

**“SPACE OF TIME OR DISTANCE OF PLACE”:
PRESBYTERIAN DIFFUSION IN
SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND AND ULSTER, 1603-1690**

Barry Aron Vann

Ph.D. Thesis
University of Glasgow
Departments of Geographical and Earth Sciences
and Theology and Religious Studies

February 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

ONE	AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PRESBYTERIAN DIFFUSION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	1
	Introduction	1
	Historic Ties between Scotland and Ireland	3
	Rationale and Purpose of the Study	15
	Introducing a Historical Religious Geography	
	Perspective into Plantation Research	19
	Rethinking Cross-Channel Migration Flows	33
	Parameters and Objectives of the Study	40
	Assumptions and Research Questions	43
TWO	MOBILITY IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND AND ULSTER	48
	Introduction	48
	Explanations for Scottish Migrations to Ulster	51
	Other Factors Driving Scottish Mobility in	
	South-western Scotland and Ulster	58
	The Irish Sea	61
	Summary	69
THREE	ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITIONS IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND	71
	Introduction	71
	Carrying Capacity in South-western Scotland	76
	Challenges to Demographic and Economic Change	
	In the Lowlands	79
	Changes in Land Tenancy	86
	Religion and Economic Change	87

	Regional Religious Culture and the Interpretation of Overpopulation	94
	Summary	96
FOUR	RELIGIOUS POLITICS OF THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER	98
	Introduction	98
	The Ulster Plantation	101
	Politics of Religion and Reverse Migration to Scotland	111
	Diversity among Ulster Protestants	116
	Polarizing and Dividing the Protestants	119
	Summary	124
FIVE	SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE TRANS-IRISH SEA PRESBYTERIAN COMMUNITY	125
	Introduction	125
	Puritan and Presbyterian Community of Imagination	129
	Social Networks in the Scottish Ecclesiastical Intelligentsia	134
	Scottish Ecclesiastical Intelligentsia Expands to Ireland	142
	Origins of Ministers 1642-1690	152
	Summary	158
SIX	THEOLOGY AND DISSENSION IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND AND ULSTER	160
	Introduction	160
	Reformation as Schismatic Action with Political, Social and Geographic Implications	162
	Schismatic Developments in South-western Scotland and Ulster	174
	Theocratic Expectations, Repression and Exile	186
	Schismatic Regionalisation in Scotland and Ireland	190
	Summary	196

SEVEN	SCOTTISH GEOTHEOLOGY IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND AND ULSTER	197
	Introduction	197
	Social-Psychological Basis for Geotheology	200
	Scottish Geotheology	203
	Scottish Geotheology in South-western Scotland and Ulster	212
	Summary	225
EIGHT	CONCLUSION	228
	Introduction	228
	Answers to the Research Questions	230
	APPENDICES	245
	Appendix 1	245
	Appendix 2	247
	Appendix 3	249
	Appendix 4	250
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	252

LIST OF CHARTS, MAPS AND TABLES

Chart 1: Scottish Universities Educating Ulster Ministers	155
Map 1: Base map of the major areas and places referred to in this thesis	5
Map 2: Seeds of Irish Presbyterianism	113
Map 3: Deposition Rates	195
Table I: Regional Rank Order of Deposed Ministers	193

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are a number of people, both in the fields of academics and the ministry, who are appreciated for their support, guidance and instruction that either helped me to begin, pursue or finish this project. Professors Chris Philo and Ian Hazlett at the University of Glasgow made significant contributions to my thinking and approach while the Rev. Colin Williamson of the Strathearn Stewartry in Scotland expanded my perspectives on Northern Ireland. Further thanks are extended to Professor Brian Graham of the University of Ulster and Dr. Hayden Lorimer at the University of Glasgow for providing valuable feedback on the manuscript. My children Sarah and Preston, who sacrificed a great deal along the way, are especially thanked for their love and patience during the writing of this thesis. I want to thank my colleagues at Lincoln Memorial University, specifically Donna Bible, Dr. Colum Leckey, Dr. Marty Sellers and Dr. Michael Clyburn, for their encouragement and support. A word of thanks is due to the memory of the men and woman whose lives are depicted in the pages of this work.

ABSTRACT

A number of research projects on migration flows between Scotland and Ireland during the Plantation era have been conducted by social and religious historians. By providing an examination of the diffusion of Presbyterianism across the Irish Sea, this thesis addresses some of the dearth of work on cultural diffusion during the Plantation by geographers. To accomplish this goal, the thesis asked seven questions. In answering these questions, a dissenting Irish Sea culture area is described. The economic and political contexts in which the Plantation occurred are also delineated. The thesis then provides empirical analyses on the social and institutional networking patterns of the ministers who served in Irish Presbyterian churches. The last two empirical chapters concentrate on questions about deposition patterns and the trans-Channel nature of seventeenth-century Scottish geotheology. The final chapter provides a summary of the findings.

CHAPTER ONE

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PRESBYTERIAN DIFFUSION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

South-western Scotland is visible from Ireland on a clear day, and it was from Antrim that the Scots of Dalriada emigrated in the early sixth century.¹ No doubt Scotland's proximity to Ulster encouraged both social interaction and frequent migratory flows.² The direction of those flows was greatly affected by the frequently uneven application of laws associated with life under various political authorities prior to 1603, and then by the slow but steady evolution of British imperial political infrastructure after the union of crowns in that year.³ While seventeenth-century movements of Scottish people to Ulster were set in motion by political policy, through the Plantation of Ulster initiative, they constituted an immigrant wave that pushed the

¹ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries* (London, 1960), 8. Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), reminds us that the kingdom of Dalriada established by the Scots from Antrim, extended throughout Argyll in western Scotland.

