to be observed on 14 January 1708. Squadrone peers reportedly used this opportunity to further the standardisation of procedures across Britain, since they rejected a suggestion that the proclamation be issued by the Scottish privy council.⁸⁰ Observation of the fast was controversial both because of the influence of the 'lords spiritual' over the proclamation, and because the Church had not been consulted.⁸¹ Some argued that a fast with no ecclesiastical application was an innovation that undermined the Church's authority. If ministers were not asked to devise reasons for fasts, moreover, such occasions would become 'meer pageantry' and a 'fearful Mocking of God'.⁸² Presbyteries and individual ministers seem to have written their own reasons in 1708,⁸³ but this did not prevent controversy over observation of the fast.

Many ministers and lay people felt uneasy over the legality of a fast appointed solely by civil authority.⁸⁴ In some instances, non-elite people were encouraged to ignore

⁷⁷ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp.336-7, 391; NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame's diary, 1702-1705, GD1/649/4, p.300.

⁷⁸ NLS, Robert Wylie to Robert Wodrow, 19 Dec. 1707, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 213v. The Church may have had less regular involvement with the appointment of thanksgivings. For a thanksgiving apparently called without Church application, see NAS, Privy council acta, 2 Feb. 1692-31 March 1693, PC1/48, pp.238-9.

⁷⁹ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.7-8, 10-11.

⁸⁰ NLS, John Maxwell to Robert Wodrow, 4 Dec. 1707, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 210r.

⁸¹ West, *Memoirs*, p.233; NLS, Robert Wodrow to Robert Wylie, Dec. 1707, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 211v.

⁸² NLS, Overture for an act of the presbytery of Hamilton, 1708, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 289.

⁸³ NLS, John Fork to Robert Wodrow, 8 Jan. 1708, Wod. Lett. Qu. V, fo. 4r.; NLS, *Memoirs of John Brand*, minister of Bo'ness, MS. 1668, fo. 99v.

⁸⁴ NLS, Newsletter, 2 Jan. 1708, probably by Robert Wylie, Wod. Qu. XL, fo. 33v.; *A Short but Plain Discovery to whom the Due Right of Describing and Appointing Fasts doth Belong* (London, 1708).

fasts by ministers and elders.⁸⁵ In other cases, the inclinations of clergy clashed with those of their parishioners. Thomas Boston observed the 1708 fast, which he thought was legitimately called, but '[u]pon this many of my hearers broke off, and left me; several of whom never returned'. '[C]onsidering the temper of the people', Boston thought, refusing to observe 14 January in deference to their scruples would have served to 'teach them to dictate ever after unto me'.⁸⁶ The decisions of ministers could not convince all of the scrupulous laity to observe the fast. Elizabeth West found that most of her lay and clerical acquaintances favoured cooperating with the crown's proclamation, but she withdrew, having decided in private prayer that the fast was illegitimate. For West, the controversy was a consequence of the union, which she thought breached the Covenants. Fasting on the orders of bishops was itself incompatible with Scotland's national oaths.⁸⁷ For ministers with godly parishioners, it was not enough to be resolved in one's own conscience that observing fasts appointed by civil authority was lawful. The argument had to be made to the laity. Robert Wodrow agreed with his father-in-law, Patrick Warner, that obeying a proclamation issued on the advice of bishops did not imply approbation of episcopacy. In response to his parishioners' concerns over a fast in 1710, however, he intended to make this point explicit in a declaration from the pulpit.⁸⁸

Wodrow was not unusual in feeling compelled to defend his decision to observe fasts appointed by civil authority alone. The presbytery of Hamilton recommended observance of the 1710 fast, noting that the crown's proclamations of fasts had caused offence, not only to 'separatists', but also to 'some well meaning and o[the]rways regular persons'. The presbytery claimed that it was lawful for both the Church and the civil magistrate to appoint fasts.⁸⁹ In May 1710, the general assembly passed an act in favour of the observation of all fasts, appealing to the 'peace and welfare of this Church', and arguing that contempt of fasts would

⁸⁵ *An Essay for Removing of Prejudices, against the Keeping of Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving* ([Edinburgh?], 1713), p.5; Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, pp.260-1.

⁸⁶ Boston, *Memoirs*, pp.218-19.

⁸⁷ West, *Memoirs*, pp.234-8.

⁸⁸ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.129, 132; NLS, Patrick Warner to Robert Wodrow, 28 March 1710, Wod. Lett. Qu. II, fo. 139.

⁸⁹ NLS, Act of the presbytery of Hamilton, March 1710, Wod. Fol. XXXV, fo. 178r.

provoke God.⁹⁰ The duty of obedience might have persuaded some to comply with royal proclamations, but the assembly's act did not determine where the authority to call fasts lay.⁹¹ Furthermore, members of the assembly thought it politically inexpedient to make a statement of the Church's rights and principles.⁹² By 1711, presbyterian commentators noted a growing wariness with respect to the calling of fasts among members of the general assembly and its commission.⁹³

As with debates over the Covenants and the intrinsic right in the period before 1707, the assembly's equivocation regarding fasts gave an ideological boost to separatism. Post-union petitions by the Hebronites and the United Societies criticised the civil appointment of fasts.⁹⁴ By agreeing to celebrate fasts called by the crown, ministers risked widening the gulf between themselves and members of the laity who refused to comply. Opposition to a fast in January 1712 seems to have been expressed in a declaration affixed to church doors, and later printed, which was purportedly written by 'some poor People, who desire *to have their garments kept clean* of the Defilements of this sinful Apostatizing Time'. While enemies threatened to 'carry us back to *Rome*', the declaration's supporters complained, ministers '*sit at their ease and swell in pride* against poor People, that dare not concur with their Schismatical Church-ruining Courses'.⁹⁵

IV

The challenges posed to the Church of Scotland as a result of the union increased substantially after the victory of the tories in the general election of 1710. Scottish episcopalian MPs, in alliance with the October Club of backbench tories, delivered a series of pro-episcopalian measures in parliament, in spite of the Harley ministry's

⁹⁰ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p.443.

⁹¹ NLS, 'Anent Nationall Fasts and Thanksgivings', Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 39v.

⁹² Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.141.

⁹³ NLS, John Erskine to Robert Wodrow, 6 Jan. 1711, Wod. Lett. Qu. V, fos. 80v.-81r.; NLS, James Webster to Robert Wodrow, 1 Feb. 1711, Wod Lett. Qu. VI, fo. 4r.

⁹⁴ [Gavin Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings for the Good Old-Way, or a Plain Representation* ([Edinburgh?], 1713), p.266; NLS, Macmillanite address to George I, 1714, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 156v.

⁹⁵ *A Seasonable Advertisement, concerning the Late Publick Fast of the 25th January, 1712* ([Edinburgh?], [1712]), pp.3-4.

desire to appease presbyterian opinion.⁹⁶ In March 1711, following episcopalian lobbying, the House of Lords upheld an appeal by episcopalian minister James Greenshields against imprisonment for use of the Anglican liturgy in Edinburgh.⁹⁷ Having triumphed in the Greenshields case, episcopalians promoted legislation designed to undermine the presbyterian establishment, apparently confirming that Westminster would not regard the 1707 act of security as a fundamental law. In 1712, therefore, acts were passed granting episcopalians toleration, restoring lay patronage in the Church, and reviving the Yule vacation at the college of justice in Edinburgh.⁹⁸

Collectively, these acts were seen by many presbyterians as outrageous and illegal encroachments on the Church. In 1712, the presbytery of Stirling asked the general assembly to give testimony against toleration, patronage and the Yule vacation, noting 'how afflicting these are to the Godly'.⁹⁹ Elizabeth Cairns, a pious young presbyterian then living in Stirling, was deeply worried by the legislation of 1712, by which 'Government' was apparently 'wrested' away from the Church. For Cairns, 1712 was a political watershed: before the downturn in the Church's fortunes, she 'had little Knowledge of any Thing, but what concerned my own Soul; but when this Concern was laid on, it exceeded all other Concerns for a Time'.¹⁰⁰

The restoration of the Yule vacation seems to have generated little controversy in print or manuscript, presumably because it had no direct effect on the Church, and because it was rescinded shortly after the accession of George I.¹⁰¹ Yet the response of clergy to the act reinstating the vacation, which repealed part of the 1690 settlement, provoked some comment. The Hebronites saw the measure as part of a

⁹⁶ D. Szechi, 'The politics of "persecution": Scots episcopalian toleration and the Harley ministry, 1710-12', in W.J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration*, Studies in Church History, 21 (Oxford, 1984).

⁹⁷ T.N. Clarke, 'The Scottish Episcopalians, 1688-1720' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1987), pp.243-8; R.S. Tompson, 'James Greenshields and the House of Lords: a reappraisal', in W.M. Gordon and T.D. Fergus (eds.), *Legal History in the Making: Proceedings of the Ninth British Legal History Conference* (London, 1991).

⁹⁸ 10 Ann. cc. 7, 12, 13, *Statutes at Large*, iv, pp.513-15, 522-3.

⁹⁹ NAS, Stirling presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1712, CH1/2/32/2, fo. 75r.

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Cairns, *Memoirs of the Life of Elizabeth Cairns* (Glasgow, [1762?]), pp.113-18, 136 (quotation).

¹⁰¹ 1 Geo. I stat. 2 c. 28, *Statutes at Large*, v, p.74.

covert reintroduction of episcopacy, and complained that ministers had not sufficiently condemned the superstitious holiday.¹⁰²

By restoring the right of lay patrons to present ministers to vacant parishes, parliament dismantled another part of the 1690 settlement.¹⁰³ Presbyterian ministers could not be blamed for the 1712 act, but the restoration of patronage added to separatists' objections to the post-revolution Church.¹⁰⁴ Followers of John Hepburn took the opportunity to criticise the mainstream ministry, arguing that the Church's opposition to the patronage act was 'very faint', and that the general assembly had failed to give testimony against patronage.¹⁰⁵ Even if the Church's attitude to the institution of patronage did not encourage new lay separation, it confirmed the scruples of existing separatists, and was expected by ministers to prove 'Grievous to the people of God' within the Church.¹⁰⁶

As well as exercising the laity, patronage sparked debates among ministers. Some argued that presbyteries ought not to try the qualifications of ministerial candidates nominated solely by patrons. Others thought that presbyteries could proceed to ordination, but only after administering popular calls to the candidates.¹⁰⁷ Yet when this compromise measure was attempted at Kilsyth by the presbytery of Glasgow, the patron's bailie commanded all tenants not to sign the call. Furthermore, Robert Wodrow and Robert Wylie agreed that the presbytery's procedure was ill-advised because it implied approval of patronage. Wodrow expected 'little advice' concerning the new arrangements from the commission of the general assembly, 'since they have already balked the giving of it; many are more cautious than advise anent any thing against law'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² [Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings*, pp.123-4, 268-9.

¹⁰³ For an account of the system introduced in 1690, see ch. 5 above, p.117.

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. NLS, Macmillanite address to George I, 1714, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 156v.

¹⁰⁵ [Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings*, pp.121 (quotation), 123.

¹⁰⁶ NAS, Fordoun presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1712, CH1/2/32/2, fo. 104r.

¹⁰⁷ NAS, Ayr presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1712, CH1/2/32/2, fo. 81r., NAS,

Francis Melville to William Carstares, 11 July 1712, CH1/2/32/2, fo. 174r.

¹⁰⁸ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.384, 352, 353 (quotation).

Previous scholars have argued that patronage became increasingly divisive from the 1720s, as the crown and other patrons used their rights more provocatively.¹⁰⁹ It seems that many patrons did not present candidates to vacant parishes in the years immediately following 1712, but there were several cases (in addition to Kilsyth) in which a patron's presentation led to local controversy. William Duguid, whose relations with the synod of Fife are discussed in chapter two, suggested that he was refused ordination to Burntisland, where he had considerable popular support, because presbyterians disapproved of the royal presentation he had received.¹¹⁰ In 1713, Dunsyre parishioners attempted to prevent James Bradfoot from being settled as their minister, after he had received a presentation to the parish from the crown.¹¹¹ In the following year, it was reported that episcopalian ministers had intruded on the churches of Old Machar and Slains, in the presbyteries of Aberdeen and Ellon, after receiving presentations from King's College. Supporters of the intruders then threatened to 'rable the [presbyterian] Mini[ste]rs sent to preach' in these parishes.¹¹² Parishioners in Aberlour violently opposed the ordination of George Lindsay, presented to the parish by William Duff of Braco.¹¹³ Patrons' presentations were also opposed in Peebles, in 1713, on account of the candidate's age, and in Bathgate in 1717.¹¹⁴ A full survey of the restoration of patronage, while beyond the scope of this thesis, would be an illuminating exercise.

In the Burntisland case, the presbyterian courts were able to resist pressure to ordain Duguid, despite his presentation from the crown. As a result, offence to scrupulous lay opponents of patronage was limited. A similar outcome was achieved in the parish of Crawfordjohn.¹¹⁵ In the period before 1709, parochial opposition to the earl of Selkirk's choice of minister was partly motivated by a belief that Selkirk's

¹⁰⁹ R.B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1985), p.47; A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh, 1973), p.40.

¹¹⁰ NAS, Papers concerning William Duguid, 1712-1713, CH1/2/32/3, fos. 231-2, 236r.

¹¹¹ D. Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1681-1731: A Study of Jacobitism* (East Linton, 2002), p.44; *Fasti*, i, p.253.

¹¹² NAS, Garioch presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1714, CH1/2/34/1, fo. 91r.

¹¹³ NAS, Account of Aberlour rabbling, 1714, CH1/2/34/3, fos. 278-9.

¹¹⁴ *Fasti*, i, pp.287, 193. In 1717, Peebles seems to have been the first parish to have a minister admitted by 'riding committee': H.R. Sefton, 'Lord Ilay and Patrick Cuming: a study in eighteenth-century ecclesiastical management', *RSHCS*, 19:3 (1977), pp.203-16, at p.207.

¹¹⁵ See ch. 7 above, pp.178-9.

influence resembled that of a patron.¹¹⁶ After the restoration of patronage, Selkirk attempted to present a minister to the parish, which had again become vacant in 1711. The presbytery refused to receive the presentation, and Selkirk's nominee declined to comply. However, a compromise seems to have been achieved, as Selkirk's candidate was subsequently ordained to the parish on the basis of a popular call.¹¹⁷ Had a call not been engineered, it is possible that the struggle over Crawfordjohn would have mirrored the cases of Torphichen and Inverkeithing in the 1750s, with the presbytery refusing to admit the patron's nominee.¹¹⁸ Certainly the troubles that patronage could cause in the Church were apparent by the end of Anne's reign.

In the short term, the act granting episcopalian toleration created more religious controversy than any other development in the immediate post-union period. Various parts of the legislation prompted objections from ministers and lay people at all social levels, across Scotland. Most obviously, toleration itself was controversial. The Hebronites described toleration as 'a most bitter and envenomed Fruit' of the union.¹¹⁹ The presbyteries of Perth and Fordoun concurred that episcopalian toleration was 'Grievous to the people of God'.¹²⁰ Presbyterians predicted that the toleration would have dire effects. In a petition to Anne before the passage of the act, the commission of the general assembly argued that episcopalian toleration broke the terms of the act of security, and that the bill was so widely drawn as to allow the preaching of almost any doctrine. Toleration, it was alleged, would lead to 'the infallible disturbance of the quiet, and to the confusion, of this Church and nation'.¹²¹ Another presbyterian objection to toleration, that it would prove a boon to Jacobitism,¹²² was probably well-founded, despite the legislation's requirement that episcopalian ministers abjure the Pretender and pray for Anne. In 1712, magistrates at Kirkwall celebrated the passage of episcopalian toleration with bonfires, whereas

¹¹⁶ NAS, Paper concerning Crawfordjohn, c.1707, CH1/2/28/3, fo. 229Ar.

¹¹⁷ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.352; *Fasti*, iii, p.298.

¹¹⁸ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, pp.58-9.

¹¹⁹ [Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings*, p.106.

¹²⁰ NAS, Presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1712, CH1/2/32/2, fos. 101r., 104r. (quotation).

¹²¹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp.467-70, quotation at p.469.

¹²² NLS, Draft letter on toleration by ?John Stirling, Wod. Fol. LI, fos. 95-7.

the town was silent on the queen's birthday.¹²³ Two years later, the presbytery of Dunkeld reported that few episcopalian ministers prayed for Anne or the Hanoverian succession.¹²⁴ In the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite rising, presbyterians complained of episcopalian ministers who had taken the oath of abjuration but prayed for the exiled Stuarts from their pulpits.¹²⁵

Toleration may not have precipitated a substantial increase in the opportunities for episcopalian worship, which were widespread before 1712. Nevertheless, it did expand the legal rights of the episcopalian laity. As a result of the act, lay people who renounced communion with the established Church could ignore the sentences of its courts. Indeed, magistrates were forbidden to compel the attendance of people cited by presbyterian courts. The synod of Glasgow and Ayr feared that these provisions would promote 'all sorts of profaneness in practise by enervating our discipline, and [th]e weakning of our whole constitution'.¹²⁶ In the years after the act's passage, the general assembly received complaints that episcopalian toleration undermined the exercise of discipline by presbyterians. Confusion developed in Dundee after episcopalians set up a presbytery to rival that of the presbyterians. Episcopalians in the synod of Angus and the Mearns allegedly absolved those under the censure of the established Church and married without proclamation of banns.¹²⁷ In 1714, the presbytery of Deer reported the 'abounding vice and immoralitie', which 'too many sheltering themselves under the Late Act of toleration do run out unto'.¹²⁸ Of course, in areas with substantial concentrations of episcopalians, including Edinburgh,¹²⁹ competing church courts had undermined the authority of the re-established Church since the revolution.¹³⁰ Yet the legislation granting episcopalian toleration contributed to a gradual decline in the effectiveness of presbyterian

¹²³ NAS, Edward Irving to the commission of the general assembly, 3 Apr. 1712, CH1/2/32/6, fo. 543r.

¹²⁴ NAS, Dunkeld presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1714, CH1/2/34/1, fo. 86r.

¹²⁵ B. Lenman, 'The Scottish episcopalian clergy and the ideology of Jacobitism', in E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), p.46.

¹²⁶ NLS, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr fast declaration, Apr. 1712, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 100r.

¹²⁷ NAS, Synod of Angus and the Mearns grievances, 1713, CH1/2/33/2, fo. 138r.

¹²⁸ NAS, Deer presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1714, CH1/2/34/1, fo. 90r.

¹²⁹ See ch. 2 above, p.48.

¹³⁰ S.J. Davies, 'The courts and the Scottish legal system 1600-1747: the case of Stirlingshire', in V.A.C. Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker (eds.), *Crime and the Law: the Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London, 1980), pp.131-2, 153.

discipline, as lay people now claimed the right to decline the jurisdiction of church courts.¹³¹ In 1713, the presbytery of Alford reported that some scandalous persons declared that they were not in communion with the Church, and thus refused to submit to discipline, despite their regular attendance at presbyterian worship.¹³²

Whatever the effects of toleration on episcopalian congregations, the legislation had direct consequences for all presbyterian ministers. The promoters of toleration in the House of Commons sought to avoid any test of the loyalty of the largely Jacobite episcopalian clergy. The likelihood that opponents would clog the toleration with oaths probably encouraged episcopalian MPs to delay the introduction of the bill until the parliamentary session after Greenshields's acquittal, when political conditions were favourable.¹³³ Nevertheless, the final act required all those qualifying under its terms to swear the oath of abjuration, thereby renouncing allegiance to the exiled Stuarts. Despite well-publicised presbyterian doubts concerning the oath, and the act of security's guarantee that oaths contrary to presbyterian principles would not be imposed, presbyterian ministers were also required to swear the abjuration.¹³⁴ Nonjurors risked large fines and the loss of their benefices.

The oath, which originated in an English act of 1702, had three elements, all of which provoked presbyterian scruples.¹³⁵ First, it contained a vow of allegiance to Anne, which the vast majority of presbyterian ministers had previously sworn. For many, this multiplication of oaths was objectionable, as it suggested that ministers' promises were not to be trusted, and required swearers to invoke the Lord's name

¹³¹ L. Leneman and R. Mitchison, *Sin in the City: Sexuality and Social Control in Urban Scotland 1660-1780* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.85-6.

¹³² NAS, Alford presbytery instructions to the general assembly, 1713, CH1/2/33/2, fo. 123r.

¹³³ 'Letters of Lord Balmerino to Harry Maule, 1710-1713, 1721-1722' ed. C. Jones, in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society: Twelfth Volume* (SHS, 1994), p.127; Szechi, 'Politics of "persecution"', pp.282-3.

¹³⁴ 10 Ann. c. 7, *Statutes at Large*, iv, pp.513-5; *APS*, xi, pp.403, 414.

¹³⁵ 13 Wm. III c. 6, *Statutes at Large*, iv, pp.88-86 [*sic*]. It was amended by 1 Ann. stat. 1 c. 22, *Statutes at Large*, iv, pp.106, 115. The oath as tendered to presbyterian clergy can be found in [Hugh Clark], *The Oath of Abjuration Displayed, in its Sinful Nature and Tendency* ([Edinburgh?], 1712), pp.2-3. This oath should not be confused with an earlier oath abjuring the United Societies' 'Apologetical Declaration' of late 1684: cf. E.J. Cowan, 'The Covenanting tradition in Scottish history', in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh, 2002), p.132. See ch. 6 above, p.142.

repeatedly.¹³⁶ A second part of the oath abjured the Pretender. While most presbyterians had no principled objection to this, some complained that the oath's wording implied that parliament could not change the succession in James Stuart's favour. The presbytery of Irvine thought that this contradicted the assurance (sworn by ministers from 1693), which confirmed the change in the succession at the revolution.¹³⁷

The third and most controversial aspect of the abjuration oath was the promise it contained to uphold the Hanoverian succession. Some professed supporters of the succession alleged that swearing an oath in its defence suggested approval of the union.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the oath made reference to the English bill of rights (1689), and act of settlement (1701), the latter of which specified that Anne's successors must communicate with the Church of England, and swear the English coronation oath. The coronation oath contained a promise to defend the rights of the Anglican bishops.¹³⁹ The imposition of the abjuration on the presbyterian clergy thus provoked bitter wrangling over whether the oath contradicted the Covenants. Some argued that by swearing the oath one became bound to uphold only the entailed succession itself, and not the conditions of the entail. The oath was therefore compatible with presbyterian principles.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, it was argued, presbyterian scruples arose largely from an understandable ignorance of English legal terminology.¹⁴¹ Yet presbyterians who refused the abjuration pointed out that oaths were supposed to be taken in the sense intended by the authorities imposing them.¹⁴² In January 1707, the Scottish parliament had refused to pass an act defining the term

¹³⁶ [Clark], *Oath of Abjuration Displayed*, p.5; [Robert Wodrow], *The Oath of Abjuration, Considered* ([Edinburgh?], 1712), p.14; NLS, Queries concerning the abjuration oath, c.1712, Wod. Oct. XXX, fos. 71v., 72v.

¹³⁷ *Some Reasons by a Divine of the Kirk of Scotland, Proving that their Clergy there cannot with a safe Conscience Swear the English Oath of Abjuration* ([Edinburgh?], [1712?]), pp.2-3; NAS, Irvine presbytery objections to the abjuration oath, 1712, CH1/2/32/2, fo. 84r.; APS, ix, p.264, xi, p.16.

¹³⁸ [Logan], *Oath of Abjuration enquir'd into*, pp.1-2; NLS, Queries concerning the abjuration oath, Wod. Oct. XXX, fo. 74r.

¹³⁹ 1 Wm. and Mary sess. 2 c. 2, 12 Wm. III c. 2, *Statutes at Large*, iii, pp.440-3, iv, pp.61-3; [Clark], *Oath of Abjuration Displayed*, p.3.

¹⁴⁰ [John McMurdo], *An Answer to a Pamphlet, intituled, The Oath of Abjuration Displayed* ([Edinburgh?], 1713), pp.27-8, 40; [Alexander Lauder], *A Vindication of the Ministers and Ruling Elders of the Church of Scotland, who have Taken the Abjuration* (Edinburgh, 1712), pp.4-5.

¹⁴¹ [James Steuart], *The Oath of Abjuration, set in its True Light* (Edinburgh, 1712), pp.11-12.

¹⁴² Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.308-9.

‘limitation’ in the oath.¹⁴³ An amendment to the oath’s text designed to remove presbyterian objections was defeated in Westminster.¹⁴⁴ In the absence of clarification, scrupulous presbyterians concluded that there was reason to believe that the oath did indeed favour episcopacy.

Across Scotland, around a third of presbyterian ministers refused to take the abjuration oath.¹⁴⁵ Most areas saw clergy divide over the issue, and in large parts of the south-west a majority of ministers seem to have refused the oath.¹⁴⁶ As with other post-union disputes, the controversy over whether ministers could swear the abjuration was significantly influenced by the attitudes of non-elite people. There was widespread opposition to the oath among the lay godly. In 1712, the presbytery of Lanark complained that by taking the oath, jurors would render their ministry ‘useless to [th]e generality of the godly in [th]e west & south of Scotland’. The presbytery of Irvine agreed, noting that swearing the oath ‘will give great offence to our people’.¹⁴⁷ A paper circulated by nonjurors gave a series of objections to the oath, and showed how important lay scruples were to ministers:

Though we are very far from subjecting our principles or conduct to the notions of the people, yet we reckon ourselves obliged in conscience not to despise the flocks committed to our charge [...] and knowing that very judicious persons amongst them, from the first imposing of this oath, had, and still have, without any procurement of ours, material exceptions against it [...] we could not but have thought it an untender and unfaithful part in us to have laid a stumbling-block before them, and frustrated all good effects of our ministry among them, by going into a public oath[.]¹⁴⁸

Unsurprisingly, it was suggested that some nonjuring ministers declined the oath merely to please the scrupulous laity.¹⁴⁹ By contrast, nonjurors claimed that by taking the oaths, ministers would provide a ‘handle to *Separatists*’.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ APS, xi, pp.395, 397.

¹⁴⁴ NLS, Letter against the abjuration oath, 1712, Wod. Oct. XXX, fo. 125r.; [Wodrow], *Oath of Abjuration*, pp.9-10.

¹⁴⁵ Boston, *Memoirs*, p.272.

¹⁴⁶ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.321-6.

¹⁴⁷ NAS, Presbytery objections to the abjuration oath, 1712, CH1/2/32/2, fos. 99r., 84r.

¹⁴⁸ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.644 (quotation), 371-4.

¹⁴⁹ *The White Swan with Black Feet. Or, the Nimble Tricker Unmask'd* ([Edinburgh?], 1713), p.14.

¹⁵⁰ [Wodrow], *Oath of Abjuration*, p.13.

As ministers recognised, godly lay people agonised about the oath and its consequences. The prayer society of which John Ronald, a young Edinburgh lorimer, was part broke up over the abjuration oath, after its members failed ‘to agree in our judgments concerning the practice of our minister’.¹⁵¹ The correspondence of two members of other lay prayer societies shows that opinions diverged over how non-elite presbyterians should respond to the oath. One argued that separating from juring ministers would ‘play [th]e game of our commone enimies’. His correspondent maintained that such separation would make jurors sensible of their error.¹⁵²

Significant numbers of lay presbyterians seem to have withdrawn from hearing the juring clergy. Soon after ministers took the abjuration, the congregation had apparently diminished at the New Kirk in Glasgow, which one observer blamed on popular resentment at the oath.¹⁵³ Later in the month, it was reported that jurors’ congregations in Galloway were ‘not six in number’.¹⁵⁴ In 1713 or 1714, Elizabeth Cairns visited Blackford, the Perthshire village in which she had been brought up, to find that ‘many of the Congregation had left’ the minister, who had taken the oath.¹⁵⁵ In June 1713, it was reported that ‘many of the people’ in Hamilton presbytery ‘had withdrawn from their Ministers meerly upon the account of their having taken the oath of Abjuration’. In an attempt to reconcile parishioners with their ministers, the presbytery proposed writing a protest against the oath for lay use.¹⁵⁶ In Lesmahagow, Thomas Linning allowed some scrupulous elders to make a protest before sitting in the kirk session with Robert Black, a juring minister.¹⁵⁷ There is evidence that at least one presbytery received a paper from elders who had temporarily separated over the oath.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ John Ronald, *The Reality and the Efficacy of the Work of the Spirit of God, manifested in the Experiences of John Ronald* (Edinburgh, 1767), pp.43-4.

¹⁵² NLS, Letters between James Galloway and William Harvie, 1712-1713, Wod. Oct. XII, fos. 122v. (quotation), 124.

¹⁵³ NLS, John McBride to Robert Wodrow, 7 Nov. 1712, Wod. Lett. Qu. VI, fo. 217r.

¹⁵⁴ NLS, William Lindsay to Robert Wodrow, 25 Nov. 1712, Wod. Lett. Qu. VI, fo. 253r.

¹⁵⁵ Cairns, *Memoirs*, p.122.

¹⁵⁶ NLS, Abjuration oath difficulties, 1713, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 304r.

¹⁵⁷ NLS, Robert Wylie to Robert Wodrow, 11 Dec. 1712, Wod. Lett. Qu. VI, fo. 268r.

¹⁵⁸ NLS, Presbytery minutes, c.1713, Wod. Oct. XXX, fo.136.

More extreme voices among the laity called for nonjuring ministers to refuse to communicate with their juring brethren. Despite refusing the oath, Thomas Boston found that he gained little respect from his parishioners ‘because I would not separate from, but still kept communion with, the jurors’.¹⁵⁹ The parishioners of another nonjuror threatened to stone him when he agreed to assist jurors at a communion service.¹⁶⁰ In Galloway, lay people were reportedly prepared to separate from nonjuring ministers who continued to communicate with jurors.¹⁶¹ Elders in New Luce, Galloway, composed a declaration that intended to bind their minister, Thomas Hay, not to communicate with juring clergy. Stating various commonplace objections to the oath, they argued that since jurors engaged to defend corrupt Anglican principles, ‘honest, Cov[enan]t[e]d presbiterians, cannot joyn u[i]t[h] [the]m in administration of gospell ordinances’.¹⁶² In spite of his elders’ attitude, Hay continued to sit in the presbytery of Stranraer, which contained several juring ministers.¹⁶³

Encouraged by lay supporters, a small number of presbyterian ministers chose to separate from their brethren over the abjuration oath. The problem was concentrated in the synod of Dumfries, where at least six ministers refused to attend church courts.¹⁶⁴ The 1713 general assembly responded with an act stating that differences in opinion concerning the oath were no reason for separation.¹⁶⁵ Wodrow was glad that the assembly acted unanimously in the matter, but feared that some presbyterians ‘have been taught a way of disregarding the acts of this Church’.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, John Hepburn preached against the oath in the south-west, and read from the pulpit pamphlets against swearing.¹⁶⁷ James Gilchrist, minister of Dunscore in Dumfries

¹⁵⁹ Boston, *Memoirs*, p.272.

¹⁶⁰ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.351.

¹⁶¹ NLS, Robert Wylie to Robert Wodrow, 3 Dec. 1712, Wod. Lett. Qu. VI, fo. 261r.

¹⁶² NLS, Declaration of New Luce kirk session, c.1713, Wod. Oct. XXX, fos. 174-8, quotation at fo. 177r.

¹⁶³ NAS, Presbytery of Stranraer minutes, 1702-1716, CH2/341/2. It is unclear how Hay’s elders responded. NAS, New Luce kirk session minutes, 1694-1741, CH2/700/1, contain no minutes for the period 1709-1725.

¹⁶⁴ NAS, Synod of Dumfries minutes, 1691-1717, CH2/98/1, p.423.

¹⁶⁵ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p.482.

¹⁶⁶ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, pp.455 (quotation), 457.

¹⁶⁷ [Mitchell], *Humble Pleadings*, pp.270, 290.

presbytery, also read papers against the oath to his parishioners, and to others who flocked to hear him.¹⁶⁸ Gilchrist joined Hepburn and John Taylor, minister of Wamphray, in a separatist presbytery, and Gilchrist and Taylor were subsequently deposed from the ministry.¹⁶⁹ Boston reported that a few of his parishioners separated from the Church as a result of Taylor's preaching, but at least one later repented her separation.¹⁷⁰

V

The union of 1707, and the various changes following from it, increased the complexity and divisiveness of Scottish religious politics. Elite presbyterians, some of whom supported the union, exhibited a cautious approach to lobbying for the security of the Church and expressing their disapproval of aspects of the union that broke the Covenants. This caution, previously exemplified by the general assembly's failure to assert the intrinsic right, was also apparent in the Church's responses to episcopalian toleration and the restoration of patronage. It is not clear whether the assembly and its commission could have followed a different policy. Leading ministers disagreed over the main issues; the church courts had little influence over members of the Scottish parliament, and less over Westminster MPs and peers. After 1710, the presbyterians' enemies were in power in London.

The Church's position deteriorated in significant and lasting ways after 1707. Episcopalians benefited from the abolition of the privy council and from toleration; violent crowds continued to attack presbyterians in the north of Scotland.¹⁷¹ In southern and central Scotland, the non-elite godly had little sympathy for the dilemmas facing their ministers over fasts, patronage and the abjuration oath. These post-union arguments illustrate several of the characteristics of religious controversy between presbyterians seen in chapter seven. Disputes were conducted as fiercely by non-elite presbyterians as by the clergy, with lay prayer societies often serving as

¹⁶⁸ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.365.

¹⁶⁹ NAS, Presbytery of Dumfries minutes, 1710-1726, CH2/1284/5, pp.213-5; NAS, Synod of Dumfries minutes, CH2/98/1, pp.466-9.

¹⁷⁰ Boston, *Memoirs*, pp.299, 306.

¹⁷¹ See ch. 5 above.

arenas of debate. The actions of ministers were closely scrutinised by their brethren and by ordinary men and women. Pamphleteers could expect that their works would be discussed by elite and non-elite audiences, particularly when ministers read excerpts from the pulpit. Some clergy sided with the separatist laity over the abjuration oath; many others recognised that non-elite opinions were important.

In the long term, the post-union period is significant because it prepared the way for decades of controversy over the Church's attitude to patronage. In the short term, the debates over the abjuration were most divisive and revealing. Ministers differed among themselves, and the judgements of many were opposed by their parishioners. The controversy shook the Church and, as chapter ten argues, contributed to a subtle shift in the place of religion in Scottish society.

Chapter 9: New Learning, Religious Orthodoxy and Atheism

I

In the late seventeenth century, arguments between presbyterians and episcopalians exposed some important fractures in Scotland's religious culture. The nation was divided over the significance of the Covenants and the legitimacy of the government's suppression of presbyterian dissent. Different attitudes to piety and morality were described, exaggerated and distorted by rival pamphleteers. Moreover, the debates on these issues were influenced in numerous ways by intellectual and political developments in England and continental Europe.

This chapter argues that presbyterians and episcopalians found themselves divided by two of the period's most significant intellectual trends: the new theology of restoration Anglicanism, and Cartesian philosophy. According to presbyterians, the new Anglican theology corrupted the fundamental protestant doctrine of salvation, by exaggerating the importance of individual morality. During the restoration period, however, Anglican teachings had gained ground in the Scottish universities, and were quietly promoted by some episcopalian clergy.

New philosophy posed still more basic challenges to Reformed protestant orthodoxy. In the winter of 1696-7, as is widely known, Thomas Aikenhead, an Edinburgh student influenced by avant-garde thought, was tried and executed for blasphemy against the Trinity and the scriptures.¹ Aikenhead's case reflected widespread fears that recent intellectual developments encouraged people to question religious doctrines, and even to deny the existence of God. In common with conservative Dutch Calvinists, Scottish presbyterians blamed Cartesianism for undermining Christian beliefs. Yet presbyterian clergy were insufficiently powerful to eradicate Cartesian tenets from the universities, where they had been adopted by regents in the restoration period.

¹ M. Hunter, "'Aikenhead the Atheist': the context and consequences of articulate irreligion in the late seventeenth century', in his *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy: Intellectual Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Britain* (Woodbridge, 1995).

Presbyterians feared that it was not only university teachers and students who risked being corrupted by Anglican theology and epistemological scepticism. The dangers posed by these intellectual developments to the religion of the non-elite laity were widely understood. Ministers preached against reliance on individual morality in salvation, and condemned the influence of sceptical philosophers. While the focus of intellectual disputes between episcopalians and presbyterians was on the universities, much of the controversy's urgency came from anxieties over the impact of new learning on society as a whole.