² Ulster, the nine northern counties in Ireland, traces its roots as a distinct cultural/political region to ancient times when it was ruled by a king who was elected by the adult male members of the ruling *derbfine*. See Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985), 12-13. Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: The Settlement of East Ulster, 1600-1641* (Cork, 1985), 1, points out that during Anglo-Norman domination, Ulster's traditional elites, unlike in some other ancient Irish territories, remained relatively undisturbed, until the sixteenth century when the Tudor Wars against the Ulster chieftains O'Neill and O'Donnell nearly decimated the population of Ulster. See also Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (New York, 1973), 17.

³ In 1603, James VI of Scotland, the closest living relative of Elizabeth I of England, inherited her throne and became James I of England. His maternal great-grandmother Margaret was Elizabeth's paternal aunt. See Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: At the Edge of the World? 3000 BC-AD 1603* (London, 2000), 289. The Union of the Crowns, however, was not a union of the governments, for each retained its own national parliament. That situation changed with the Act of Union in 1707, as Scotland's legislative body was absorbed into the Westminster parliament.

institution of religion to the forefront as the Protestant monarchy's Erastianism⁴ was set at odds both with Irish Gaeldom's ecclesiastical allegiance to Rome and the aspirations among Ulster Presbyterians to establish an autonomous church polity legitimised in part by congregational (male) consent.⁵ The ecclesiastical leaders of the emerging Presbyterian polity in Scotland were also representatives of a Puritan⁶ ethos, especially among the ministers and congregations that lived nearest to the Irish Sea in the coastal burghs and their hinterlands. The members of this expanding trans-Channel community formed a social network through which migration was encouraged.⁷ The

⁴ Erastian refers to the policy of a state to control the church directly, as in historical Anglicanism and having derived from the Swiss Reformed thinker, Thomas Erastus (1526-83). In seventeenth-century Scotland, England, and Ireland, a bishop was accountable to the monarch, since Episcopal appointments were a royal prerogative. On the other hand, Ulster Scots Presbyterians opposed Erastianism. Some of their ministers, in keeping with the *Scots Confession* of 1560, certainly maintained that the magistrate was well-advised to seek out the advice of the church on issues. In seventeenth century Scotland, Ireland, and England, most issues had a religious dimension because of the Calvinist social and ethical doctrine of the sovereignty and omniscience of God; thus, this community leaned toward theocracy. This dichotomy underscored the tensions between Andrew Melville and James VI on authority in the church. Donaldson describes Melville's followers as an "ecclesiastical intelligentsia". See Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 149; see also Gordon Donaldson and Robert S. Morpeth, *Who's Who in Scottish History* (Wales, 1996), 93.

⁵ Presbyterianism is a representative church hierarchy of councilor structure in which each higher level encompasses more territory and embodies more authority. The congregation elects elders who manage the parish's affairs. Ministers, and elders selected from among a congregation's elders, form the next level of the church hierarchy called a presbytery. A similar process at the presbytery level is followed to form a synod, which encompasses more territory. Finally, an election process is held at the synod level to form a national General Assembly. See Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), 11. See also G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1837).

⁶ James D Tracy, *Europe's Reformations: 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1999), argues that Puritanism originated in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries as a movement within the Calvinist divines in the Church of England. Their goal was to do away with prelacy, or the preferment of office above the rank of minister (bishops and archbishops). Puritans were also advocates of simple, sober services. Their lifestyles were guided by firm adherence to moral codes. They shunned ceremonies and any rituals not grounded in scripture. There were certainly elements within England's Puritan community that wanted to separate themselves completely from the Church of England. Donaldson, *Church and Nation*, 74, points out that, Andrew Melville introduced English Puritanism into Scotland through his interactions with the English divine Thomas Cartwright while they were both in Geneva. Thomas F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology: From John Knox to John McLeod Campbell* (Edinburgh, 1996), 93-124, refers to the Scottish ministers in this category (intelligentsia) as high Calvinists (Samuel Rutherford, David Dickson, and James Durham), but others, whom David George Mullan includes with the former as Puritans, for instance Andrew Melville, Robert Rollock, Robert Bruce, and Charles Ferme, he calls "Older tradition Scots" (49-92). See also Ian Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland: An Introduction* (London, 2003). This researcher uses the term Puritan in reference to the anti-prelatic Calvinist members of the Presbyterian element in the Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland. This is consistent with the broad manner in which "Puritan" is used by David George Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000).

⁷ The role of social links in this scenario appeals to the notion of network theory which argues that immigrants create interpersonal ties that connect them to friends and family members in their areas of

ethos of this community served as a prism, which focused diverse push and pull forces into a framework that gave land on either side of the Irish Sea religious significance. The potential for religious conflict in the post-Reformation era, as an aspect of the cultural baggage carried by migrants, was arguably unique in the long history of human interchange between Ireland and Scotland.

In outline, this chapter presents the key themes explored at length in this research.

Historic Ties between Scotland and Ireland

A century before the Scots from Ulster migrated across the Irish Sea to form the kingdom of Dalriada in western Scotland, a Romanised Briton named Ninian allegedly introduced Christianity into Pictish Scotland.⁸ However, the Church in Celtic Ireland, which was born and nurtured independently of official papal sanction in Ulster through the labours of Patrick (ca. 389-ca. 461), introduced Irish monasticism to Scotland in 563.⁹ In that year, an Ulster-born cleric named Columba (521-597) established a monastery on the island of Iona. The initial concerns of Columba and his fellow missionaries' were with providing ministries to the transplanted Scots of Dalriada. Once established in western Scotland, missionaries set about evangelizing

origin. This situation helps ease subsequent migrations of others from their home community. Chain migration, on the other hand, is "the process whereby migrants are part of an established flow from a common origin to a prepared destination where others have previously migrated". John R. Weeks *Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues*, 8th ed. (Belmont, 2002), 262-63.

⁸ While the existence of a missionary named Ninian, who was canonised, is questionable, the establishment of a church dedicated to St. Martin at Whithorn on the Solway Firth in 397 is not in question. The migration of Scots began in 497. See David Ross, *Chronology of Scottish History* (New Lanark, 2002), 11.

⁹ Although the Church in Ireland was born and nurtured without official papal sanction, it was otherwise wholly Catholic and Roman. See R. Buick Knox, 'The Church in Celtic Ireland: Its Life and Legacy', *The Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland*, Vol. 26 (1997), 1-10; Donaldson, *Church and Nation*, 8. In 'Patrick and his Biographers: Ancient and Modern', *Studia Hibernica*, vol. 2 (1962), 7-173, D. A. Binchy argues that south-eastern Ireland was Christianised by other British missionaries, the most likely among them Palladius. For a similar view on the non-Patrick origins of Irish Christianity, see also E. G. Bowen, *Saints, Seaways, and Settlements in the Celtic Lands* (Cardiff, 1977), 117-18.

Pictland and Northumbria.¹⁰ The missionary work of Columba and other Irish monks kept alive the connections between the Scots in Britain and their kin in Ireland.¹¹

In the fourteenth-century, Gaelic-speaking Scots mercenaries known as Galloglass and later still the Redshanks, helped to sustain social links between Scotland and Ulster.¹² Prior to the seventeenth-century, Scottish and Irish connections were also strengthened by their common Catholic faith, Gaelic tongue, and in many cases family ties, most notably among the Bruces and allied families of the MacDonalds.¹³ Robert I owned lands on both sides of the North Channel (see Map 1). Elizabeth de Burgh, Bruce's wife, was an Ulsterwoman of Anglo-Norman descent.¹⁴ In 1316, and despite his own Norman roots, Robert I proposed the formation of a Celtic Union or confederacy to push the English from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, so he went to Ireland to aid his brother Edward who had political ambitions there. Although Edward died on their march to Dublin and their military effort was deemed an immediate failure, their resistance to the English Lordship led to a Gaelic resurgence, the recapture of lost lands and the restoration of traditional institutions and native lordships.¹⁵ In essence, the Scots, Irish and Welsh were developing a sense of common purpose against a commonly resented domination by London.

By 1603 and the Union of the Crowns, James VI & I was intensely driven to

Donaldson, *Church and Nation*, 10, notes that Palladius was appointed as the Scots first bishop in 431, which, of course, was while he were still in Ireland. Patrick, at age 42, was already well established.

¹⁰ As a Bernician and son of Ethelfrith, Oswald, upon becoming king of Northumbria in 635, applied to the monastery at Iona for a missionary. After an initial attempt to win converts among the Northumbrians failed, Aidan was sent, establishing a monastery and base for his activities at Lindisfarne. See Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1991), 94-5.

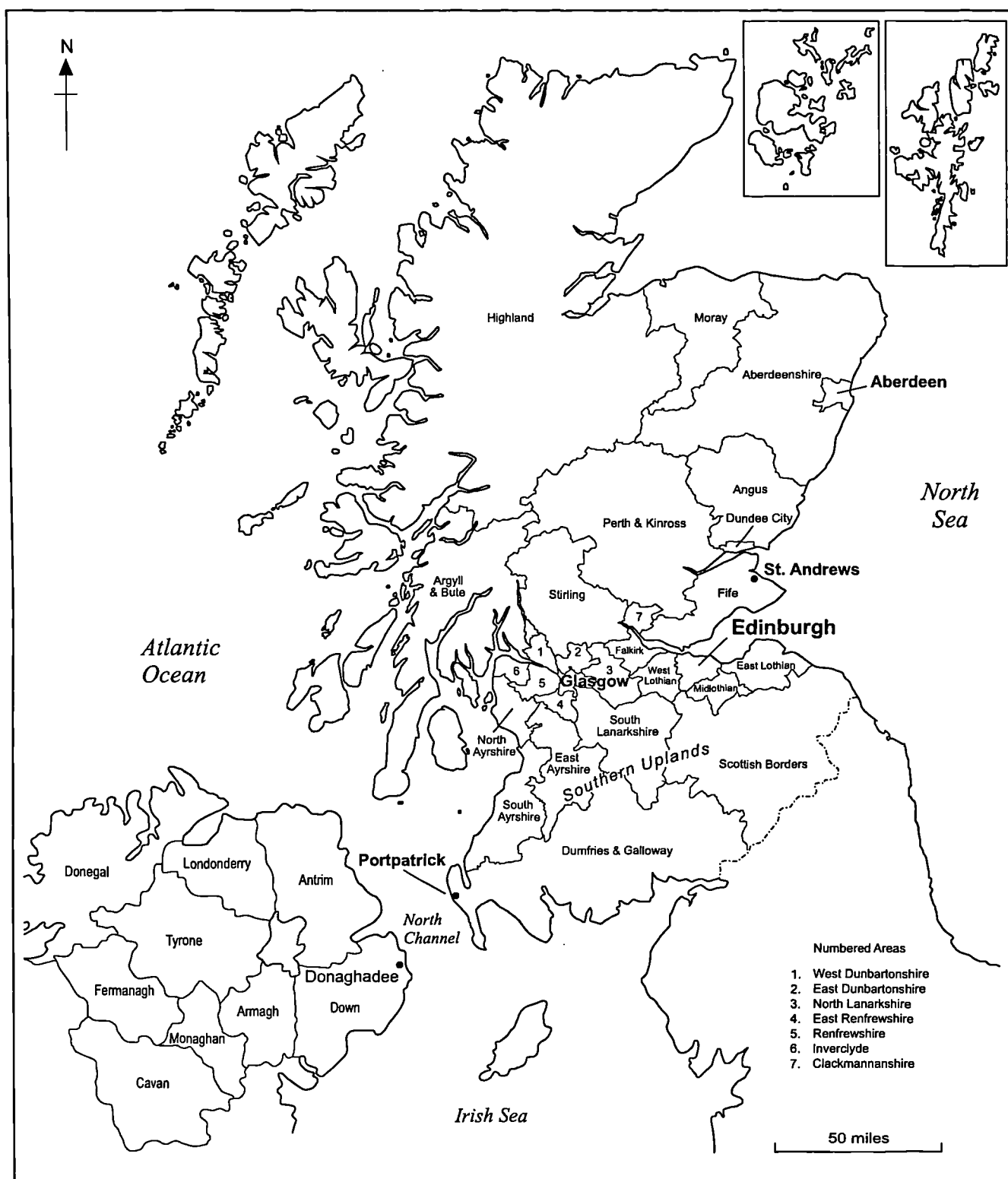
¹¹ Ibid. 7-9; Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*.