II

Reformed protestant theologians traditionally distinguished between justification – God's acceptance of a believer as righteous – and sanctification, a subsequent process in which the Christian became increasingly holy. Prior to justification, humans were thought to be too sinful to perform any good works; indeed, they contributed nothing to their salvation. Justification and sanctification were unmerited acts of God's grace. Moreover, God had decreed that some humans were predestined to eternal life and others to everlasting death. These doctrines, as they were expounded by Calvinist theologians, were commonplace in seventeenth-century Scotland.² In the 1640s, the Westminster assembly produced a definitive confession of Reformed belief, which included summaries of Calvinist attitudes to sin and predestination, justification and sanctification.³ The Westminster confession was ratified by the Scottish parliament in 1649, and again in 1690.⁴ Strict adherence to its doctrines became part of the presbyterian Church's identity: from 1690, the general assembly required newly licensed preachers and episcopalians received into ministerial communion to subscribe the confession as a statement of their beliefs. In

² G.D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), pp.77-99; cf. D.G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000), pp.208-43. J. Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.115-40 discusses the relationship between seventeenth-century Reformed thought and the theology of Calvin.

³ Westminster confession, chs. 3 (predestination), 6 (sin), 11 (justification), 13 (sanctification), <http://www.churchofscotlandextranet.org.uk/xchurchlaw/downloads/xchurchlawconfessionfull.doc>, accessed 23 June 2007.

⁴ *APS*, vi, part 2, p.161, ix, pp.133-4.

1700, all ministers and ruling elders were likewise required to subscribe the confession.⁵

In contrast to the clarity of the Westminster confession, restoration Anglicans blurred the distinction between justification and sanctification. Henry Hammond's influential *Practical Catechism* (1644) claimed that evidence of sanctification – especially repentance of sin – necessarily preceded justification. Justification was thus partially dependent on human actions; some capacity for holiness was understood to exist in natural, sinful man.⁶ Some Calvinists remained in the Church of England after 1662, but the dominant theology of restoration Anglicanism stressed moral duty, particularly as it was outlined in Richard Allestree's popular devotional manual, *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658).⁷ Because most Anglicans argued that humans played an active role in justification, they abandoned the Calvinist belief that grace was irresistible. Thus they jettisoned the Reformed understanding of predestination expressed in the seventeenth of the Church of England's thirty-nine articles.⁸ At the same time, they rejected the belief that Christ died only for the elect.⁹

Scottish presbyterians and other supporters of orthodox Calvinist doctrines of justification and predestination were appalled by the new direction in Anglican theology. In a ferocious preface, Robert McWard, minister at the Scots kirk in Rotterdam, denounced the 'moralists', arguing that their claim to follow Christ was blasphemous because they did not recognise the holy spirit's necessary work. Instead of 'true godliness' they advocated 'rotten morality': the useless efforts of unjustified humanity, which were offensive to God. The new Anglican theology was 'the most undoubted deviation from, and perfect opposition unto the whole

⁵ *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp.225, 239, 294, see also pp.327, 390, 453-6; C. Kidd, 'Subscription, the Scottish enlightenment and the moderate interpretation of history', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55 (2004), pp.502-19, at p.503.

⁶ I. Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780: Volume I Whichcote to Wesley* (Cambridge, 1991), p.20; J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1991), p.299.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.315-16, 281-4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.321-2; Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (London, 1699), pp.i, vi.

⁹ Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, p.20; Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp.302-3.

contrivance of salvation’ revealed in the gospels.¹⁰ John Brown, McWard’s friend and fellow exile, warned that Satan was tempting many ‘to rest upon something within themselves’ – ‘a kinde of *morality*, civility and outward holinesse’ – rather than on Christ.¹¹ Robert Fleming, a third exiled presbyterian minister, found it sad ‘that Protestant writers, professing the Reformed Religion, shall state themselves in opposition to the most concerning grounds thereof, such as imputed righteousness, and justification by faith’.¹² In the preface to John Brown’s *Life of Justification Opened* (1695), Melchior Leydekker, a Dutch Calvinist, specifically attacked various contemporary English theologians. ‘[W]hat shall we say of the latter books, written by *Bull*, *Parker*, *Sherlock*, and others, against the principles of Reformation’, he asked. Even English presbyterian Richard Baxter and his followers corrupted ‘the true Doctrine of Justification, because they adopted Universal Grace and Redemption’.¹³

The new Anglican theology was part of a ‘rational’ approach to religion, which Anglicans adopted in opposition to supposedly irrational interregnum puritans. At the same time, English churchmen sought to refute the claims of sceptics, whose anticlericalism Anglicans blamed on the excesses of radical protestants.¹⁴ For Scottish presbyterians, however, Anglican rationality gave too much ground to sceptics, deists and atheists. A central issue in the struggle between Christian apologists and sceptics was the authority of scripture. According to John Locke’s *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1689), only human reason could determine whether any proposition believed to be revealed by God was indeed of divine origin. The ‘believing, or not believing’, any ‘proposition, or book, to be of divine authority, can never be matter of *faith*, but matter of reason’.¹⁵ In

¹⁰ Robert McWard, ‘To the Christian reader’, in John Brown, *Christ, the Way, and the Truth and the Life* (Glasgow, 2nd edn., 1678), sigs. B4v., [B6]v., [B9]r.

¹¹ Brown, *Christ*, p.2.

¹² Robert Fleming, *The Fulfilling of the Scripture, or An Essay shewing the Exact Accomplishment of the Word of God in His Works of Providence* (Amsterdam, 2nd edn., 1671), sig. *3.

¹³ Melchior Leydekker, ‘Preface’, in John Brown, *The Life of Justification Opened* ([Utrecht?], 1695), sig. *3v.

¹⁴ J. Spurr, ‘“Rational religion” in restoration England’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49 (1988), pp.563-85; B. Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-century England* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), pp.82-8.

¹⁵ John Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* ed. R. Woolhouse (London, 1997), IV, xviii, pp.611 (quotation), 612-13, xix, p.621.

consequence, presbyterian Thomas Halyburton observed, Locke and his fellow ‘*Rationalists*’ demanded ‘*historical Proofs*’ that the scriptures were written by divinely inspired men.¹⁶ Although Locke did not discuss such proofs, his argument echoed the writings of many Anglicans who did, including Edward Stillingfleet, John Tillotson and Robert South. For these apologists, the doctrines of Moses and Christ could be recognised as divinely inspired because of the miracles that accompanied their revelations. Since the Bible contained eye-witness testimonies of these miracles, there was reason to believe that its teachings were revealed by God.¹⁷

By abandoning Calvinist doctrines and promoting ‘rational’ religion, presbyterians alleged, restoration Anglicans had become fellow-travellers with the deists. Halyburton castigated ‘a *Set of Men*’, who had ‘of late Years claim’d the Name of the *Church of England*’, despite dissenting from its homilies and articles. These divines did not intend to promote deism, but their writings had given the deists succour.¹⁸ Indeed, Halyburton complained that Martin Clifford’s *Treatise of Humane Reason* (1674) – an ‘*Atheistical Pamphlet*, that truly subverts all *Religion*’ – had been published, ‘to the Credit of the Church of *England*, with an *Imprimatur*’.¹⁹ Other presbyterians thought that the new Anglican theology resembled popery, Arminianism (an anti-Calvinist movement in Dutch theology) and Socinianism (a rational tendency with sixteenth-century roots).²⁰ Robert Wodrow suggested that Anglicans were ineffectual opponents of deism, since they were ‘necessitate by their own opinions to grant soe much to their adversaries, being all (that I have met with) Arminians, and sevrall, Socinians’.²¹ For Halyburton, who also stressed the links between Anglican theology and Socinianism, there was little difference between a

¹⁶ Thomas Halyburton, ‘An essay concerning the nature of faith’, in his *Natural Religion Insufficient; and Reveal’d Necessary to Man’s Happiness in his Present State* (Edinburgh, 1714), part 4, pp.117-18.

¹⁷ Spurr, “‘Rational religion’”, pp.575-6. Some Anglicans argued that the authority of the scriptures stemmed from the authority of the Church: Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp.398-9.

¹⁸ Halyburton, *Natural Religion Insufficient*, part 3, pp.20-1.

¹⁹ Halyburton, ‘Essay concerning the nature of faith’, p.112; [Martin Clifford], *A Treatise of Humane Reason* (London, 1674).

²⁰ NLS, An answer to George Hickes’s *Spirit of Popery*, MS. 3470, fos. 10r., 18r.; McWard, ‘To the Christian reader’, sig. [B11]; Brown, *Christ*, p.2.

²¹ L.W. Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709* (SHS, 1937), p.96.

Socinian and a deist – both jettisoned the Bible, although the former ‘pretends to retain it’.²²

There is conflicting evidence concerning the influence of the new Anglican theology in Scotland. Statutory authority for the use of the Westminster confession ceased with the Act Rescissory of 1661, but it seems that the confession continued to be used in Scotland.²³ Writing of the Test oath, which adopted the Scottish confession of 1560 as the standard of protestant faith, Gilbert Burnet claimed that this earlier confession was unknown, and that the Westminster text remained in use.²⁴ After the revolution, episcopalian John Sage argued that both parties accepted the doctrine of the 1560 and Westminster confessions.²⁵ The Westminster confession was reprinted several times in the restoration period.²⁶ Indeed, the books of Anglican writers were rarely published in Scotland, while presbyterian works of the 1640s and 1650s were reprinted frequently.²⁷

As chapter three notes, however, episcopalians’ attacks on presbyterian ‘enthusiasm’ suggest that they were familiar with Anglican writings. Presbyterian James Kirkton alleged that episcopalian clergy taught whatever theology they liked, and that many were influenced by Anglican divines.²⁸ When instructing their congregations, it seems that restoration episcopalians and Anglicans perceived the same problems.²⁹ Both groups of clergy thought that preachers of the 1640s and 1650s had placed too much emphasis on faith, deprecating Christian morality as a result. Addressing a fictional presbyterian, Gilbert Burnet, then minister of Saltoun, warned that ‘your Ministers studied more to convince you of the need of Christs righteousness, then of

²² Halyburton, *Natural Religion Insufficient*, part 3, p.25.

²³ W.R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland, 1661-1688* (London, 1958), pp.155-6.

²⁴ Gilbert Burnet, *Burnet’s History of His Own Time: from the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht* (London, 1875 edn.), p.340.

²⁵ [John Sage], *The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy truly Represented* (London, 1690), sigs. A2v.-[A3]r.

²⁶ G. Donaldson, ‘Scottish ordinations in the restoration period’, *SHR*, 33 (1954), pp.169-75, at p.171.

²⁷ Between 1662 and 1688, Scottish publishers produced 7 editions of works by Richard Allestree, 1 by John Tillotson and no work by Henry Hammond. By contrast, 5 works by Hugh Binning were printed, as were 18 works wholly or partially attributed to James Durham, and 20 by Andrew Gray. See ESTC.

²⁸ Kirkton, *History*, pp.191-2.

²⁹ Cf. Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp.283-6.

having any of your own'.³⁰ The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* claimed that presbyterian preaching encouraged the laity to believe that 'Peace, Love, Charity, and Justice' were 'but dry Morality only', rather than concerns of the gospel.³¹ In their eyes, the episcopalians had taken charge of the nation's religious instruction after a period in which Christian doctrines had been abused and pushed to extremes. Rather than theological wrangling, Burnet argued, the solution lay in a simple, practical Christianity.³²

Even if episcopalian clergy shared the theological beliefs of the presbyterians, attitudes to teaching the laity differed between the parties. Presbyterian ministers gave their congregations detailed explanations of justification, sanctification and predestination. James Hart, minister of Ratho in the 1690s, taught that justification brought about 'freedom from [th]e guilt of sin', while sanctification led to 'freedom from [th]e dominion and power of sin'.³³ In May 1682, the presbyterian memoirist James Nimmo recorded the subject of a sermon by Thomas Hog, who said 'he was to speake of the life of sanctification & grace, through th[a]t assurance & justification'.³⁴ Preaching on John 3:3 in 1688, Alexander Shields argued that humans played an entirely passive role in their '*Regeneration*', which was the work of the holy spirit. Only the elect would experience regeneration, a gradual process preparing them for salvation. In this life, Shields maintained, Christians could 'be Perfect as to their *Justification*, yet as to their *Sanctification* they are not' perfected until in heaven.³⁵

By contrast, leading episcopalians advocated a plain, undogmatic preaching style in the years after the restoration. In 1662, Bishop Robert Leighton advised members of the synod of Dunblane to preach short, straightforward sermons, which would 'be plain and useful for all capacities, not entangled with useless questions and disputes,

³⁰ [Gilbert Burnet], *A Modest and Free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, about the Present Distempers of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 2nd edn., 1669), first part, pp.19-20, 3 (quotation).

³¹ *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; or, the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons and Prayers* (London, 1692), pp.2-3.

³² [Burnet], *Modest and Free Conference*, first part, pp.88-9.

³³ EUL, Sermons of James Hart, 1695-1697, Dc.7.100, p.[35].

³⁴ *Narrative of Mr James Nimmo* ed. W.G. Scott-Moncrieff (SHS, 1889), p.22.

³⁵ Alexander Shields, *March 11 1688. Some Notes or Heads of a Preface, Lecture and Sermon, Preached at the Lothers in Crafoord Moor* ([Edinburgh?], [1688?]), pp.19-31, quotation at p.24.

nor continued to a wearisome length'.³⁶ Five years later, he reiterated the point, instructing the clergy in his diocese to fit the doctrine of their sermons to the 'capacities' of 'all sorts' within their congregations.³⁷ Judging from the printed sermons of restoration episcopalians, this approach generally seems to have been followed. As a result, episcopalians eschewed the Calvinist doctrines unfolded in presbyterian sermons, and preached a Christianity similar to that promoted by restoration Anglicans.³⁸ As John Cockburn summarised, ministers 'did not vex People with things they were not concerned in, but urg'd upon them *Faith* and *Repentance*, *Love* and *Obedience*, *Heavenly-mindedness*, and a *Contempt of the World*'.³⁹ Similar messages were conveyed by the writings of Aberdonian theologians Henry Scougal and James Garden, whose published works outlined a simple and rather mystical Christianity.⁴⁰

In the 1690s, episcopalian pamphleteers attempted to avoid close scrutiny of their party's theological views by denying the specific charge of Arminianism.⁴¹ Alexander Monro claimed that there were 'very few' episcopalian clergy who 'explain the Doctrine of *Grace* and *Freewill* after the method of *Arminius*'.⁴² Nevertheless, he implied that some episcopalian ministers disagreed with Calvin and Knox on questions of salvation.⁴³ Episcopalians continued to stress the differences between their plain preaching and the dogmatic sermons of their opponents. The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* condemned presbyterian clergy for 'the practical Divinity they pretend to draw from the Heads of Election and Reprobation, whereby

³⁶ *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane, 1662-1688* ed. J. Wilson (Edinburgh, 1877), p.3.

³⁷ Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery*, p.105. For a recent analysis of Leighton's theological development, see C. Gribben, 'Robert Leighton, Edinburgh theology and the collapse of the presbyterian consensus', in E. Boran and C. Gribben (eds.), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700* (Aldershot, 2006).

³⁸ See Laurence Charteris, *Four Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1716); John Cockburn, *Eight Sermons Preached on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1691); Alexander Monro, *Sermons Preached on Several Occasions* (London, 1693).

³⁹ Cockburn, *Eight Sermons*, p.[xii].

⁴⁰ [Henry Scougal], *The Life of God in the Soul of Man. Or, The Nature and Excellency of the Christian Religion* (London, 1677); [James Garden], *Comparative Theology* (London, 1700). See also G.D. Henderson, 'Introduction', in G.D. Henderson (ed.), *Mystics of the North-East* (Third Spalding Club, 1934). I am grateful to Isabel Rivers for discussing Scougal with me.

⁴¹ Cf. Henderson, *Religious Life*, pp.50-1.

⁴² [Alexander Monro], *An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland* (London, 1693), p.19.

⁴³ Alexander Monro, *A Letter to the Honourable Sir Robert Howard, Occasioned by a Late Book* (London, 1696), pp.13-14.

they preach Men out of their Wits, and very often into Despair and Self-murder'.⁴⁴ Another pamphlet suggested that episcopalian clergy repudiated the 'Presbyterian sense' of justification, and had adopted Anglican priorities:

[T]here be many [episcopalian ministers], who are no ways inclined to be every day talking to their People of God's Decrees, and Absolute Reprobation, and Justification by Faith alone in the Presbyterian sense, and such like Doctrins; they think their Hearers may be much more edified by Sermons, that explain the true Nature of Evangelical Faith, the Necessity of Repentance, and the Indispensibility of a Gospel Obedience[.]⁴⁵

By attempting to preach what they believed to be Christian fundamentals, episcopalian clergy, like their Anglican brethren, focused on repentance, holiness and morality, rather than on justification, predestination and grace.

After the revolution, presbyterians sought to counter the influence of Anglican theology, particularly in the universities. The 1690 visitation committees produced some evidence that university teachers had promoted Anglican ideas. At Edinburgh, John Strachan, professor of divinity, was accused of preaching that humans could repent and believe in God without having received grace. Strachan did not accept that he was an Arminian, as the libel against him alleged: he claimed not to follow any single theologian, 'being always ready to embrace truth by whomsoever it be maintained'. However, he refused to subscribe the Westminster confession, admitting that he disagreed with its statements about justification and free will. His 'Arminian' understanding of these doctrines had apparently been tolerated by his colleagues in the town college, although George Trotter, episcopalian minister of Edinburgh's Tron church, had objected.⁴⁶ According to Alexander Monro, whose *Presbyterian Inquisition* (1691) discussed Strachan's deprivation, the belief that

⁴⁴ *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.19.

⁴⁵ [Thomas Morer, John Sage, Alexander Monro], *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church of Scotland in several letters* (London, 1690), pp.48-9.

⁴⁶ NAS, Parliamentary visitation of Edinburgh's town college, 1690s, PA10/4, 28 Aug. 1690 [unfoliated].

Strachan was an Arminian, together with his use of the Book of Common Prayer, made the visitation committee's hostility towards him 'implacable'.⁴⁷

In Glasgow, presbyterians accused regent William Blair of defending the 'Socinian way of justifica[tio]ne', implying that he thought humans were actively involved in the process. Alexander Rose, a former Glasgow divinity professor who was bishop of Edinburgh at the revolution, had reportedly taught Arminianism.⁴⁸ There is little evidence for these allegations, which do not seem to have been tested by the visitation committee, although Rose's one published sermon emphasised moral virtues as the 'very vitals' of Christianity.⁴⁹ Anglican theology may have been promoted by other ministers in Glasgow. John Sage was accused of preaching Arminian doctrines, to the offence of all 'discerning hearers'. An account of the rabbling of ministers in Glasgow suggests that non-elite presbyterians believed that 'Arminian' principles were being promoted in the burgh's churches.⁵⁰

Two further presbyterian allegations against episcopalian clergy may have been provoked by the new theology. The first claim was that episcopalians favoured a reconciliation between protestant Churches and Rome. James Fall, Glasgow's principal, reportedly advocated reconciliation; John Strachan was accused of preaching it to members of his synod.⁵¹ Glasgow minister Alexander George allegedly condemned Luther, Calvin and Knox from his pulpit.⁵² It is possible that some episcopalians stated their support for reconciliation, as a cynical manoeuvre dictated by the political conditions of James VII's reign, like Alexander Monro's removal of portraits of protestant reformers from the library wall in Edinburgh's town college.⁵³ Yet, rather than advocating *rapprochement* with Rome, it is more

⁴⁷ [Alexander Monro], *Presbyterian Inquisition; As it was lately practised against the Professors of the Colledge of Edinburgh* (London, 1691), p.95. For more on episcopalian attitudes to the Book of Common Prayer, see ch. 3 above, p.68.

⁴⁸ NLS, Exceptions of Glasgow students against the regents, Oct. 1689, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fos. 16r., 11r.

⁴⁹ Alexander Rose, *A Sermon* (Glasgow, 1684), p.10.

⁵⁰ NLS, Account of the 'carriage of the people of Glasgow to the curats anno 1689', Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fos. 9v., 10r. See ch. 5 above, p.113.

⁵¹ NLS, Exceptions of Glasgow students, Wod. Fol. XXXIV, fo. 16r.; NAS, Parliamentary visitation, Edinburgh, PA10/4, 28 Aug. 1690.

⁵² NLS, Account, Wod. Qu. LXXIII, fo. 9v.

⁵³ [Monro], *Presbyterian Inquisition*, pp.59-62.

likely that episcopalians expressed criticism of aspects of reformation thought and practice. Gilbert Burnet admitted preferring the example of primitive Christians to that of the reformers; Strachan maintained that he advocated moderation, rather than reconciliation.⁵⁴ The charge of seeking reconciliation with Rome was probably an exaggerated criticism of episcopalian theology and political alliances. Indeed, the same allegation had been made against the supposedly Arminian bishops and clergy deprived by the 1638 general assembly.⁵⁵

A second issue was the interest in ancient philosophy, especially Stoic moral thought, that was prevalent in restoration Scotland. While avoiding the dogmatism of the presbyterians, one episcopalian argued, episcopalians, ‘after the way of *England*, take the Scriptures for their Rule; and the Ancients, and right Reason for Guides, for finding the Genuine Sense of that Rule’. An impartial judge of the clergy of both parties would conclude that episcopalians ‘understand the Christian Philosophy better’.⁵⁶ The phrase ‘Christian Philosophy’ raised presbyterian hackles, including those of Gilbert Rule:

I thought the Commendation of a Minister had been rather to understand *Christian Divinity*, then *Christian Philosophy*: But we must not wonder that Men so strongly inclined to *Socinianism*, speak in the Socinian Dialect, with whom *Philosophy*, That is, the Improvement of Reason, overtopeth Divinity, that is Divine Revelation, for indeed that which goeth for Religion among some Men, is nothing but *Platonick Philosophy*, put into a Christian Dress, by expressing it in words borrowed (some of them) from the Bible: And the Preaching of some Men is such Morality as *Seneca* and other Heathens taught, only Christianised with some words. I confess this *Philosophy* was never much Preached by Presbyterians[.]⁵⁷

This passage suggests that the episcopalians’ emphasis on morality may have owed as much to ‘heathen’ philosophy as to the new Anglican theology. Alexander Brodie

⁵⁴ [Burnet], *Modest and Free Conference*, second part, p.15; NAS, Parliamentary visitation, Edinburgh, PA10/4, 28 Aug. 1690.

⁵⁵ D.G. Mullan, ‘Arminianism in the Lord’s assembly: Glasgow, 1638’, *RSCHS*, 26 (1996), pp.1-30, at pp.2, 14.

⁵⁶ [Morer, Sage, Monro], *Account of the Present Persecution*, p.45.

⁵⁷ [Gilbert Rule], *A [Second] Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1691), first part, p.53.

of Brodie also worried about episcopalian interest in ancient philosophy, fearing that Plato and Seneca were being given equivalent authority to the scriptures.⁵⁸

The study of Plato worried presbyterians, but it was the Stoic tradition that had the more profound impact on episcopalian preaching. Indeed, the neo-Stoic movement had found receptive participants in Scotland since the mid sixteenth century. In the restoration period, Stoic thought interested lay episcopalians such as Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh and Sir Robert Moray, and influenced clerics including Robert Leighton, Gilbert Burnet and Henry Scougal.⁵⁹ While episcopalian ministers occasionally cited Stoic thought in sermons and other writings, it was modified by Christian doctrines more than Gilbert Rule recognised. Laurence Charteris sometimes described the godly Christian's state in Stoical terms, arguing that he or she was called to pursue 'peaceable Calm and Tranquillity in the Soul'. Elsewhere, however, Charteris clearly stated the necessity of being 'born again', and of 'Regeneration' by means of the holy spirit.⁶⁰ In one sermon, Alexander Monro referred to Stoic withdrawal from public life and quoted an exhortation to self-control from Seneca. Yet Monro also remarked that '[w]e are fallen from our Original Life and Purity, that beauty and light, that adorn'd our Nature, is become almost deformity, and darkness; and so incurable is this bruise and wound, that all the Rules of human *Philosophy*, cannot remove the distemper'.⁶¹ John Gray, another episcopalian, echoed Monro's sentiment: '[t]he sense of [th]e Transitoriness of this Life is common to us & Heathens, but they doe not seek a City to come'.⁶² Neo-Stoicism did not lead the episcopalian clergy to Socinianism, but it did contribute to their undogmatic style of preaching, in which potentially discomforting Calvinist doctrines were deliberately avoided.

⁵⁸ C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), p.178.

⁵⁹ D. Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton, 2000), esp. pp.176-213; Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*, pp.181-4.

⁶⁰ Laurence Charteris, *Spiritual Discourses, on Twelve Several Passages of Scripture* (Edinburgh, 1704), pp.99, 15-19.

⁶¹ Monro, *Sermons*, pp.83, 98, 58 (quotation). For another example of Monro's critical interest in Stoicism, see Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*, p.182.

⁶² NLS, Sermons of John Gray, c.1669-1709, MS. 16449, fo. 158v.

In addition to investigating episcopalian expressions of new theology, presbyterians hoped to limit the influence of Anglican books, particularly those aimed at non-elite people, such as Allestree's *Whole Duty of Man*. This work may not have been very common in restoration Scotland: Scottish publishers produced only four impressions before the eighteenth century (in 1674 and 1678), compared to tens of English editions.⁶³ On the other hand, Archibald Hislop, an Edinburgh bookseller, stocked three imported copies of the *Whole Duty* in 1671.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the *Whole Duty* seems to have been used for undergraduate religious instruction at Aberdeen in the late 1670s and 1680s.⁶⁵ Episcopalian ministers may have recommended the work to their congregations: John Gray cited it in the margin of his sermon notebook; John Cockburn described it in print as an 'excellent Book'.⁶⁶ James Gordon argued that university students should be given the *Whole Duty* and Hammond's *Practical Catechism*.⁶⁷

According to episcopalian pamphlets, presbyterians vented their hostility to the *Whole Duty* in the years following the revolution. Episcopalian ministers were reportedly libelled with recommending the book's use; presbyterians John Veitch and James Fraser of Brae allegedly criticised its emphasis on morality.⁶⁸ These claims cannot be verified, but they served to introduce theological issues to the pamphlet controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians. By mentioning presbyterian opposition to the *Whole Duty*, episcopalians could depict their opponents as doctrinally extreme zealots, who terrified their congregations with predestination, and discouraged moral conduct.⁶⁹ In response, Gilbert Rule claimed that presbyterians 'commend' the *Whole Duty* as a 'useful' guide to morality, similar

⁶³ See ESTC. For its English popularity, see I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp.353-4, 594.

⁶⁴ NAS, Archibald Hislop's catalogues, 1671, CS96/4. This reference was kindly supplied by Katie Barclay.

⁶⁵ C. Innes (ed.), *Fasti Aberdonenses: Selections from the Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1494-1854* (Spalding Club, 1854), pp.347, 367; NAS, Parliamentary visitation of the universities, Aberdeen, 1690s, PA10/3, 17 Oct. 1690 [unfoliated].

⁶⁶ NLS, Sermons of John Gray, MS. 16449, fo. 216v.; John Cockburn, *Jacob's Vow, or, Mans Felicity and Duty* (Edinburgh, 1686), p.17.

⁶⁷ [James Gordon], *The Reformed Bishop: or, XIX Articles* ([London], 1679), p.260.

⁶⁸ [John Cockburn], *An Historical Relation of the Late Presbyterian General Assembly* (London, 1691), pp.11-12; *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.22.

⁶⁹ A. Raffae, 'Episcopalian polemic, the London printing press and Anglo-Scottish divergence in the 1690s', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 26 (2006), pp.23-41, at pp.29-32.

in this respect to the works of Seneca. This comparison showed Rule's unease at the doctrines omitted by Anglican theology. '[W]e desiderate in it [the *Whole Duty*] the Doctrine of the Righteousness of Christ, and His Vertues and Grace, by which these excellent Duties which that Book layeth on us, must be performed and accepted, and without which the highest Morality, as it is distinguished from supernatural Grace, is not regarded by God'.⁷⁰

Presbyterians worried about the influence of the *Whole Duty* on lay beliefs. In a sermon of 1698, James Kirkton, minister of the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, mentioned Allestree's book, which was apparently 'verie comon amongst' the Tolbooth congregation. The *Whole Duty* gave good moral advice, Kirkton accepted, but 'so doth the heathen [tha]t never knew christ'. A reader of the *Whole Duty* 'will not find on[e] pag[e] in it, that tells you what the usefulness of christ is, and that is the great work and deutie of man'.⁷¹ According to Elizabeth West, Kirkton 'very frequently, in the Pulpit, gave his Testimony against this Book'. West described the *Whole Duty* as a 'clear Discovery' of Anglican 'Errors', although it is not clear whether she knew the work first hand.⁷²

It is possible that many presbyterian ministers warned their congregations of the errors of Anglican theology. In a sermon prior to an Edinburgh communion in 1688, Robert Rule criticised the new theology, using terms similar to those of his brother Gilbert:

There is some Divins (in thir dayes) that writes more, of the strain of Seneca & Plato, then of the Apostle Paul, and some, that have something of the Exercise of Religion that have not their strength In him [Christ], and there acceptance throu him; O there is much in duty, but its another kynd of strain then relying on Christ[.]⁷³

Fifteen years later, James Webster discussed theological controversy in his Edinburgh pulpit, condemning Richard Baxter, who had 'corrupted almost all

⁷⁰ [Gilbert Rule], *A Just and Modest Reproof of a Pamphlet, called, the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (Edinburgh, 1693), p.17.

⁷¹ NAS, Sermon notebook, 1697-1698, GD184/11/3, p.[41].

⁷² West, *Memoirs*, p.266.

⁷³ NLS, Sermon notebook, 1688, MS. 5770, p.11.

divinity'. Particularly objectionable was Baxter's account of salvation: 'that there is no difference, between common, & saving grace, but in degrees, nothing in the nature, that same faith, that same love, that same repentance that [is] in a saint is in a hypocrite'. For a refutation of Baxter's errors, Webster suggested the work of Scottish presbyterian James Durham.⁷⁴

Presbyterian opposition to English theology may have limited its impact in the decades after the revolution. The *Whole Duty* was not reprinted in Scotland until 1717; several subsequent editions published between the 1740s and 1770s probably increased its importance in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. By this time, it may have been considered particularly suitable for children: David Hume reported reading it in his youth, perhaps in the late 1710s.⁷⁵ For the ministers of the 1690s and 1700s, however, Anglican theology was a corrupting influence. Although the sermons against English theology cited here were preached in Edinburgh, where access to printed books was greatest, there is evidence that theology inflamed controversy between presbyterians and episcopalians elsewhere in Scotland.

Debates over theology could affect the provision of elementary religious education at a local level. At some point before the revolution, John Bowes, episcopalian minister of Abbotshall, Fife, told schoolmaster Henry Paxton not to use the Westminster catechisms, arguing that their questions 'What is God & what are the Decrees of God are too dark for the people'.⁷⁶ This suggests that Bowes, in common with other episcopalians, taught a simple Christianity. It is also possible that he wanted to prevent his parishioners from discussing predestination.⁷⁷ Instead of the Westminster catechisms, he favoured another text, apparently introduced by the synod of Edinburgh and revised by Patrick Scougal, a restoration bishop of

⁷⁴ NCL, Sermons of James Kirkton and James Webster, 1697-1705, MS. KIRK 2, p.65.

⁷⁵ C.McC. Weis and F.A. Pottle (eds.), *Boswell in Extremes, 1776-1778* (New York, 1970), p.11. This source has occasionally encouraged historians to associate the *Whole Duty* with presbyterianism: J. Buchan, *Capital of the Mind: How Edinburgh Changed the World* (London, 2003), p.80.

⁷⁶ NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, 1688-1693, CH2/224/2, p.59[a]. See ch. 3 above, p.61.

⁷⁷ For the relevant questions in the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, see T.F. Torrance (ed.), *The School of Faith: The Catechisms of the Reformed Church* (London, 1959), pp.185-7, 263. Only the Longer Catechism mentioned predestination. Robert Leighton also expressed concerns about the treatment of the divine decrees in the catechisms: Gribben, 'Robert Leighton', pp.176-7.

Aberdeen.⁷⁸ To his parishioners, Bowes made clear his preference for the episcopalian catechism. Describing an examination by Bowes, John Morris deponed that the minister ‘enquired him some questions As what is repentance unto life & cet. And [tha]t [whe]n he Answ[er]ed according as the Ans[we]r is sett down In the Assemblys Catechism [tha]t Mr Bowis urged him to Ans[we]r as the Ans[we]r is sett down in Mr Scougalls Catechism’.⁷⁹ As this testimony suggests, ordinary people could become involved in arguments between episcopalians and presbyterians over theology.

Of the episcopalian ministers deprived after the revolution, few were accused of specific theological errors. Of course, this reflects the success with which presbyterians proved various other allegations – of ‘persecution’, scandalous conduct, disloyalty – against their opponents. Theological error was more difficult to prove, although this charge was included on some libels, such as that against Bowes. One episcopalian who was subjected to theological examination was James Graeme, minister of Dunfermline. In June 1700, members of the burgh’s presbyterian kirk session presented Dunfermline presbytery with a libel against Graeme ‘containing several gross Articles’.⁸⁰ Graeme was summoned by the presbytery and required to confer with three presbyterian ministers about the theological issues raised. During this meeting, he refused to accept the presbyterians’ claims that grace was irresistible, and that conversion infused a supernatural principle of life in the Christian.⁸¹ To the synod of Fife, which subsequently deposed Graeme, this suggested that he held an Arminian definition of grace, and that he did not recognise the difference between ‘saving grace & common gifts’.⁸² Moreover, Graeme admitted teaching that ‘salvation depended on the performance of [th]e conditions, requird in the Gospell’, and suggested that Christ died for all.⁸³ Particularly exasperating to the synod was Graeme’s claim that ‘[t]her is a promise of successe to

⁷⁸ NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, CH2/224/2, p.59[a]; [Cockburn], *Historical Relation*, p.12. The episcopalian catechism has not been identified.

⁷⁹ NAS, Presbytery of Kirkcaldy minutes, CH2/224/2, p.60.

⁸⁰ NAS, Papers concerning James Graeme, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 124r. For Graeme’s reflections on the Covenants, see ch. 6 above, pp.153-4.

⁸¹ NAS, Account of James Graeme’s principles, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 122r.

⁸² NLS, Synod of Fife’s complaint to the 1703 general assembly concerning James Graeme, Wod. Fol. LI, fo. 50v.; NAS, Synod of Fife’s answers to James Graeme, 1701, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 160r.

⁸³ NAS, Account of James Graeme’s principles, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 122.

our Endeavoures'.⁸⁴ Graeme's answers suggest that he was influenced by Anglican theology; elsewhere he admitted preaching that the reason why some people were not saved was 'because they do not believe and obey our Saviour'.⁸⁵ A critical account of presbyterian doctrine, written by Graeme, shows that he disagreed with the presbyterians' view of human nature, and condemned their emphasis on predestination.⁸⁶

The deposition of James Graeme involved close scrutiny of many of the theological positions considered erroneous by presbyterians. Graeme suggested that these matters were largely irrelevant to his capacity as a minister, since 'nice and curious speculations are not proper for the pulpit'.⁸⁷ The presbyterian ministers seemed to disagree. Graeme complained that presbyterian George Mair had, in a sermon, compared Graeme's congregation to Old Testament worshippers of golden calves. Allan Logan reportedly said that 'whosoever teach that we are not justify'd by faith only, ar M[i]n[iste]rs of Satan'.⁸⁸ If Graeme did not explain orthodox doctrines to his congregation, the synod argued, he was of little use as a minister.⁸⁹ Although Graeme's prosecution depended on the Fife ministers' tenacious opposition to heterodoxy, non-elite presbyterians were involved in the case. Lay members of Dunfermline kirk session helped to draw up the libel against Graeme, albeit they were advised by ministers.⁹⁰ After the case had been referred to the synod of Fife, Dunfermline elders petitioned against Graeme, complaining of the 'sad and dangerous estate of the place through the hurtfull influence of his Incumbencie'.⁹¹ When a list of possible witnesses against Graeme was compiled, it included three weavers, a coal grieve, and several farmers.⁹² The arguments over Graeme's theological beliefs were important because the religious instruction of non-elite

⁸⁴ NLS, Synod of Fife's complaint, Wod. Fol. LI, fo. 50v.

⁸⁵ [James Graeme], *The Famous Tryal of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr James Grame, Episcopal Minister of Dunfermline* (London, 1719), p.26.

⁸⁶ NAS, 'Mr Graham of Dunfermline his account of presbyterian principles & doctrine', 1692, CH12/12/210.

⁸⁷ NAS, Additional paper by James Graeme, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 162v.

⁸⁸ NAS, Account of James Graeme's principles, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 123r.

⁸⁹ NAS, Synod of Fife's answers to James Graeme, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 160r.

⁹⁰ NAS, Papers concerning James Graeme, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 124r.; [Graeme], *Famous Tryal*, p.17.

⁹¹ NAS, Petition of Dunfermline elders to the synod of Fife, 1700, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 156r.

⁹² NAS, Papers concerning James Graeme, CH1/2/3/2, fo. 126v.

people was at stake. By failing to preach orthodox Calvinist beliefs, presbyterians feared, episcopalians had undermined the Christian knowledge of ordinary Scots.