¹² Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "'Civilizing those Rude Parties': Colonisation within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s', in Nicholas Canny ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century: The Origins of Empire* (Oxford, 1998), 126.

¹³ Robert Bell, *The Book of Ulster Surnames* (Belfast, 1988), 1,

¹⁴ Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001), 8-9.

¹⁵ Ibid. Simon Schama, *At the Edge of the World*, 216-17, agrees with the nature and goals of the expedition, but he refrains from declaring any positive gains from the adventure.



Map 1: Base map of the major areas and places referred to in this thesis.

change the culture of Gaeldom, which he and his Tudor predecessors regarded as backward.¹⁶ In the king's way of thinking, the west highland MacDonalds and their kinsmen in Antrim formed a troublesome clique. As T. C. Smout writes, "there was not much difference between a MacDonald of the Isles and a MacDonnell of Antrim".¹⁷ In addition to the possibility of economic gain, the king was especially interested in planting the now conquered Ulster with loyal British settlers who would help transform the native Irish into good citizens of the realm. To secure such settlers for Ireland, the Scottish Privy Council launched an active recruitment campaign in 1609. James was proud of his Plantation scheme, which he dedicated to the "settling of religion, the introducing civility, order and government amongst a barbarous and unsubdued people, to be acts of piety and glory, and worthy always of a Christian prince to endeavour".¹⁸

The Jacobean Plantation of Ulster altered the nature of Scottish and Irish interchange. Scotland's Protestant south-western area was the primary region from which this emigration occurred.¹⁹ Unlike the migrant Lowlanders' pre-Reformation Scottish predecessors, who were often Catholic Gaels from the western highlands and islands, these Scots did not assimilate into Irish Gaelic society. On the contrary, the antipathy expressed by the Irish toward the Scots caused a contemporary to write that "they (the Irish) hate the Scottyshe deadly".²⁰ The new Scots who settled in Ulster had, as a result of the feelings demonstrated by the native Irish, a strong incentive to

¹⁶ Ohlmeyer, 'Civilizing those rude partes', 124-47.

¹⁷ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London, 1998), 104.

¹⁸ James I in John MacLeod, *Dynasty: The Stewarts 1560-1807* (London, 1999), 149. The same quote is made in Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (London, 2000), 408. Jane Ohlmeyer, describes Plantation policies of both the Tudors and the Stewarts as being intent on "Civilizing those Rude Partes", 124-47.

¹⁹ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 31-33.

²⁰ John Stevenson, *Two Centuries of Life in Down, 1600-1800* (Belfast, 1920) cited in Fraser G. MacHaffie, *Portpatrick to Donaghadee: the Original Short Sea Route* (Stranraer, 2001), 8. Two historians have attributed this comment to Sir Arthur Chichester. See Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915), 119; see also James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), 113. Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 19, writes that the native Irish, who

maintain ties with familiar institutions, family, and friends in their old communities back home.²¹ As Ian Whyte has observed, the movement of people between Ireland and Scotland is hard to describe simply because of the two-way nature of the flow, shifting in direction on various occasions through time.²²

The Jacobean attempt to somehow assimilate native Irish Gaels into the loyal Protestant population was an effort to engineer or fix a perceived social problem that centred on the “godless, lawless, and disordered Irish”,²³ as the king described them, and his desire to pacify and improve them through Anglicisation.²⁴ The “Irish” included all Gaels, whether they were in the isles, Scottish highlands or in Ireland. “The court of James VI”, writes Michael Lynch, “had little sympathy for Gaeldom”.²⁵ As James wrote in *Basilikon Doron*, “(those) that dwelleth in our mainland, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some show of civility; the other, that dwelleth in the isles, and are utterly barbarous, without any sort or show of civility”.²⁶

The Stewarts, who are most often associated with the Plantation initiative, were not the first monarchs to address the issue of the pacification of the “barbarous Irish”.²⁷ When James VI of Scotland ascended the throne of England in 1603 to become that nation’s James I, he happily carried on his Tudor cousins’ efforts to anglicise the Irish. Elizabeth’s military had ravaged Ireland, including the lands and people in Ulster. After nine years of warfare in Ulster against the Irish Chieftains O’Donnell and O’Neill, James inherited rule over a land depopulated and a native people bitter towards

resented the intrusions of planting families as well as their reduction in status as the result of discrimination, revolted in 1641 and attacked and killed many Protestants.