III

Historians have seen the late seventeenth century as a period in which freethinkers increasingly questioned fundamental Christian doctrines, including the validity of the scriptures and the existence of God. Although unbelief has been found in earlier periods, the decades around 1700 saw a growth in articulate and systematic scepticism.⁹³ Traditional arguments for the existence of God were challenged from various directions. Scholastic philosophers had conventionally maintained that the existence of some deity was accepted by all people in all societies. By the late seventeenth century, however, accounts of travels in non-European lands, notably China, suggested that arguments concerning universal consent to God's existence were untenable.⁹⁴ Responding to this challenge, Gilbert Burnet, in a volume sanctioned by various post-revolution Anglican bishops and theologians, reasserted the argument from universal consent. The linguistic ignorance of European travellers prevented them from appreciating the knowledge of God expressed by native peoples, he suggested.⁹⁵ Evidence concerning other societies was of questionable reliability, but it continued to be studied by theologians and ministers. In August 1699, Robert Wodrow sent a list of queries concerning Darien, where the Company of Scotland had recently settled a colony, to Patrick Smith, surgeon's mate aboard one of the Company's ships. Wodrow's list, much of which was derived from a recent traveller's narrative, included a query as to whether Darien's natives 'have any knowledge of one God quhom they look upon as superiour to the rest, or have they any notion of two, good & ill'.⁹⁶

⁹³ M. Hunter and D. Wootton (eds.), *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1992).

⁹⁴ D. Wootton, 'New histories of atheism', in Hunter and Wootton (eds.), *Atheism*, p.22.

⁹⁵ Burnet, *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, pp.ii, 17-18.

⁹⁶ Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Wodrow*, p.13. For a full discussion of the Darien scheme, see D. Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, 2007).

For John Locke, evidence of other societies' atheism was proof that the idea of God was not innate to the human mind.⁹⁷ Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* thus undermined arguments for God's existence based on the concept of innate knowledge, which were often rehearsed by seventeenth-century English apologists.⁹⁸ Yet it can be argued that the epistemology outlined in Locke's *Essay* was shared by a range of late seventeenth-century Anglicans.⁹⁹ Divines such as Edward Stillingfleet and John Tillotson intended to promote Christianity, but their Scottish critics, as has been demonstrated, feared that their rational, latitudinarian thought encouraged deism.

Late seventeenth-century Christians also had to come to terms with Cartesian philosophy. Descartes and his followers were thought to pose at least two challenges to Christian orthodoxy. First, Descartes' mind-body dualism, and the resulting materialism of his philosophy, created problems. If God was as distant from the operation of the world as some Cartesians suggested, he could be abandoned altogether.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Benedict de Spinoza, a student of Descartes' works, combined various strands of heterodox thought in a materialist system that located God in nature and denied the veracity of miracles. Recent historians have stressed the importance of controversy over Spinoza's thought from the 1660s. He was, Jonathan Israel argues, 'the supreme philosophical bogeyman of Early Enlightenment Europe'.¹⁰¹ Spinoza's conflation of spirit and matter made his thought radically different from that of Thomas Hobbes, but it was not unusual for critics to equate the two philosophers as dangerous sources of atheism.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Locke, *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, I, iv, pp.93-4.

⁹⁸ D. Greenlee, 'Locke and the controversy over innate ideas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 33 (1972), pp.251-264, at pp.253-4.

⁹⁹ Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty*, pp.88-92.

¹⁰⁰ M.C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London, 1981), pp.44-7.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp.48-53; J.I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2001), pp.159-74, 218-41, quotation at p.159.

¹⁰² J.G.A. Pocock, 'Thomas Hobbes: atheist or enthusiast? His place in a restoration debate', *History of Political Thought*, 11 (1990), pp.737-49, at p.745; George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685) ed. T.G. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1871), sig. A4v.

A second and, in Scotland at least, more important objection to Cartesianism was the perceived weakness of Descartes' arguments for the existence of God.¹⁰³ The Cartesian method not only encouraged doubt of God's existence, but rejected empirical observation of nature as a solution to such doubt, insisting instead on rational arguments based on the idea of God conceived in the mind of man.¹⁰⁴ Gilbert Burnet pointed to a dangerous consequence:

when he who insists on this [argument for God's existence], lays all other Arguments aside, or at least slights them as not strong enough to prove the Point, this naturally gives Jealousy, when all those Reasons that had for so many Ages been considered as solid Proofs, are neglected, as if this only could amount to a Demonstration.¹⁰⁵

Similarly, Locke argued that reliance on one set of arguments for the existence of God, and rejection of proofs depending on experience and observation, was an 'ill way of establishing' God's existence, and 'silencing atheists'.¹⁰⁶ While Henry More, Cambridge Platonist and Anglican apologist, used Descartes' ontological argument for God's existence, which had a scholastic pedigree, he complained that atheists would deny that only God could plant the idea of a deity in the human mind.¹⁰⁷

In the decades after 1650, then, European intellectual life was rocked by disputes over Cartesian thought. Theologians worried about the consequences of applying Cartesian method to religious doctrines, while defenders of Aristotelian philosophy feared that their tradition was being undermined.¹⁰⁸ By the last years of the century, arguments about Cartesianism had become entwined with anxieties raised by Dutch thinkers such as Spinoza, and by deists' assaults on revealed religion.

¹⁰³ See especially René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641), in J. Cottingham, R. Stoothoff and D. Murdoch (eds.), *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1984-91), ii, pp.24-35, 44-9.

¹⁰⁴ Wootton, 'New histories', pp.22, 32.

¹⁰⁵ Burnet, *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, p.22.

¹⁰⁶ Locke, *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, IV, x, pp.549-50.

¹⁰⁷ Henry More, *An Antidote against Atheism, or, An Appeal to the Naturall Faculties of the Minde of Man, whether there be not a God* (London, 1655 edn.), sigs. B4v.-B5v.; see also A. Gabbey, 'Philosophia Cartesiana Triumphata: Henry More (1646-1671)', in T.M. Lennon, J.M. Nichols and J.W. Davis (eds.), *Problems of Cartesianism* (Kingston, Ont., 1982), pp.200-02.

¹⁰⁸ Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp.23-58.

At first glance, controversy in Scotland over the views of Descartes and his followers seems to have been fairly mild.¹⁰⁹ It is perhaps unsurprising that not much was printed on the subject: quarrels over episcopacy and the government's suppression of presbyterians distracted intellectual energies from other debates. Also, university regents and professors published little in the seventeenth century. James Wodrow, professor of divinity at Glasgow after the revolution, and the father of the historian, explained that professors were too proud to print the commonplace ideas rehearsed in their lectures, while the country was too poor to buy many books.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the atomised character of university teaching in the period probably absorbed some tensions created by the introduction of Cartesian thought into the highly Aristotelian curriculum. Each regent, who normally taught the same class throughout the four years of the MA course, had considerable freedom to determine the content of his dictates (lectures) and the intellectual tone of his class's graduation theses. There was usually a variety of philosophical opinion within each university. At King's College, Aberdeen, George Middleton's 1675 theses praised Cartesian doubt and criticised Aristotle; in theses of 1680 and 1684, Middleton's colleague Robert Forbes condemned Descartes' method and defended Aristotelian logic. At Edinburgh, Andrew Massie taught metaphysics with a Cartesian flavour in 1690, while Herbert Kennedy and William Law rejected Descartes' *cogito ergo sum* argument in dictates of 1692 and 1699.¹¹¹ The capacity to reflect on heterodox or erroneous principles (and colleagues) while teaching and examining students may have tended to dissuade university men from printing works against or in favour of new philosophy. Furthermore, regents generally taught a synthesis of different views, and could rarely be accused of promoting one philosopher's ideas exclusively.

Although a considerable variety of philosophy was taught at any one time, there was a general trend towards the assimilation of Cartesianism. Descartes' ideas were widely accepted and taught by regents in the 1670s and 1680s. Generational change

¹⁰⁹ For a thoughtful assessment of the impact of Cartesianism in Scotland, see M. Wasser, 'The mechanical world-view and the decline of witch beliefs in Scotland', in J. Goodare, L. Martin and J. Miller (eds.), *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (London, forthcoming). I am grateful to the author for permission to cite this chapter before publication.

¹¹⁰ Robert Wodrow, *Life of James Wodrow* (Edinburgh, 1828), pp.170-1.

¹¹¹ C.M. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the Seventeenth Century' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1975), pp.84-5, 117-18.

in university arts faculties contributed to this process: Edinburgh had a higher proportion of regents favourable to Descartes after the death of James Pillans in 1679 and the resignation of John Wood two years later.¹¹² Indeed, it is possible that university teachers of the 1650s, many of whom did not teach in universities in the restoration period, held the most conservative views with respect to Cartesianism. Alexander Pitcairn, a regent in St Salvator's College, St Andrews, between 1648 and 1655, published a critical 'anatomy' of Cartesian thought, appended to his Aristotelian *Compendaria et perfacilis Physiologiae Idea* (1676).¹¹³ As will be seen below, Pitcairn and Gilbert Rule, a regent at King's College, Aberdeen, in the 1650s, were among those who attempted to suppress Cartesian teaching in the 1690s.¹¹⁴

Another 1650s regent who became a prominent anti-Cartesian was George Sinclair. Before he resigned from Glasgow University in 1666, Sinclair seems to have developed an interest in experimental natural philosophy, which led him to criticise Aristotelian approaches to the subject.¹¹⁵ Aristotelians, Sinclair argued, 'must never appeale to Experience for a decision; and will needs father that upon Nature, which she neither thought nor wrought'. By observing natural processes under controlled conditions, on the other hand, experimental philosophers could achieve the highest level of certainty. Principles demonstrated by reason and experience 'may truelie compare with the surest demonstrations in the Opticks, or in Geometrie'.¹¹⁶ Cartesian natural philosophy, by contrast, was at least as erroneous as that of the Aristotelians. Descartes failed correctly to use experiments, manipulating results 'to force them to a compliance with his own *fancies*'. For Sinclair, Baconian natural history was more fruitful than 'all the precarious principles of *Cartesius*, *Epicurus*,

¹¹² J.L. Russell, 'Cosmological teaching in the seventeenth-century Scottish universities', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 5 (1974), pp.122-32, 145-54; Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', pp. 61, 73, 113, 210-11.

¹¹³ Alexander Pitcairn, 'Anatome Cartesianismi', in his *Compendaria et perfacilis Physiologiae Idea* (London, 1676).

¹¹⁴ A. Du Toit, 'Rule, Gilbert (c.1629-1701)', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁵ Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', p.236.

¹¹⁶ GUL, George Sinclair, 'The new and great art of gravity and levity', MS. Gen. 195, pp.[viii], [ix], [xv].

and the like; who instead of giving us an account of the World that *God* made, have given us imaginary ones of their own making'.¹¹⁷

Sinclair also complained that Cartesianism undermined Christian orthodoxy, as his association between Descartes and the ancient atheism of Epicurus suggests. In *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685), Sinclair detailed fifty-four 'absurd Principles of the *Cartesian Philosophy*'. His list included principles expounded by Descartes, notably hyperbolic doubt, and also doctrines promoted by subsequent Dutch thinkers, such as the claim that '*Philosophy and Philosophers are the Interpreters of the Scripture in things Natural*'.¹¹⁸ In fact, most of the list, including this allusion to Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* (1666), was translated directly from chapter headings in *Novitatum Cartesianarum Gangraena* (1677) by Dutch anti-Cartesian Petrus van Mastricht.¹¹⁹ Sinclair provided neither a fair account of Cartesian thought, nor a realistic assessment of the ideas taught in Scottish universities. Indeed, the second-hand nature of Sinclair's account suggests that one should be sceptical that the more heterodox Dutch controversies were well known in Scotland.¹²⁰

Sinclair, like Mastricht, opposed Cartesian thought of all kinds. The length of his list of erroneous principles was impressive, but Sinclair's main objection was probably that Descartes' thought cast doubt on the existence of God, and failed adequately to resolve such doubt. Sinclair complained that although Cartesian proofs of the reality of God were 'plausible', they were 'not found sufficient, nor able to convince *Atheists*'. Indeed, Sinclair questioned the value of 'subtile *Metaphysical Arguments*', maintaining that 'proofs which come nearest to *Sense*' – empirical accounts of the existence of spirits – 'leave a deeper impression' upon the minds of the learned and unlettered alike. By describing the actions of '*Devils, Spirits,*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.[ix]; George Sinclair, *The Hydrostaticks; or, The Weight, Force, and Pressure of Fluid Bodies, Made Evident by Physical and Sensible Experiments* (Edinburgh, 1672), pp.316, 308-9.

¹¹⁸ Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World*, sig. [A5]r.

¹¹⁹ Petrus van Mastricht, *Novitatum Cartesianarum Gangraena* (Amsterdam, 1677); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp.215-16.

¹²⁰ Thomas Halyburton likewise cited Meyer by means of an intermediate source: Halyburton, 'Essay concerning the nature of faith', p.112. For the controversy over Meyer's work, see Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp.197-217.

Witches, and Apparitions', *Satan's Invisible World* sought to counter the growth of atheism.¹²¹

Given that Cartesian thought was introduced to curricula while the universities were under episcopalian control, and that many presbyterians opposed the philosophy, it is possible that debates over Cartesianism reinforced the division between Scotland's religious parties. Certainly a similar trend was evident in the Netherlands, where philosophical and religious disputes were closely related to one another.¹²² It is, however, unclear whether episcopalian ministers (who may have differed from the regents) generally favoured Cartesian thought. Nevertheless, the university visitation commission of the 1690s, which was dominated by presbyterians, pursued both anti-episcopalian and anti-Cartesian agendas. Whether or not Cartesianism had previously been a matter of religious controversy, it became one in the 1690s.

In the decade after the revolution, the university visitation commission tried, with more urgency than success, to suppress Cartesian teaching. During Edinburgh's 1690 visitation, the dictates of regent Alexander Cunningham were scrutinised by Gilbert Rule, soon to be the college's principal, who made 'some observa[tio]ne [the]r[e]on anent' Cunningham's 'Cartesian doctrine'. Despite presenting ideological concern, Cunningham avoided deprivation by the committee.¹²³ In 1695, St Andrews regents likewise found their philosophical principles under investigation, after pressure from the synod of Fife.¹²⁴ In St Leonard's College, regents typically explained Descartes' *Meditations* to the third-year class, arguing that it was necessary for students to become 'some way acquaint with' Cartesian method.¹²⁵ The university's professors and regents of philosophy complained that 'wee dipp not any farther in Cartesianisme than other Colledges, who have not yet such neighbours' – referring to the synod – 'to wound or brand them with such

¹²¹ Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World*, sigs. [A5]r., Ar.

¹²² Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p.25.

¹²³ NAS, Parliamentary visitation, Edinburgh, PA10/4, 15 Sep. 1690.

¹²⁴ Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', pp.309-10; NAS, Synod of Fife minutes, 1690-1696, CH2/154/4, pp.139, 145.

¹²⁵ NAS, Parliamentary visitation of St Andrews university, 1690s, PA10/6, 1695 [unfoliated].

reproaches'.¹²⁶ Alexander Pitcairn, now rector of the university, objected to the regents' use of Descartes, but it is unlikely that the 1695 investigation had any effect on the curriculum. Neither Pitcairn nor William Tullideff, principal of St Leonard's, was in sufficiently good health to read the dictates and theses in question. Alexander Monro, provost of St Salvator's College, claimed that he knew of no 'heterodox' or 'dangerous' doctrines taught since the revolution.¹²⁷

The commission's anti-Cartesian activities had a limited impact on university curricula. Indeed, Gilbert Rule was still dissatisfied with some of the philosophy being taught in Edinburgh in 1699.¹²⁸ In Glasgow, James Wodrow privately compiled lists of erroneous philosophical principles, and lobbied for the visitation commission to suppress heterodox teaching.¹²⁹ In 1699, Rule and fellow ministers David Blair and George Meldrum (a regent at Marischal College in the 1650s) sat with the earl of Cassillis, Lord Crossrig and Sir Patrick Home of Lumsden on a committee for considering erroneous propositions. The committee assigned heterodoxies to three categories of increasing severity. Among the most obnoxious tenets, which were not to be taught and were to be specifically refuted if ever expressed by students, were the ideas that philosophy should interpret scripture, and that the world was eternal. Successive minutes of the committee suggest that Cartesian doctrines – hyperbolic doubt and the concept of 'clear and distinct ideas' – were moved from the least harmful category of dangerous opinions, which were to be taught only with caution, to the intermediate group, which were not to be taught.¹³⁰

The anxieties presbyterians expressed about the impact of new philosophy did not relate solely to the universities and the religious principles of future candidates for the ministry. Religious orthodoxy seemed under threat throughout Scottish society.

¹²⁶ NAS, Parliamentary visitation of the universities, 1690s, PA10/2, 10 May 1695 [unfoliated].

¹²⁷ NAS, Parliamentary visitation of the universities, PA10/2, c.July 1695, 27 July 1695, 25 July 1695 (quotations).

¹²⁸ NAS, Parliamentary visitation, Edinburgh, PA10/4, 11 May 1699; cf. *Evidence, Oral and Documentary, taken and received by the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty George IV*, 4 vols. (London, 1837), i, p.43.

¹²⁹ Wodrow, *Life of James Wodrow*, pp.152-4.

¹³⁰ NAS, Parliamentary visitation of the universities, PA10/2, 1 Aug. 1699, 27 Nov. 1699.

In October 1696, the privy council appointed presbyterian ministers Gilbert Rule and James Webster, together with Henry Ferguson, an Edinburgh bailie, to search the catalogues and premises of Edinburgh's booksellers. All 'Athiesticall erroneus or profane and vitious' books were to be seized and reported to the council. A fortnight later, the council ordered booksellers periodically to submit inventories of their stock for inspection.¹³¹ Significantly, these actions were taken only weeks before Thomas Aikenhead's blasphemy was reported to the council.¹³²

Presbyterians' fears of the effects of unorthodox philosophy were surely exaggerated. Episcopalians may have been lax in their defence of religious orthodoxy, but it is clear that denial of the existence of God was extremely rare. Even Archibald Pitcairne, the free-thinking episcopalian physician, who was 'by many alledged to be ane Atheist', 'frequently professed his belife of a God, and said he could not deny a Providence'.¹³³ Nevertheless, doubting the truth of Christian doctrines, and the spiritual presence, if not the reality of God, was often part of the melancholy experienced by godly presbyterians.¹³⁴ There is evidence that, by the 1690s, godly doubts were sometimes reinforced by philosophical scepticism. The shift between these two forms of doubt alarmed presbyterians, and is worth tracking in detail.