²¹ Michael Fry, *Scottish Empire*, 8-9.

²² Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History c.1050-1750* (London, 1995), 120.

²³ The same sentiments were held by the king toward the Gaels in Scotland. See Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, First Series, VII, 706.

²⁴ Alan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stewart, 1604-1788* (Lothian, 1996), 59.

²⁵ Michael Lynch, *Scotland*, 241.

²⁶ James VI, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1598), 71.

²⁷ Ibid.

the British government. The population density was less than 2 people per square kilometre as compared to just under 15 for the Scottish Lowlands.²⁸ Concerning the absence of farmers in the once cultivated region, a situation that rejuvenated the soil, the minister Robert Blair observed that “The wolf and widcairn²⁹ were great enemies to these first planters; but the long rested land yielded to the labourers such plentiful increase, that many followed the first essayers”.³⁰ As a result of its aim to obliterate an indigenous culture of a nearly decimated people, an effort initially resisted by widcairns, the Jacobean Plantation initiative created a social situation that institutionalised cultural/political conflict.

The institution that the king conceived as his vehicle for social engineering in Ulster was a loyal church body that was a replication of what he was trying to do with the Kirk in Scotland through ecclesiastical uniformity based on England’s Erastian, Episcopalian model. James believed his very survival as king depended on such an arrangement. Michael Perceval-Maxwell metaphorically describes the king’s policy and its result by noting that “he used Scottish earth for his purpose, in which the seeds of Presbyterian doctrine lay buried. Even some of the Scottish gardeners he employed preferred Presbyterian weeds to Episcopalian flowers. Thus what grew ... bore little resemblance to that image envisioned by the designer”.³¹ This study demonstrates that the Scottish Presbyterian seed in Ireland was fertilised and watered by the theology of Calvinists in Geneva and Puritans in England, who were also members of this imagined community, and pruned by their lack of uniformity on issues of polity, moving the

²⁸ Figures are calculated from data provided by Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), 367; John Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1826), 148-49; and Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 3; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 17. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 47-48, describes the lands of East Ulster in the wake of the Tudor Wars of the 1590s as ‘depopulated and wasted’.

²⁹ A widcairn was a native Irish guerilla/terrorist fighter.

³⁰ Robert Blair, *The Life of Mr. Robert Blair: Containing his Autobiography, from 1593 to 1636*, in T. M’Crie ed., Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1848), 56-57.

³¹ Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 45

Ulster Scots further away from the ideal immigrant imagined by the king.³² The result among Irish Presbyterians, which this research shows, was a hybridised church structure that empowered the congregation relative to that of church officers. The non-conforming, dissenting and voluntary congregation in Irish Presbyterianism emerged from a cultural mixture with power exceeding that held by its counterpart in an established Scottish Presbyterian Kirk parish. This, in contrast to Scottish Episcopacy, was more participative, especially when compared to the polity stressed by Charles I and William Laud.³³ As the Scottish Presbyterian divine David Calderwood, Samuel Rutherford's spiritual mentor wrote, "If anie thing was amisse in the lifes, doctrine, or anie part of the office of their pastors, everie man had libertie to shew wherin they were offendit".³⁴ The idea of congregational mutual accountability, which was based in part on the doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers", was a theological seam that sowed together generations of Scottish Puritan divines, including Calderwood, to form a religious ideology guided and held together by Puritan dogma.³⁵ Church discipline, therefore, extended to everyone. They believed that the sins of the community may provoke the judgement and wrath of God, and hence their concern with "purity" of the body of Christ (the Church). The source of this idea was Calvin's Geneva and the Old Testament.

³² This hybridisation of continental, especially in Geneva, Scottish and English Puritanism occurred mostly through their ministers' membership in an imagined community in Christ. An imagined community is a social-psychological construct in which people who do not necessarily know each other on a personal basis, but who are aware of each others' existence, primarily through writings and secondary social linkages, regard their common interests and beliefs as the basis for emotional bonding as is typically found in a community. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), for a discussion on imagined communities. To see the intricacies of the English and Scottish linkages in the imagined community of Puritan divines, which Mullan calls a "Puritan brotherhood", refer to Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 13-44.

³³ Unlike the established, legal Kirk of Scotland, this church organisation was up to 1690 dissenting and voluntary, so it operated somewhat outside the law. As a result, it was a self-governing polity.

³⁴ Calderwood's description of the members of the congregation expressing themselves to wayward ministers was a clear departure from the source of discipline associated with Erastianism. In Erastianism, corrective discipline was dispensed by bishops, archbishops and ultimately the monarch. See David Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, in T. Thomson ed., 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-9), vii. 356.

In discussing Emile Durkheim's view on religion and social cohesion, Ronald Johnstone succinctly describes religious social organisations, with clear application to the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia,³⁶ as "providing divine sanctions for behaviour that society defines as normative ... (and that) strengthen their sense of unity".³⁷ A point missed by Johnstone and Durkheim, however, is the notion of imagined communities and the construction of non-interacting reference groups gleaned from the pages of Puritan writers as well as from biblical text.³⁸ Certainly, if the church and its offices were not above reproach, as described by Calderwood, the Melvillian notion of two kingdoms kept the state within reach of a similar reprimand based on moral grounds as interpreted by God's ministers.³⁹ Andrew Melville, the Kirk leader that spoke of two kingdoms with Christ the head of the universe, argued that James VI was a simple member of Christ's kingdom, relegated to the role of magistrate of a lesser earthly realm.⁴⁰ However, since the Kirk was the institution responsible for interpreting God's will, the king as head of the civil jurisdiction (in Melville's way of thinking) should seek advice from the Kirk on matters involving a moral and ecclesiastical dimension.⁴¹ James did not agree with Melville's assertion about polity.⁴²

³⁵ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 13-44.