Writing of her spiritual progress during the 1690s, Elizabeth West recorded battling against doubts resulting from the 'Disease of Atheism'.¹³⁵ Diarist Jean Collace reflected on the death of minister Thomas Urquhart, probably in October 1675, that 'Satan thrust sore at me by this blowing on the atheism of my heart'.¹³⁶ Another presbyterian, John Monro, wrote in October 1708 that '[s]ince the midst of Sept[embe]r by past I have been under many and sad tossings arising from the power

¹³¹ NAS, Privy council acta, 4 Sep. 1696-11 July 1699, PC1/51, pp.20, 28; A.J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), p.175.

¹³² NAS, Privy council acta, PC1/51, p.29; Hunter, "Aikenhead the atheist", p.322.

¹³³ Wodrow, *Analecta*, ii, p.255.

¹³⁴ See ch. 3 above.

¹³⁵ West, *Memoirs*, pp.16, 18, 21 (quotation).

¹³⁶ Jean Collace, 'Some short remembrances of the Lord's kindness to me and His work on my soul', in D.G. Mullan (ed.), *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670-c.1730* (Aldershot, 2003), p.124.

of unbeleife in my ordinary ups and Douns'.¹³⁷ Ministers encouraged their congregations to resist the effects of 'atheism'. In 1682, Alexander Peden warned his hearers that 'your Atheism & your Misbelief will do you an Ill-Turn, it will put you to question the Work of GOD in your own Bosom'.¹³⁸ Presbyterians expected there to be 'remainders of unbeleef in the best of the saincts of god', as John Anderson, minister of the West Kirk, put it in 1697.¹³⁹

Although godly doubts were usually expected to resolve themselves, sometimes young presbyterians found their spiritual troubles exacerbated by secular learning. On her death bed in 1675, Margaret Eliot, wife of Thomas Stewart of Coltness, told her children to be careful when studying philosophy, 'lest it have the effect in you that it hath hed on some to turn you Atheists or without Religion'.¹⁴⁰ Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity at St Andrews between 1710 and 1712, was much impressed by a warning he received as a schoolboy that '*unsanctified Learning has done much Mischief to the Kirk of GOD*'. Some years later, Halyburton

was engag'd [at university] in the Study of Metaphysicks and natural Theology, accustomed to subtile Notions, and tickled with them; whereupon Satan, in Conjunction with the natural Atheism of my Heart, took Occasion to cast me into racking Disquietment about the great Truths of Religion, more especially the Being of a GOD.¹⁴¹

Unsurprisingly, Cartesian philosophy was thought problematic in this respect. Thomas Boston criticised the 'book-vanity' encouraged by reading Descartes' *Meditations*, and resolved instead to follow 'Christ's teaching by His Spirit'.¹⁴² James Hog was at one time so 'drunk' with Cartesian 'notions' that he experienced a 'lamentable stop to the progress of the convincing and awakening influences' of

¹³⁷ EUL, Part of a diary by John Monro, La. II. 263, no.10 [unfoliated].

¹³⁸ Alexander Peden, *The Lords Trumpet Sounding an Alarm against Scotland, and Waining off a Bloody Sword* ([Glasgow?], [1720?]), p.22.

¹³⁹ NAS, Sermon notebook, GD184/11/3, p.[2].

¹⁴⁰ NLS, Last words of Margaret Eliot, Wod. Qu. XVIII, fo. 160v.

¹⁴¹ Thomas Halyburton, *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Mr Thomas Halyburton* (Edinburgh, 1714), pp.27, 41.

¹⁴² Boston, *Memoirs*, p.130.

grace on his soul. Hyperbolic doubt, Hog warned, encouraged ‘Libertinism and Atheism’, leaving people in ‘deep pits of Scepticism and material Atheism’.¹⁴³

Another young presbyterian whose conversion was apparently obstructed as a result of philosophical study was Thomas Aikenhead. William Anstruther, a privy councillor who visited the convicted blasphemer in prison, ‘found a work on’ Aikenhead’s ‘spirit, and wept that ever he should [have] maintained such tenets’.¹⁴⁴ Aikenhead’s opinions were influenced by the Cartesianism taught by Edinburgh regents, but he and Mungo Craig, a friend turned accuser, were also familiar with the ideas of Spinoza and the English deist Charles Blount. That heterodox works were available outside the educated elites is suggested by the case of John Frazer, a merchant’s apprentice investigated in 1696 for heterodoxy, who claimed to have read Blount’s *Oracles of Reason* (1693).¹⁴⁵

By the 1690s, therefore, sceptical philosophy served to complicate the process of presbyterian conversion, making the doubts of some would-be converts more systematic and deeply rooted. The dangers were greatest among educated men, but ministers also feared the corrosive effects of new learning outside the universities and the educated elites. In January 1696, the general assembly warned that ‘not a few’ people, ‘of Atheistical principles, who go under the name of Deists’ were propagating their sceptical principles in Scotland. Where necessary, ministers were to warn their congregations of the deist threat, and to recommend orthodox writers for the people’s perusal.¹⁴⁶ Some ministers seem to have responded to this act in their preaching. John Anderson worried that members of his congregation would exhibit quite specific doubts: ‘a beleever may sometimes be tempted to doubt of the verie being and existence of a god, he may be tempted to question the truth and reality of the imortality of the soul’.¹⁴⁷ Anderson attributed such doubts to Satan, but his Edinburgh colleague James Webster blamed philosophy. Preaching in 1703, he

¹⁴³ James Hog, *Memoirs of the Public Life of Mr James Hogg* ([Edinburgh], 1798), pp.12-13.

¹⁴⁴ W. Cobbett, T.B. Howell *et al.* (eds.), *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, 34 vols. (London, 1809-28), xiii, col. 930; Hunter, “‘Aikenhead the atheist’”, p.319.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.327-9, 323.

¹⁴⁶ *Acts of the General Assembly*, p.253.

¹⁴⁷ NAS, Sermon notebook, GD184/11/3, p.[3].

warned that the religious lives of some were compromised by ‘sceptasism’. ‘[W]hat the philosophers advanc’d in favours of the doubters’, he argued, some people ‘advance in religion, they think every man should alwayes be doubting, what if I be cheated, what if I be mistaken, there is Jealousie in the heart, & there is unbeleef, & discouragment and the devil works upon these’.¹⁴⁸

IV

In the years after 1690, presbyterians fought tenaciously to defend Christian orthodoxy from the perceived threat of atheism. Some of their efforts presumably enjoyed the sympathy of their episcopalian opponents. Robert Wodrow’s *Analecta*, a compendium of news and gossip illustrating the role of providence in daily affairs, resembled in some ways an earlier manuscript by episcopalian James Fraser.¹⁴⁹ George Sinclair’s *Satan’s Invisible World* was modelled on *Saducismus Triumphatus*, by Anglican clergymen Joseph Glanvill and Henry More.¹⁵⁰ In his *Secret Commonwealth*, episcopalian Robert Kirk also uncovered empirical evidence of the existence of spiritual bodies.¹⁵¹

Yet presbyterians were concerned that their opponents’ attitudes to new learning had undermined religious orthodoxy. The Westminster confession may have been used in restoration Scotland, but not all episcopalians accepted its teachings on salvation. In the universities, Calvinist doctrines were actively questioned; in the parishes, episcopalians taught a simple Christianity influenced by the new Anglican theology. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical and political authorities did little to prevent dangerous philosophical tenets from being adopted in Scotland’s universities.

¹⁴⁸ NCL, Sermons of Kirkton and Webster, MS. KIRK 2, 24 Aug. 1703 [unpaginated].

¹⁴⁹ Wodrow, *Analecta*; NLS, James Fraser, ‘Pronoia [...] a collection of providential passages antient and modern’, Adv. 32.4.7.

¹⁵⁰ This was first published in 1681. Sinclair probably used the second edition: Joseph Glanvill and Henry More, *Saducismus Triumphatus: or, Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions* (London, 1682).

¹⁵¹ M. Hunter (ed.), *The Occult Laboratory: Magic, Science and Second Sight in late Seventeenth-century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.77-106.

Presbyterians were far more vigilant. The 1690 settlement enshrined the Westminster confession in law, and handed control of the Church to clergy who were committed to teaching the confession's doctrines. Presbyterians condemned episcopalian ministers who accepted the Anglican theological framework, and sought to restrict the access of ordinary people to works such as the *Whole Duty of Man*. Open theological debate did not take place within the re-established Church before the reign of George I.¹⁵²

Thomas Aikenhead is the most celebrated victim of presbyterian vigilance against heterodox ideas. His case encapsulates the exaggerated fears of atheism prevalent among elite presbyterians, who were simultaneously engaged in a campaign against Cartesian influence in the universities. Yet Aikenhead, whose blasphemous opinions may have reinforced more conventional spiritual doubts, also exemplified the fragility of presbyterian religious culture. The emergence of Cartesianism, the promotion of a simplified Christianity by episcopalians, the critique of 'enthusiasm', the influence of Anglicanism – these trends put belief in predestination, conversion and gradual regeneration by the holy spirit under pressure. Ministers were wrong to fear an upsurge in atheism, but their anxieties over the fate of religious orthodoxy were justified.

¹⁵² J.K. Cameron, 'Theological controversy: a factor in the origins of the Scottish enlightenment', in R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (eds.), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982).

Chapter 10: Conclusions

I

Popular participation was a fundamental characteristic of religious controversy in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland. People without university education took part in religious disputes by testifying before church courts, writing and signing petitions, and joining violent crowds. Such men and women used controversial vocabulary and arguments in their diaries and memoirs, and attempted to persuade their peers through correspondence and conversation. They defied political and ecclesiastical authority by separating from ministers they opposed, and refusing to take dubious oaths. They criticised objectionable attitudes among the clergy, spread salacious gossip, and frequently resorted to physical violence.

At the same time, members of the educated elites sought to influence ordinary people by writing pamphlets, preaching sermons and composing satirical verses. The letters and polemical works of ministers reflect their great interest in the opinions of non-elite people, whose participation in religious controversy, however problematic, was often encouraged by members of the elites. Politicians and clergy used the concept of popularity to promote a range of policies, including the abolition of patronage, the assertion of the Church's intrinsic right, and episcopalian toleration. Popular hostility could excuse the non-observance of fasts or the refusal of oaths by ministers; clergy with local support could resist external interference in their parishes.

Aside from religious controversy, popularity was becoming increasingly important in late seventeenth-century politics. Writing of England during the exclusion crisis, Tim Harris has argued that Charles II's government struggled against its whig opponents for the support of the common people.¹ In the period between 1699 and 1707, Karin Bowie has suggested, 'popular participation in Scottish national affairs

¹ T. Harris, "'Venerating the honesty of a tinker': the king's friends and the battle for the allegiance of the common people in restoration England", in T. Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded* (Basingstoke, 2001).

increased dramatically' to a level 'remarkable for the time, whether assessed in a Scottish, British or European context'. One harbinger of the enormous popular opposition to the union was the petitioning campaign of late 1699 and early 1700, organised by the leaders of the country party to exert pressure on the court over the failure of the Darien scheme.² Divisions within the political elites evidently magnified the significance of popular participation in politics in both Scotland and England. Nevertheless, the Scottish government responded robustly to non-elite criticism in periods when politicians were not seriously split, notably during the early 1680s.

For decades before Scottish politics was riven by disputes over Darien and the union, and before the revolution of 1688-90 split Scots into Jacobites and Williamites, the division between presbyterians and episcopalians gave rise to controversy at elite and non-elite levels. Very often, arguments between presbyterians and episcopalians concentrated on matters other than Church government. In the early seventeenth century, kneeling at communion, introduced by the Perth Articles (1618), provoked more controversy, particularly among the laity, than the restoration of bishops over the previous decades had done.³ Indeed, doctrinaire presbyterians within the Church were able to use the debate over the Articles to stimulate opposition to episcopacy.⁴ After 1638, attitudes to the Covenants played an important role in differentiating presbyterians from episcopalians. If Scotland was bound as a nation by these oaths, then the decision to break them affected people at all ranks, fuelling non-elite participation in controversy.⁵ Nevertheless, presbyterians were more inclined to attack their opponents as immoral time-servers than to attempt to persuade them of the validity of presbyterian government. The vocabulary of 'persecution' moved the focus of debate from ecclesiological issues to the severity of the government's suppression of dissent. Episcopalians used the vocabularies of 'fanaticism' and

² K. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.7 (quotations), 30-3; C.A. Whatley with D.J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp.202-3.

³ A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 1998), p.167.

⁴ L. Stewart, "'Brothers in Treuth': propaganda, public opinion and the Perth Articles debate in Scotland", in R. Houlbrooke (ed.), *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government* (Aldershot, 2006).

⁵ Cf. G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V – James VII* (Edinburgh, 1978 edn.), pp.366-7.

‘enthusiasm’ to smear their opponents, alleging that presbyterians were seditious hypocrites. The construction of stereotypes, the imposition of oaths, ‘persecution’ and arguments over it – all these processes contributed to the ongoing formation of presbyterian and episcopalian parties.

Meanwhile, politicians abandoned the idea that the government of the Church ought to be settled solely or primarily on the basis of divine law. In the 1660s, the reinvigoration of the royal prerogative was parliament’s paramount concern. At the revolution, when untrammelled monarchical power had fallen from favour among the political elite, popularity was a plausible pretext for ecclesiastical reform. The relativist language of the Claim of Right encouraged presbyterians and episcopalians to make competing assertions of popular support, using print, petitions and crowd violence. Politicians and clergy on both sides evinced a growing awareness of the importance of perceptions of popularity.

II

One consequence of religious controversy, therefore, was the accelerating divergence between presbyterians and episcopalians. From the restoration onwards, there was some degree of protestant pluralism in Scotland; after the toleration of 1687, pluralism became increasingly pronounced.⁶ If comprehension of episcopalians within the re-established Church of Scotland was the sincere goal of William and some of his advisers in the 1690s, the policy had, by 1703, been disavowed by the episcopalians in favour of toleration.⁷ Presbyterians and episcopalians were becoming distinct confessional groups.

Scholars of Scottish religious culture in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can perhaps learn from the confessionalisation thesis developed by

⁶ G. Donaldson, ‘The emergence of schism in seventeenth-century Scotland’, in D. Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, Studies in Church History, 9 (London, 1972), p.294. Donaldson emphasised the schismatic practices of the protesters during the 1650s, but downplayed the importance of presbyterian dissent in the restoration period.

⁷ T.N. Clarke, ‘The Scottish Episcopalians, 1688-1720’ (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1987), pp.73-138.

historians of early modern Germany. Proponents of the thesis, in particular Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, place the formation of different confessional groups in the context of state-building and the imposition of 'social discipline' by princely rulers, developing a theory of the modernisation of German society.⁸ Owing to these specifically Germanic concerns, historians of other societies have not used the confessionalisation model without significant modification.⁹ Nevertheless, various insights are relevant to Scotland. The explicitly religious trends studied by historians of confessionalisation include the promulgation of confessions of faith, the dissemination of doctrine, and the struggle between 'propaganda' and 'counter-propaganda'.¹⁰ Scottish presbyterians were active in these processes, helping to explain their fairly high degree of unity in the years before they enjoyed the advantages of legal establishment. Most notably, presbyterians remained agreed over doctrine, as expressed in the Westminster confession. It was customary for Cameronians to state approval of the confession in their scaffold testimonies, even though the article concerning obedience to the civil magistrate posed problems for the Societies.¹¹ Episcopalians favoured a simplified theological message, but they did not stifle the influence of the Westminster confession in restoration Scotland. The re-established presbyterian Church took doctrinal orthodoxy seriously: the theological disputes of the early eighteenth century concerned very minor shades of opinion.¹²

Religious controversy led people to take sides. Controversialists depicted the differences between the parties in stark terms, and the nature of each party was in

⁸ T.A. Brady, 'Confessionalization – the career of a concept', in J.M. Headley, H.J. Hillerbrand and A.J. Papalas (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot, 2004), pp.3-4; R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550-1750* (London, 1989), pp.2-5.

⁹ M.P. Holt, 'Confessionalization beyond the Germanies: the case of France', in Headley, Hillerbrand and Papalas (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe*, pp.272-3; H. Robinson-Hammerstein, 'Review article: the confessionalisation of Ireland? Assessment of a paradigm', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32 (2000-1), pp.567-78.

¹⁰ J.M. Headley, 'Introduction', in Headley, Hillerbrand and Papalas (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe*, p.xviii.

¹¹ *A Cloud of Witnesses, for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ* ([Edinburgh?], 1714); see ch. 6 above, p.143.

¹² See D.C. Lachman, *The Marrow Controversy, 1718-1723: An Historical and Theological Analysis* (Edinburgh, 1988); A. Skoczylas, *Mr Simson's Knotty Case: Divinity, Politics, and Due Process in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Montreal, 2001).

some degree shaped by the characterisations of sympathetic and hostile writers. After 1690, episcopalians described their opponents as 'enthusiasts' in pamphlets directed to Anglican audiences, which were sprinkled with positive assessments of the Church of England and its liturgy.¹³ This was not merely a cynical gesture. Episcopalians had learned from restoration Anglican theology, and were critical of presbyterian preaching and extemporary prayer. Indeed, there is reason to question the consensus among previous historians that presbyterians and episcopalians essentially agreed on matters of doctrine and worship.

Episcopalian pamphleteers often magnified the distinctions between themselves and the presbyterians, but they sometimes found it expedient to stress the parties' shared beliefs. This was particularly necessary when episcopalians presented themselves as the victims of irrational presbyterian bigotry. 'Any Moderate Man will certainly think the difference between our Scots Episcopacy and Presbytery not worth the Heat or Danger of a Dispute', asserted John Sage, at the start of a passage emphasising presbyterian and episcopalian similarities.¹⁴ 'The Reader will be astonished, when we inform him; that the way of Worship in our Church, differed nothing from what the Presbyterians themselves practised', stated Sir George Mackenzie.¹⁵ Historians have cited these and similar passages to prove the extent of common ground between presbyterians and episcopalians.¹⁶

Yet Sage and Mackenzie were tendentious witnesses: they ignored the differences between presbyterian and episcopalian piety, and downplayed the significance of episcopalian doubts over the Westminster confession. Even if some episcopalians agreed entirely with the presbyterians on matters of belief, others charged their

¹³ A. Raffe, 'Episcopalian polemic, the London printing press and Anglo-Scottish divergence in the 1690s', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 26 (2006), pp.23-41, at pp.28-9.

¹⁴ [John Sage], *The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy truly Represented* (London, 1690), sigs. A2v.-[A3]r.

¹⁵ George Mackenzie, *A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1691), p.9.

¹⁶ G.D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), pp.144, 152-4; W.R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland, 1661-1688* (London, 1958), pp.125-7; A.C. Cheyne, *Studies in Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp.68-9; T. Maxwell, 'The Presbyterian-Episcopalian Controversy in Scotland from the Revolution till the Accession of George I' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1954), pp.32-3; Clarke, 'Scottish Episcopalians', p.3.

opponents with making ‘*the way to Heaven straiter, than ever God made it*’.¹⁷ Moreover, the experiences of the 1690s probably widened the doctrinal disagreements between the two camps. According to Robert Calder, the ‘Persecution’ of the episcopalians after the revolution inspired them ‘to know Truth; & to have a just Notion of the ancient and Apostolick Government’ by bishops.¹⁸ Episcopalians showed growing willingness to employ *iure divino* arguments for episcopacy, and their links with Anglican clergy encouraged their interest in liturgical worship.¹⁹ By 1703, episcopalian pamphleteers (including John Sage) were quite candid about their rejection of the Westminster confession.²⁰ The theological evolution apparent among episcopalians at the revolution continued after 1690, and the episcopalians, although they lacked the unity of their presbyterian opponents, became a confessional group distinct from the established Church.²¹

III

By the early eighteenth century, protestant pluralism had become a permanent characteristic of Scottish society. Was this development accompanied by growing acceptance of religious diversity? Three types of evidence are relevant to this question: support for and opposition to toleration among the educated elites, government policy, and the everyday relations between different religious groups.

The seventeenth century saw arguments for religious toleration gradually gain influence in European intellectual culture.²² As a result, the traditional ideological consensus in favour of coercively enforced uniformity – based on the idea of the

¹⁷ West, *Memoirs*, p.87; NAS, Paper concerning the trial of John Murray, 1694, CH1/2/2/2, fo. 129r.

¹⁸ [Robert Calder], *Reasons for a Toleration to the Episcopalian Clergie* (Edinburgh, 1703), p.6.

¹⁹ D.H. Whiteford, ‘Reactions to Jacobitism in Scottish Ecclesiastical Life and Thought, 1690-1760’ (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1966), pp.95-9.

²⁰ [George Garden], *The Case of the Episcopal Clergy, and of those of the Episcopal Perswasion, Considered* ([Edinburgh], 1703), pp.14-15; [John Sage], *A Brief Examination of Some Things in Mr Meldrum’s Sermon Preach’d May 16* ([Edinburgh?], 1703), p.4.

²¹ For political, theological and liturgical differences in eighteenth-century episcopalianism, see G. White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.8-15, 25-32.

²² For sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century tolerationist ideas, see J. Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and ‘Early Enlightenment’ Europe* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.312-24.

magistrate's responsibility to root out heresy – was under pressure.²³ The English experience of religious pluralism in the 1640s and 1650s was a catalyst for tolerationist ideas. Recognising that religious coercion was often defended with reference to Old Testament Israel, protestant separatist thinkers, principally Baptists and Independents, argued that the New Testament advocated toleration. They claimed that a person's conscience could not be forced, and that the morality of the gospels forbade religious coercion. Indeed, they thought that tolerating religious diversity was morally admirable.²⁴

The restoration settlements in Scotland and England reasserted the model of enforced uniformity. Schemes for comprehending or accommodating dissenters within the national Churches won some support, but were never fully implemented.²⁵ Religious coercion remained a central plank of government policy. In the 1680s, however, intense 'persecution' in Scotland, England and France led a new generation of thinkers including Pierre Bayle, John Locke and Gilbert Burnet to question traditional defences of coercion. Burnet attacked the highly influential Augustinian interpretation of Luke 14:23, in which Christ was understood to advocate religious compulsion.²⁶ Moreover, Locke argued that the civil magistrate had no jurisdiction over matters of belief and worship.²⁷

²³ J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000), pp.24-49; for the traditional consensus, see also A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006), pp.40-62.

²⁴ J. Coffey, 'Puritanism and liberty revisited: the case for toleration in the English revolution', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp.961-85; N. Carlin, 'Toleration for Catholics in the puritan revolution', in O.P. Grell and B. Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996). For a wide-ranging discussion of tolerationist thought, see A.R. Murphy, *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America* (University Park, PA, 2001).

²⁵ C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.119, 163; M. Greig, 'Gilbert Burnet and the problem of nonconformity in restoration Scotland and England', *Canadian Journal of History*, 32 (1997), pp.1-24; J. Spurr, 'The Church of England, comprehension and the toleration act of 1689', *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), pp.927-46.

²⁶ Gilbert Burnet, 'The translators preface', in Lactantius, *A Relation of the Death of the Primitive Persecutors*, trans. Gilbert Burnet (Amsterdam, 1687), p.32; M. Goldie, 'The theory of religious intolerance in restoration England', in O.P. Grell, J.I. Israel and N. Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), pp.337-9; Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration*, pp.48-9.

²⁷ John Locke, *Epistola de Tolerantia: A Letter on Toleration* ed. R. Klibansky and J.W. Gough (Oxford, 1968), pp.67-9, 103-13.

Scottish episcopalian and presbyterian clergy held conservative views on the subject of toleration. The three main defences of religious coercion outlined by Mark Goldie retained intellectual influence into the eighteenth century.²⁸ First, politicians and clergy sought to preserve political stability. As chapter two illustrates, the suppression of dissent in the restoration period was often justified with reference to the supposedly seditious actions of presbyterians. Second, presbyterians and episcopalians were committed to the ideal of a national Church. In a sermon to the privy council in 1684, episcopalian Alexander Rose called for vigorous action against ‘Schism’ in order to safeguard the Church.²⁹ In 1703, presbyterian minister James Webster attacked plans for episcopalian toleration, asserting that they would ‘fix and perpetuat a horrid Schism in the Church’.³⁰ The commission of the general assembly petitioned parliament against the proposals, likewise arguing that toleration would undermine the established Church.³¹ The third justification of religious coercion, the defence of theological truths, was also important. ‘*Error and Heresy* are great publick Sins’, Webster insisted, arguing that both the New and the Old Testaments gave political rulers responsibility for the preservation of religious truth.³² According to the commission of the general assembly, episcopalian toleration would allow the propagation of erroneous beliefs. The commission also claimed that episcopalians had no conscientious grounds for refusing to worship in the Church, an assertion that was robustly challenged by episcopalian writers.³³

Statutory toleration for episcopalian worship was not delivered until 1712. Yet government support for religious coercion had been at best equivocal since the late 1680s. The governments of James VII and II were critical of ‘persecution’, as was William of Orange, who in 1687 indicated his willingness to support the repeal of penal laws against English Roman Catholics.³⁴ The passage of the English toleration

²⁸ Goldie, ‘Theory of religious intolerance’, pp.332-4.

²⁹ Alexander Rose, *A Sermon* (Glasgow, 1684), pp.21-41.

³⁰ [James Webster], *An Essay upon Toleration* ([Edinburgh?], 1703), p.21.

³¹ NAS, Register of the commission of the general assembly, 1701-1703, CH1/3/5, p.256.

³² [Webster], *Essay upon Toleration*, pp.8-11.

³³ NAS, Register of the commission, CH1/3/5, p.256; [Garden], *Case of the Episcopal Clergy*, pp.14-17; [George Brown], *Toleration Defended; or, the Letter from a Gentleman to a Member of Parliament concerning Toleration Considered* ([Edinburgh?], 1703), pp.2-4.

³⁴ J. Carswell, *The Descent on England: a Study of the English Revolution of 1688 and its European Background* (London, 1969), pp.107-10.

act of 1689 cannot be attributed to an ideological consensus in favour of toleration among Anglican clergy. Instead, historians have emphasised political reasons for the act: the need to create a protestant alliance against Roman Catholic power, the attitude of William of Orange to religious coercion, political reaction to the severity of ‘persecution’ in the 1680s.³⁵ Scottish episcopalians did not receive protection equivalent to that granted to English dissenters for more than two decades, but few if any presbyterians wanted to subject their opponents to government suppression like that seen in the 1680s. At the revolution, presbyterian clergy repudiated what they described as episcopalian methods of ‘persecution’.³⁶ Furthermore, William objected to the section of the Scottish coronation oath requiring the monarch to tackle heresy.³⁷ The new king supported various measures in favour of loyal episcopalian clergy.³⁸ And although parliament passed an act against irregular marriage and baptism in 1695, the ‘era of penal laws’ against episcopalians post-dated the Hanoverian succession.³⁹

William and his court may have favoured a *de facto* toleration of episcopalians, but the privy council and local magistrates prevented this from becoming a reality. A statute of 1661, allowing the celebrants of clandestine marriages to be banished, was used periodically to crack down on episcopalian clergy.⁴⁰ In other cases, the privy council protected local presbyterian monopolies by closing episcopalian meeting houses, including some used by ministers who had taken the oath of allegiance and

³⁵ R. Ashcraft, ‘Latitudinarianism and toleration: historical myth versus political history’, in R. Kroll, R. Ashcraft and P. Zagorin (eds.), *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England, 1640-1700* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.151-2; J.I. Israel, ‘William III and toleration’, in Grell, Israel and Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration*; M. Knights, “‘Meer religion’ and the “church-state” of restoration England: the impact and ideology of James II’s declaration of indulgence’, in A. Houston and S. Pincus (eds.), *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.42-3.

³⁶ David Williamson, *A Sermon Preached before His Grace the King’s Commissioner, and the Three Estates of Parliament, June the 15th. 1690* (Edinburgh, 1690), pp.13, 25; [George Meldrum], *A Sermon Preached in the High-Church of Edinburgh, Upon Sunday, April 27 1690* (Edinburgh, 1690), p.11.

³⁷ L.K.J. Glassey, ‘William II and the settlement of religion in Scotland, 1688-1690’, *RSCHS*, 23:3 (1989), pp.317-29, at p.325.

³⁸ R.B. Knox, ‘Establishment and toleration during the reigns of William, Mary and Anne’, *RSCHS*, 23:3 (1989), pp.330-60, at pp.345-6; T. Clarke, ‘The Williamite episcopalians and the glorious revolution in Scotland’, *RSCHS*, 24:1 (1990), pp.33-51, at pp.47-50.

³⁹ *APS*, ix, p.387; F.C. Mather, ‘Church, parliament and penal laws: some Anglo-Scottish interactions in the eighteenth century’, *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), pp.540-72, at pp.540-1.

⁴⁰ *APS*, vii, p.231; *NAS*, Privy council decreta, 5 Jan. 1692-31 May 1694, PC2/24, fo. 185; *NAS*, Privy council decreta, 13 July 1697-2 Aug. 1700, PC2/27, fos. 111v.-113r., 115.

the assurance.⁴¹ Magistrates continued to follow a policy of occasional suppression even after Anne's February 1703 letter to the privy council calling for the protection of episcopalian worship. In March 1706, in response to a petition from presbyterian clergy, the council issued a proclamation against intruders into churches, which was used to justify the closure of several episcopalian meeting houses.⁴² Local magistrates took steps to enforce the act of the 1709 general assembly against innovations in worship, imprisoning among others James Greenshields.⁴³

It seems that the emergence of protestant pluralism in Scotland was not accompanied by any immediate growth in support for tolerationist ideas and policies. Yet the pamphlets of clergy and the decisions of magistrates may say little about the everyday relations between non-elite presbyterians and episcopalians. Many areas of the country were religiously quite homogeneous, but in divided communities such as Edinburgh, Aberdeen and parts of Fife, professed members of the rival parties must have interacted on a regular basis. It may be that episodes of controversy and confrontation were interspersed with periods of more harmonious coexistence. Historians of other societies have suggested this possibility. In sixteenth-century Germany, Bob Scribner argued, 'tolerance' of differences in religious belief was 'very widespread' among 'ordinary people'.⁴⁴ Some English local studies have also indicated that relations between different religious groups reflected considerable tolerance.⁴⁵ Although calls for the enforcement of penal laws sometimes came from non-elite Anglicans, scholars have found that tolerance was practised in English society before it was codified in legislation. Tolerance, Alexandra Walsham

⁴¹ NAS, Privy council acta, 4 Sep. 1696-11 July 1699, PC1/51, p.190; NAS, Privy council decreta, PC2/27, fo. 111; NAS, Privy council acta, 13 July 1699-5 May 1703, PC1/52, pp.20-2.

⁴² NAS, Privy council acta, 12 June 1703-30 Apr. 1707, PC1/53, pp.459-60, 466-7; Clarke, 'Scottish Episcopalians', p.185.

⁴³ R.S. Tompson, 'James Greenshields and the House of Lords: a reappraisal', in W.M. Gordon and T.D. Fergus (eds.), *Legal History in the Making: Proceedings of the Ninth British Legal History Conference* (London, 1991), pp.110-12; Clarke, 'Scottish Episcopalians', p.214.

⁴⁴ B. Scribner, 'Preconditions of tolerance and intolerance in sixteenth-century Germany', in Grell and Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance*, p.38.

⁴⁵ B. Stevenson, 'The social integration of the post-restoration dissenters, 1660-1725', in M. Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995); Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, pp.11-12.

suggests, may have been ‘socially possible’ before it was ‘ideologically acceptable’.⁴⁶

Further research will be necessary to examine the extent of religious tolerance in Scottish society. Yet the characteristics of religious controversy described in this thesis – particularly the broad range of controversial issues and the significance of non-elite participation – surely placed a strain on the forbearance of all but the most apathetic Scots. The hostility between presbyterians and episcopalians, like that between presbyterian separatists and members of the Church, certainly cooled from time to time, but it seems likely that the development of tolerance lagged far behind the growth of religious diversity.

IV

In the years after the union, presbyterians and episcopalians began to refer to the Church of Scotland as a waning institution. For Robert Wylie, the January 1708 fast, appointed by the civil authority alone, was ‘an ill presage or rather symptom of our declining state’.⁴⁷ In June 1714, William Mitchell, moderator of the commission of the general assembly, complained of episcopalian intrusions and rabbles in the north, ‘as if there had been a generall Combination by Enimies to run us down’.⁴⁸ During the previous summer, John Adamson, an itinerant preacher, had criticised the perceived Erastianism of religious politics, allegedly telling a congregation in Lanark that ‘the ministers of Scotland had laid aside their bibles and betaken themselves to the acts of the British parliament’. On another occasion, he reportedly preached that Christ was not to be found ‘in the Declining or Backsliding Church of Scotland’.⁴⁹ *The Causes of the Decay of Presbytery in Scotland* (1713), an episcopalian pamphlet, described a burgeoning sense of contempt for presbyterian ministers and their

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.109-20, 269-80 (quotation at p.279).

⁴⁷ NLS, Robert Wylie to Robert Wodrow, 19 Dec. 1707, Wod. Lett. Qu. IV, fo. 213r.

⁴⁸ NAS, William Mitchell to presbyteries, 2 June 1714, CH1/2/34/1, fo. 106r.

⁴⁹ NAS, Libel against John Adamson, Nov. 1713, CH1/2/33/2, fo. 162r.

worship, which the author expected to encourage the re-establishment of episcopacy.⁵⁰

In part, this sense of decline reflected changed political circumstances. The establishment of a British parliament had increased the likelihood of pro-episcopalian reforms; after 1710, episcopalians enjoyed the fruits of two decades of appeals to Anglican sentiment. Under the Scottish privy council, episcopalian crowd violence and the intrusion of clergy into parishes was frequently, albeit often ineffectually, prosecuted.⁵¹ The abolition of the privy council made it more difficult to resolve local disputes in favour of presbyterians. In various parts of Scotland, moreover, ministers were frustrated by the actions of hostile justices of the peace, whose authority was boosted by the abolition of the council.⁵² In Orkney, justices encroached on the jurisdiction of kirk sessions, and launched malicious prosecutions against ministers.⁵³ In July 1712, justices of the peace ordered a fast declaration of the synod of Angus and the Mearns to be burned at the cross of Montrose, describing the declaration as a ‘scandalouse paper’.⁵⁴ In the south-west, Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, a notorious ‘persecutor’ during the 1680s, was allowed to serve as a justice, despite having been excommunicated by the Church. According to the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, this was ‘grievous to the godly’, and encouraged criticism of local ministers by ‘even the prophane and wicked’.⁵⁵

As these cases suggest, there was a wider problem concerning the authority and esteem enjoyed by ministers. In 1700, James Webster condemned residents of Edinburgh for their ‘contempt of Ministers and rejecting of the Offers of Christ’, their disdain for discipline, and their ‘laughing’ at ministers’ ‘persons, sermons & wayes’.⁵⁶ Presbyterians complained that the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* had

⁵⁰ *The Causes of the Decay of Presbytery in Scotland in Answer to a Letter from a Clergy-man of that Perswasion* (London, 1713), pp.13-15, 36, 40.

⁵¹ See ch. 5 above.

⁵² 6 Ann. c. 6, *Statutes at Large*, iv, pp.275-6.

⁵³ NAS, Petition of James Sands to commission of the general assembly, 1711, CH1/2/31, fo. 168.

⁵⁴ NLS, Act of justices of the peace, 9 July 1712, Wod. Oct. XII, fo. 102r.

⁵⁵ EUL, David Nairn to William Carstares, 18 Nov. 1708, Dk 1.1², fo. 108r.; NAS, Andrew Cameron to William Mitchell, 23 Jan. 1712, CH1/2/32/6, fo. 529v. See T.F. Henderson, ‘Grierson, Sir Robert, first baronet (1655/6-1733)’, rev. S.W. McDonald, *ODNB*.

⁵⁶ NLS, James Webster sermon, 1700, MS. 2206, fo. 21v.

exposed ministers and religious worship to contempt. Gilbert Rule denounced the tract for its ‘Profane Mocking Rhetorick’, and its tendency ‘to make the work of Preaching Ridiculous to a profane, Atheistical Generation who already misregard it’.⁵⁷ For George Ridpath, the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* might have been the work of ‘avowed Atheists or profane Scoffers’; certainly its authors appeared to be ‘Persons void of all Religion and Morality’.⁵⁸ Yet Ridpath’s sordid tales of clerical immorality led an episcopalian critic to accuse him of encouraging contempt for ministers. Moreover, it was alleged, the malicious libelling of episcopalians in the church courts gave ‘the Vulgar [...] Opportunity to mock and ridicule the Clergy’.⁵⁹

On the other hand, it might be argued that the scandalous conduct of some episcopalian ministers led them to be scoffed at by their parishioners. In 1694, the general assembly’s committee for the north heard evidence of the drunkenness of John Dallas, episcopalian minister at Ardersier. Referring to one instance of overindulgence by Dallas, Alexander Brodie, a tailor in Inverness, testified that ‘the gentlemen present wer laughing & scoffing among themselves the next morning upon this account’.⁶⁰ James Williamson of Kirkcaldy, another habitually drunken minister, also seems to have been ridiculed for his intoxication: ‘In March 1690 he was so drunke upone the shoare of Leith that having slipped the boat the people mocked him publictly’.⁶¹

Some argued that the attitudes of the gentry and nobility led to growing disrespect for ministers. In 1709, Robert Wodrow complained of ‘an undervaluing of the ministry among persons of note and distinction’.⁶² In part, this resulted from jealous guarding of rank by landowners, who were typically the social superiors of the

⁵⁷ [Gilbert Rule], *A Just and Modest Reproof of a Pamphlet, called, the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (Edinburgh, 1693), pp.6, 37.