³⁶ Donaldson describes Melville's followers as an ecclesiastical intelligentsia, which this research has adopted in the use of the name Scottish Ecclesiastical Intelligentsia. This label is used precisely in reference to a community of anti-prelatic divines and the learned members of their congregations that are described as Puritan-Presbyterians by Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*. This community does not include Scottish intellectuals of Roman Catholic, Congregational, Quaker, or Episcopalian orientations. See Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 149; Donaldson and Morpeth, *Who's Who in Scottish History*, 93.

³⁷ Ronald Johnstone, *Religion in Society: A Sociology of Religion* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 2004), 28.

³⁸ A reference group is a social categorisation of people, which may or may not be composed of personal acquaintances, constructed by an individual that provides him/her with standards of personal conduct and social expectations. See Barry A. Vann, 'Learning Self-Direction in a Social and Experiential Context', *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, Vol. 7, no. 2 (1996), 121-130.

³⁹ The chief architect of this doctrine was Theodore Beza, Melville's teacher in Geneva. See T. Maruyama, *The Ecclesiology of Beza: The Reform of the True Church* (Geneva, 1978).

⁴⁰ 'Submissive' means to Christ's kingdom.

⁴¹ Andrew Melville, in Andrew Herron, *Kirk by Divine Right* (Edinburgh, 1985), 30.

⁴² Donaldson, *Church and Nation*, 77-78.

The Melvillian notion of two kingdoms was at the root of tensions over governance and religion in seventeenth-century Protestant Scotland and Ireland, since it represented a depiction of society and Christendom that was in direct opposition to the monarchy's vision of society and the role of religion in it. While the monarchy desired a directing, Erastian relationship with the church, Puritans sought the opposite arrangement in theocracy⁴³ that was based on the resilient Calvinist doctrine of the sovereignty of an omnipresent, omniscient God who reveals himself to earthly believers through his spoken and written word. As expressed in the *Scots Confession*, Knox and his colleagues claimed that

This is not the universal Kirk of which we have spoken before, but particular Kirks, such as were in Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, and other places where the ministry was planted by Paul and which he himself called Kirks of God. Such Kirks, we the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland confessing Christ Jesus, do claim to have in our cities, towns, and reformed districts because of the doctrines taught in our Kirks, contained in the written Word of God, that is, the Old and New Testaments which were originally reckoned canonical.⁴⁴

While the Kirk was charged with teaching doctrines consistent with scripture as interpreted through the Spirit of God, the magistrate was responsible for providing civil government that protected good men, punished of all evil doers, and worked to preserve and purify religion.⁴⁵ In other words, the magistrate was to support the work of the Kirk. Ecclesiastical authority, as expressed by the doctrine of two kingdoms, was held strongly by Presbyterians. It survived numerous administrations as it made its way across the north of Ireland. Some 123 years after Knox and five other "Johns" wrote the *Scots Confession*, for instance, the Presbytery of Ulster planted the first presbytery

⁴³ A theocracy is formed when a group of devote believers insist on controlling morality based on divine law through the apparatus of government. Johnstone, *Religion in Society*, 171-72.

⁴⁴ *The Scots Confession: 1560*, G. D. Henderson ed. (Edinburgh, 1960), Chapter XVIII.

⁴⁵ The magistrate, or secular government, according to *The Scots Confession*, Chapter XXIV, is responsible for insuring the practice of true religion.

in America.⁴⁶ With that planting went the beliefs that supported the divine right of the Kirk to police its ministers and their affairs.⁴⁷ Its founding minister Francis Makemie of the Laggan Presbytery in Donegal maintained this sixteenth-century understanding of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. His work as a minister, he wrote, was performed “in the sight of an all-seeing and omnipresent God.”⁴⁸ His service to God, as reflected in his writings a decade later, was delivered with the “continuing satisfaction to godly, learned and judicious discerning men” in mind.⁴⁹ The theological beliefs and social bonds held by Makemie and his colleagues, for whom he spoke, were inculcated by others before them who subscribed to Melville’s concept. The community that they helped to spawn in south-western Scotland expanded into Ulster, with echoes back across the Irish Sea. As Makemie’s example shows, the polity and sovereignty doctrine attributed to this ecclesiastical community eventually diffused to America.

Beyond the religious legacy, the Plantation left its mark on the structure of society and economy in Ulster. Due to the redistribution of lands and employment opportunities that benefited select ethnic groups⁵⁰ at the expense of others, it could appear on the surface that the venture was a financial success for some. However, that success was tainted by the formation of a stratified society in which ethnicity, unless

⁴⁶ Ulster’s prominence in Irish Presbyterianism is significant. The ecclesiastical body referred to here actually grew out of the Synod of Ulster. The name Irish Presbyterian Church (IPC) was adopted in 1840. Records for the Army Presbytery (1642-1646), Presbytery of Ulster (1646-1690) and the Synod of Ulster are maintained by the IPC.

⁴⁷ Andrew Herron, *Kirk by Divine Right* (Edinburgh, 1985).

⁴⁸ Francis Makemie, *Answer to George Keith’s Libel* (1694), in J. M. Barkley, *Francis Makemie: Father of American Presbyterianism* (Belfast, 1981), 10.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ This researcher uses the following definition for an ethnic group: “a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members”. See John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Ethnicity* (Oxford, 1996), 7.

one converted to the Church of Ireland, was used to discriminate against certain groups, including at times non-conforming groups of Protestants.⁵¹

While the basic push factors that propelled thousands of Scots across the Irish Sea have been broadly outlined, as well as the geographic patterns associated with their emigration and settlement,⁵² explanations of why the Lowland Scots Presbyterians migrated to Ulster do not often consider the role of their social networks in how they understood, interpreted, and communicated their thoughts on those push factors. Nonetheless, it is supposed that the intensity of migration among those who held such beliefs accelerated throughout the seventeenth century.⁵³ It is also evident that the places in Scotland that produced the highest numbers of emigrants are situated nearest to Ulster,⁵⁴ producing a migratory pattern consistent with the geographic theory of distance decay, which posits that the appeal of a cultural item decreases the further an observer is away from the hearth of the trait.⁵⁵ Ian Whyte applies this notion to the appeal of a place of destination in migration scenarios. “Volumes of migration”, writes Whyte, “tend to fall off with increasing distance”.⁵⁶

The application of Whyte’s description of distance decay as it relates to Ulster settlement is reinforced by the spatial pattern of settlement in the north of Ireland,

⁵¹ The Test Act, which had previously been used against Roman Catholics, was applied to Presbyterians. According to Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 164–68, the imposition of the Test Act was a major reason for pushing Ulster Scots to America in the eighteenth century. See also John Dunlop, *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the Conflict in Ireland* (Belfast, 1995); Barkley, *Francis Makemie*; R. F. G. Holmes, *Our Irish Presbyterian Heritage* (Belfast, 1985); Phil Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994); J. S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Belfast, 1834).

⁵² Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* 28-42; Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 99-107.

⁵³ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 99-107; Raymond Gillespie, ‘The Presbyterian Revolution in Ulster, 1642-1690’, in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds., *The Churches, Ireland, and the Irish: Papers Read at the 1988 Summer Meeting and the 1988 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1989).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ James M. Rubenstein, *The Cultural Landscape* (Upper Saddle River, 2002), 28.

⁵⁶ Ian D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (London, 2000), 12. Distance decay as it relates to migration is similar to certain aspects of the gravity model of migration. For instance, a place of destination can attract people from great distances if it is relatively bigger with respect to population

which moved inland as coastal areas were occupied. This model is well delineated by Raymond Gillespie, who studied family names to reconstruct seventeenth-century settlement patterns in Scotland and Ireland. Gillespie concludes that areas closest to Ulster in Scotland produced the greatest number of emigrants and that places in the east near the Irish Sea, particularly in counties Antrim and Down, were settled first.⁵⁷ The seventeenth century Scottish minister Robert Blair was of the same opinion. He observed that “The part of Scotland nearest to Ireland sent over abundance of people and cattle, which filled the counties of Ulster that lay next to the sea”.⁵⁸ Blair’s description of the settlement patterns in Ulster leads to more fundamental queries, especially with respect to identifying other cultural traits that may have reproduced themselves in the north of Ireland. As will be seen in a subsequent section of this chapter, those queries, however, provide the sinew for the research questions addressed in this study.

The proximity of Scotland to Ulster and the seafaring culture of the coastal burghs helped to create a trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community that viewed itself as an instrument in the unfolding drama of divine providence.⁵⁹ The movement of ministers from Scotland to Ireland or, as happened in some instances, the return of at least sixty-two to Scotland between 1642 and 1690, suggests a trans-Channel social network that maintained communication with counterparts across the narrow Irish Sea.⁶⁰ The fact that religious beliefs played a role in the creation of this social structure raises a question about how the community viewed push and pull factors. It also raises

sise. The smaller the difference in the sises of populations for potential places of departure as compared to the place of destination, the shorter the distance migrants are likely to move.

⁵⁷ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 30-31.

⁵⁸ Blair, *Life of Mr. Robert Blair*, 56-57.

⁵⁹ Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, 22-27, identifies an ancient culture area that developed in association with sea routes between Belfast Lough in Ulster and the Solway Firth, Iona, Whithorn, and the Clyde estuary. Those sea routes are important because they united Ulster with Scotland in a seafaring culture region.

⁶⁰ See Appendices 2-5.

questions about how they regarded themselves and their religion within the realm of God's providence. In other words, did the community of Presbyterian Scots regard movement across the Irish Sea in the same way as Robert Blair, the Scottish divine who helped plant Presbyterianism in Ireland after he failed to migrate to America? As he declared, "The Sovereign Lord, who hath determined the bounds of our habitation, thrust me over to Ireland altogether against my inclination".⁶¹ Blair, who had resigned his post as regent at the University of Glasgow over issues of conscience, had planned to relocate to France. He was certainly not driven by necessity or indigence.

The Rationale and Purpose of the Study

Aside from the African Diaspora and the enslavement of its people, few historical events that took place four hundred years ago still resonate in this age like the Ulster Plantation.⁶² As Ian Whyte points out, the current problems in Northern Ireland are a temporal extension of the turmoil created by the immigration of seventeenth-century Protestants from Scotland.⁶³ It is also common for many scholars to argue that the Protestant Scots' migration to Ireland was precipitated by overpopulation and economic hardships.⁶⁴ Despite the biases and sensitivities of all interested parties, religion, persecution, and political oppression played important roles in the movement of Presbyterian Scots to Ulster, yet no religious group in Scotland was spared from at least occasional oppression. The ravages of famine that swept the land in the closing years of the seventeenth century were also no respecter of religious affiliation. In 1698

⁶¹ Robert Blair, *the Life of Blair*, 52-53.