⁵⁸ [George Ridpath], *An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), sig. [A4]r.

⁵⁹ [William Strachan], *Some Remarks upon a Late Pamphlet, Entitled, An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1694), sigs. a.r.-[a4]r., p.6.

⁶⁰ NAS, Paper concerning the trial of John Dallas, 1694, CH1/2/2/1, fo. 72r.; cf. ch. 4 above, p.88.

⁶¹ NAS, ‘Process ag[ains]t Mr Ja[m]es Williamsons 1690’, GD26/10/36; cf. ch. 4 above, p.89.

⁶² Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.51.

clergy.⁶³ In a manuscript essay written after 1715, however, Patrick Couper, presbyterian minister of Pittenweem, attributed much blame for the contempt of ministers to ‘the excessive and prodigious growth of damnable heresies such as Socinianisme, Quakerism Deism &c And the deluge of down right Atheism that overflowes, w[i]t[h] [whi]ch many of our young nobility and gentry are deaply poyson’d’.⁶⁴ Wodrow feared that the gentry would be encouraged in their ‘Deism and Atheism’ by the scandals of the clergy.⁶⁵ Ministers also worried that ordinary men and women were adopting the disrespectful attitudes of their social superiors.⁶⁶ In 1703, Hector Munro, moderator of the presbytery of Caithness, reported of one landowner in the area that he had withdrawn from church, discouraged his tenants from attending, and endeavoured ‘to render the ministry it self contemptible’.⁶⁷

Of course, it was not only the sceptical and the vicious who expressed disdain for ministers. As chapters seven and eight argue, significant numbers of non-elite godly men and women condemned the perceived faults and backslidings of the re-established Church’s clergy. The union and the imposition of the abjuration oath further compromised the authority of ministers over their most scrupulous parishioners. One writer, advocating the dissolution of the union, claimed that if ministers in the west failed to support this policy, their ‘Churches would be deserted’, and their lives threatened.⁶⁸

Aside from a small number of irreligious heritors, most Scots who found fault with or ridiculed ministers were not anticlerical as such. Critics of clerical immorality and the perceived backsliding of clergy from presbyterian principles wanted different ministers, not no ministers at all. By mocking an undignified clergyman,

⁶³ NLS, Patrick Couper, ‘Ane enquiry into the nature of that reverence, which is due to gossell ministers, and the contempt that is poured on them, in this loose and degenerat age’, Wod. Oct. XXII, fos. 145v.-147r.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 148v.

⁶⁵ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.177.

⁶⁶ NLS, Couper, ‘Enquiry’, fos. 142v.-143v.

⁶⁷ NAS, Hector Munro to George Meldrum, 7 July 1703, CH1/2/30/2, fo. 125r.

⁶⁸ *A Letter from a Presbyterian Minister in the Country to his Friend at Edinburgh* ([Edinburgh?], [1713?]), p.3.

parishioners did not attack the clerical order itself.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, confessionalisation, presbyterian separatism, and a growing 'spirit of jealousy with respect to ministers'⁷⁰ helped to weaken their authority.

Neither the status of Scotland's clergy, nor the concept of a comprehensive Church of Scotland, emerged unscathed in 1714 from decades of religious controversy. More seriously, both presbyterians and episcopalians thought that discord and division threatened to undermine the protestant religion itself. In a petition to the earl of Marchmont, probably dating from the late 1690s, episcopalian clergy from the north-east of Scotland praised William's concern for the suppression of atheism and profanity, 'which are so much increased through our fatal divisions'.⁷¹ In a more polemical vein, Alexander Monro blamed 'Sectaries' for advancing 'Atheism to a prodigious Impudence'.⁷² '[T]is to be Lamented', a character in a dialogue by a presbyterian minister remarked, 'that bitter Reflections, and Ungoverned passion are every where too much used, as weapons among Different Parties, to the great Offence of all Serious and Judicious Christians, and to the Scandal of Religion itself'.⁷³ In its *Seasonable Admonition* to presbyterian separatists, the commission of the general assembly remarked that religious division 'tempts some to turn *Papists*, and some to turn *Atheists*'.⁷⁴ Indeed, a petition from lay people in John Hepburn's parish alleged that the disagreement between the Church and Hepburn had exacerbated the problem of Catholic recusancy in the area.⁷⁵ In 1717, one presbyterian critic of separatism asserted that 'Religion and real Godliness' suffered 'more under Contention and Division', than 'under Persecution'.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Cf. D. Cressy, 'Mocking the clergy: wars of words in parish and pulpit', in his *Agnes Bowker's Cat: Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 2000).

⁷⁰ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, p.52.

⁷¹ Bod., Episcopalian petition, Rawl. C 985, fo. 24v.

⁷² Alexander Monro, *Sermons Preached on Several Occasions* (London, 1693), sig. [A4]v.

⁷³ [Thomas Linning], *The Friendly Conference, or, a Discourse between the Country Man and his Nephew* (Edinburgh, 1711), p.9.

⁷⁴ *A Seasonable Admonition and Exhortation to some who Separate from the Communion of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1699), p.23.

⁷⁵ NAS, Petition from Urr to the commission of the general assembly, 4 Aug. 1707, CH1/2/4/2, fo. 154r.

⁷⁶ [Alexander Robeson], *Mene Tekel: or Separation Weighed in the Balance of the Sanctuary and found Wanting Part I* (Dumfries, 1717), p.iii.

The ministers of the early eighteenth century were not the first to complain of declining piety and disrespectful parishioners. Clergymen in all periods and societies have perceived fluctuating success and failure, respect and disdain; they have typically emphasised bad news over good.⁷⁷ Yet Anne's reign, and the decades that followed it, saw rapid changes in Scotland's politics and intellectual culture, as a result of which the place of organised religion in society subtly altered. Presbyterians and episcopalians gradually became reconciled to the British state;⁷⁸ ministers adapted to the politics of patronage within the Church.⁷⁹ The content and context of protestant beliefs changed, and Scotland's intellectual culture diversified.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, controversy, confessionalisation and shifting attitudes to the clergy helped to shape the nature and roles of the presbyterian and episcopalian Churches in the eighteenth century and beyond.

V

What conclusions can be drawn about politics and the public sphere in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland? First, ordinary men and women enjoyed growing opportunities to participate in politically significant debates. If many of the forms of participation available to them had existed for generations, some gained new significance after 1690. Most notably, the interactions of non-elite

⁷⁷ M. Lynch, 'Preaching to the converted? Perspectives on the Scottish reformation', in A.A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I.B. Cowan (eds.), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, 1994), pp.301, 327, 342; C. Haigh, 'Success and failure in the English reformation', *Past and Present*, 173 (Nov. 2001), pp.28-49, at pp.33-4; C. Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and clericalism, 1580-1640', in N. Aston and M. Cragoe (eds.), *Anticlericalism in Britain, c.1500-1914* (Stroud, 2000), p.19.

⁷⁸ C. Kidd, 'Constructing a civil religion: Scots presbyterians and the eighteenth-century British state', in J. Kirk (ed.), *The Scottish Churches and the Union Parliament, 1707-1999* (Edinburgh, 2001); P. Jones, 'The qualified episcopal chapels of the north-east of Scotland, 1689-1898', *Northern Scotland*, 20 (2000), pp.47-69.

⁷⁹ H.R. Sefton, 'Rev. Robert Wallace: an early Moderate', *RSCHS*, 16:1 (1966), pp.1-22; H.R. Sefton, 'Lord Ilay and Patrick Cuming: a study in eighteenth-century ecclesiastical management', *RSHCS*, 19:3 (1977), pp.203-16; R. Sher and A. Murdoch, 'Patronage and party in the Church of Scotland, 1750-1800', in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland, 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983).

⁸⁰ R.L. Emerson, 'The religious, the secular and the worldly: Scotland, 1680-1800', in J.E. Crimmins (ed.), *Religion, Secularization and Political Thought: Thomas Hobbes to J S Mill* (London, 1990); N. Phillipson, 'The Scottish enlightenment', in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981).

people with the church courts, as witnesses and petitioners, seem to have increased with the re-establishment of presbyterian government.

Second, political communications improved through the period, as the book trade expanded, postal services developed and newspapers became more widely available.⁸¹ Of course, it is important not to overlook longstanding forms of political communication, such as sermons and proclamations, which continued to be used to propagate arguments and information.⁸² George Home of Kimmerghame, a Berwickshire laird at the end of the seventeenth century, visited coffeehouses in Edinburgh, where he read newspapers and exchanged gossip. Periodically, he received newsletters and printed newspapers.⁸³ Yet these media added to, and did not supersede, the pulpit, books and traditional forms of sociability as sources of political information.

Sermons were particularly important, and they are worthy of more study. They exemplify the complex interactions between verbal, manuscript and printed communication, and between piety and politics. As well as advancing their own arguments, preachers could respond to pamphlets as soon as they became available, bringing their parishes up to date on disputed issues. Certainly ministers conveyed news to the localities, influenced their parishioners, and at times mobilised public opinion.⁸⁴ Yet it is also clear that ministers gleaned information from their non-elite parishioners, that some clergy were manipulated by lay extremists, and that opinion could be mobilised against the clergy or in defiance of their advice. In early eighteenth-century politics, information and arguments trickled up as well as down.

This period witnessed an evolution in the character of the Scottish public sphere, but political culture did not follow the path so influentially described by Jürgen

⁸¹ Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp.21-6.

⁸² T. Claydon, 'The sermon, the "public sphere" and the political culture of late seventeenth-century England', in L.A. Ferrell and P. McCullough (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000).

⁸³ NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame's diary, 1694-1696, GD1/649/1, pp.65, 106, 154; NAS, Copy of George Home of Kimmerghame's diary, 1697-1699, GD1/649/2, pp.72, 92, 524.

⁸⁴ Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp.19, 25; Whatley with Patrick, *Scots and the Union*, p.274; B. Harris, *Politics and the Nation: Britain in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2002), p.155.

Habermas.⁸⁵ Of course, many scholars have remarked on the excessively whiggish character of Habermas's account of the emergence of the 'bourgeois' public sphere.⁸⁶ Yet the concept of the public sphere, when isolated from Habermas's emphasis on commercial society and novel forms of communication, has been useful and stimulating.⁸⁷ There are several parallels between the public sphere described by historians of early modern England and Scottish political culture in the early eighteenth century. In a study of Elizabethan religious politics, Peter Lake and Michael Questier have stressed that various actors, with and without political authority, attempted to influence public opinion.⁸⁸ Similarly, Scottish religious controversy inhabited a public sphere that included politicians, clergy and non-elite people. In London at the end of the 1630s, Dagmar Freist has argued, 'politics spilled over into everyday life', becoming the subject of discussions 'at home, at work, when trading or travelling, among lodgers, in alehouses, and in the streets'.⁸⁹ Religious arguments were part of the daily experience of many ordinary Scots. According to David Zaret, 'public opinions' had an 'essentially *contestable* status' in mid seventeenth-century England; for some contemporaries, they took on an 'authority for ultimately setting a legislative agenda'.⁹⁰ In Scotland, likewise, public opinion and popularity were contested and in some ways authoritative.

The importance of religion in Scottish politics is another conclusion at odds with more whiggish interpretations of the public sphere. In Habermas's account, 'critical public reflection' was first applied to literary criticism, and then to secular politics.⁹¹ This formulation, which has been criticised by historians of England, France and

⁸⁵ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, 1989).

⁸⁶ B. Cowan, 'The rise of the coffeehouse reconsidered', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), pp.21-46, at pp.22-4; J. Harris, 'Introduction: civil society in British history: paradigm or peculiarity?', in J. Harris (ed.), *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions* (Oxford, 2003), p.3.

⁸⁷ B. Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2005), p.257.

⁸⁸ P. Lake and M. Questier, 'Puritans, papists, and the "public sphere" in early modern England: the Edmund Campion affair in context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), pp.587-627, at pp.591-2. See now P. Lake and S. Pincus, 'Rethinking the public sphere in early modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), pp.270-92.

⁸⁹ D. Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645* (London, 1997), pp.6, 301.

⁹⁰ D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), p.20.

⁹¹ Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, p.29.

Germany,⁹² is irrelevant to Scotland. In fact, religious arguments dominated the Scottish public sphere before secular affairs were widely scrutinised. Political issues were typically discussed in religious terms.⁹³ If points of ‘crisis’, most especially the debates over incorporating union, increased the importance of public opinion in secular politics,⁹⁴ it had long been crucial to religious debates. By participating in religious controversy, ordinary people learned to criticise the policies and principles of the powerful. At the same time, popularity gained its own power, and people outwith the elites helped to shape the religious, intellectual and political contours of Scottish society.

⁹² M. Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005), pp.51, 357-60; T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford, 2002), pp.13-14.

⁹³ Peter Lake and Steve Pincus emphasise the religious character of the English public sphere through much of the early modern period: ‘Rethinking the public sphere’, pp.273-81.

⁹⁴ Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p.167.

Appendix: Attributions

Several of the previous chapters suggest new attributions for pamphlets. Here is some supporting evidence.

[Adam Blackadder], *A Proper Project for Scotland* ([Edinburgh], 1699). Blackadder is identified as the author on the title-page of NLS 1.445(13). The work has previously been attributed to Alexander Shields or George Ridpath (see ESTC).

[Archibald Foyer?], *Scotland's Present Duty: or, a Call to the Nobility, Gentry, Ministry, and Commonality of this Land* ([Edinburgh], 1700). This should be attributed to Archibald Foyer, or possibly to Robert Wylie.¹ In 1702, Thomas Mack, who was based in Hamilton presbytery and could easily have spoken to either man, claimed that the author had written a second part, but was wary of publishing it.²

[Patrick Grant], *Rectius Declinandum, or a Testimonie Discovering the Nakedness of the Dissenting Parties Declinatur* (n.p., 1709). ESTC reports that this is sometimes attributed to 'Mr Patrick, in Skoon'. This, which is written in Robert Wodrow's hand on the title-page of NLS 1.299(13), refers to Patrick Grant.

[Patrick Grant?], *A Speech in Season against the Union, or a Smoaking Furnace and a Burning Lamp* ([Edinburgh?], [1707?]). This attribution is in Wodrow's hand at NLS 1.301(12). ESTC confuses Patrick Grant with Francis Grant, and suggests a less likely publication date of 1706.

[Andrew Harley and John Harley?], *The Beam Pull'd out of the Hypocrites Eye; or, the Querier Questioned* ([Edinburgh], [1710]). This attribution is in Wodrow's hand at NLS 1.484(9).

¹ See ch. 6 above, p.153.

² NLS, Thomas Mack to Robert Wodrow, 20 Feb. 1702, Wod. Lett. Qu. III, fo. 53r.

[Andrew Harley and John Harley?], *The Smoaking Flax Unquenchable; Where the Union Betwixt the two Kingdoms is Dissected, Anatomized, Confuted and Annuled* ([Edinburgh], 1706). Wodrow attributed this work to the Harleys.³

The History of Scotch-Presbytery: Being an Epitome of The Hind Let Loose by Mr Shields (London, 1692). The extracts from Alexander Shields's work were selected by James Canaries, who was not responsible for the preface.⁴ This should probably be attributed to Alexander Monro, with whose other contemporary works it shares a printer (Joseph Hindmarsh) and similar content.

[Thomas Linning], *A Letter from a Friend to Mr John Mackmillan, wherein is Demonstrate the Contrariety of his Principles and Practices to the Scripture, our Covenants, Confession of Faith, and Practice of Christ* ([Edinburgh?], [1709]). The preface was written by James Webster.⁵

The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; or, the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons and Prayers (London, 1692). This is normally attributed to Gilbert Crockatt and John Monro, who James Kirkton thought were the authors.⁶ Thomas Maxwell argued that the pamphlet should be attributed to Crockatt and Monro, rather than to Robert Calder, an earlier suggestion, on the supposition that Calder was not an active pamphleteer as early as 1692.⁷ Yet Calder's arrest by the privy council in March 1693 showed that he had been involved in promoting the episcopalians' cause for some time.⁸ Two other sources suggest an obvious solution: the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* was the work of a number of episcopalians, and had no single or joint 'authors' as such.⁹ Gilbert Crockatt, who was based in London, may have assembled the contributions for the press.

³ Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, p.272.

⁴ NLS, James Canaries to Robert Wylie, 1 Apr. 1692, Wod. Fol. XXVI, fo. 329r.

⁵ NLS, Memoirs of John Brand, minister of Bo'ness, MS. 1668, fo. 110r.

⁶ Kirkton, *History*, p.110.

⁷ T. Maxwell, 'The *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*: a post-revolution pamphlet', *RSCHS*, 8:3 (1944), pp.225-53.

⁸ NAS, Privy council acta, 2 Feb. 1692-31 March 1693, PC1/48, pp.618-20.

⁹ NLS, James Canaries to Robert Wylie, 20. Aug. 1692, Wod. Fol. XXVI, fo. 331r.; [George Ridpath], *An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (London, 1693), pp.70-1.

[Alexander Shields?], *The Scottish Inquisition; or, a Short Account of the Proceedings of the Scottish Privy Counsel* ([Edinburgh?], 1689). This pamphlet was republished with additional material under Shields's name as *The Scots Inquisition* (Edinburgh, 1745).

[Hugh Smith and Alexander Jameson], *An Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed Persecuted Ministers & Professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion, in the Church of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?], 1677). ESTC suggests that either Smith or Jameson was the author. Robert Wodrow attributed the pamphlet to both men.¹⁰

We Heard that the Parliament is Sitting at Edinburgh ([Edinburgh?], [1706]). This, together with *A Speech in Season*, was owned by Marion Harlaw, who may have been a Coat-muir woman.¹¹ It was possibly the work of Patrick Grant or Andrew and John Harley.

¹⁰ Robert Wodrow, *Life of James Wodrow* (Edinburgh, 1828), p.54.

¹¹ See annotations in NLS 1.101(38), (39).

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