⁶² John Dunlop, *A Precarious Belonging*.

⁶³ Whyte, *Migration and Society*, 4.

⁶⁴ T. C. Smout, N.C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Migration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration 1500-1800*, Nicholas Canny, ed. (Oxford, 1994); Patrick Griffin, *The People with no Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots-Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton, 2001), 18.

there were an estimated 200,000 beggars roaming the Scottish country-side.⁶⁵ By the next year, the situation was not improved. As Robert Sibbald described Scotland in 1699:

For want some die in the wayside, some drop down in the streets, the poor sucking babs are starving for want of milk, which the empty breasts of their mothers cannot furnish them. Everyone may see Death in the face of the poor that abound everywhere; the thinness of their visage, their ghostly looks, their feebleness, their agues and their fluxes threaten them with sudden death if care not taken of them. And it is not only common beggars that are in this case, but many house holders who lived well by their labour and their industry are now by want forced to abandon their dwellings. And they and their little ones must beg, and in their necessity they take what they can get, spoiled victual, yea, some eat these beasts which have died of some disease which may occasion a plague among them.⁶⁶

Despite widespread misery of the kind described by Sibbald, this ecclesiastical group was disproportionately represented among the immigrants to Ireland. In 1702, the Synod of Ulster ministered to 250,000 Ulster-Scots.⁶⁷ With political oppression and economic calamities confronting all Scots, why were these Presbyterians the most likely people to migrate?

It is doubtful that religion by itself would have been a sufficient single push or pull factor, but it is possible that Puritan-Presbyterianism helped to create a cross-Channel community with an ethos that not only entertained the idea of moving but also provided the justification for the adoption of a new homeland across the North Channel of the Irish Sea. Recent research on the ideas and social networks of those who begat Puritanism and later the covenanting movement in Scotland shows that there were reciprocated social links, as well as cross-Channel and even trans-Atlantic reference

⁶⁵ David Ross, *Chronology of Scottish History* (New Lanark, 2002), 70

⁶⁶ Sir Robert Sibbald, *Provision for the Poor in time of Dearth and Scarcity* (Edinburgh, 1699), 3.

⁶⁷ James B. Woodburn, *The Ulster-Scot* (London, 1914), 172. Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 19, provides an Ulster-Scots population of 150,000 in 1690. The figure of 250,000 is based on the additional inputs of 50,000 Scots families (assuming a conservative two persons per family) as presented in William Lecky *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1883); and Arthur L. Perry, *Scotch-Irish in*

groups, that were forming among Presbyterian-minded, Puritan people in the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ These social structures helped to form a self-sustaining migration process between Scotland and Ireland that lasted until somewhere around 1715. This happened with increasing intensity in the seventeenth century because of the way in which this ethos filtered threats, including possible economic stress created by overpopulation as well as political repression for non-conformity.⁶⁹ The synergy of religion with economic, political and environmental push forces made Scottish people, who lived on either side of the Irish Sea, volatile with respect to geographic relocation. Ulster, and perhaps ultimately America, like the land of Canaan for the Hebrews, became a place of refuge for many Scots who wished to preserve the purity and promise of what they believed to be their role as God's elect people.⁷⁰ In effect, many of the migrating Presbyterian Scots were in pursuit of a Christian commonwealth that functioned as a *Gemeinschaft* society in fulfilment of their role as God's instruments to achieve a theocracy.⁷¹ Ulster thus became a place of geotheological significance, and it offered opportunities to live their lives in what J. K. Wright would call geopious harmony.⁷²

This interpretation of the function of Ulster settlement for this element within the Scottish population is certainly consistent with the historical uses of such lands, for

New England (Boston, 1891). Although the population of Ulster may have reached 250,000 Scots by 1702, it is difficult to know how many of them actually took part in Presbyterian community life.

⁶⁸ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*.

⁶⁹ S. A. Burrell, 'Apocalyptic Visions of the Early Covenanters', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XLIII, 1964, No. 135, 1-24. See Appendix 5.

⁷⁰ Blair, *Life of Blair*.

⁷¹ The sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society/Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (New York, 1957), originated this concept which is often simply interpreted as "community". It actually suggests a "closeness to the land" and the reliance on non-governmental social institutions such as family and religion to regulate social behaviours, a situation that clearly invites theocracy. While Scotland's economy expanded in the seventeenth century, especially in the Central Belt, Glasgow, and Edinburgh regions, the resulting social strife associated with demographic shifts gave rise to the social construct known as *Gesellschaft* (society), which describes human behaviours as motivated by self-interests; thus providing the need for formal structures of laws and government to enforce acceptable social behaviours.

⁷² John K. Wright, 'Terrae Incognitae: The Place of Imagination in Geography', in *Human Nature in Geography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966)

in the context of western European culture areas, coastal places have historically served as the last bastions of culture. Inspired by the work of anthropologists who sought to identify places with common cultural traits, E. G. Bowen, whose work we will shortly explore, observed that western coastal lands, at least since the Mesolithic culture period, functioned “both as places of refuge and as stepping-stones of coastal diffusion”.⁷³

The aim of this research is to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex ethnic issues that have their roots in the seventeenth century but are still affecting Scotland, Ulster and to some extent the United States, for the creation of this trans-Channel Presbyterian community in the seventeenth century eventually mutated into a trans-Atlantic phenomenon which made possible the diffusion of Ulster Scots piety.⁷⁴ In addition to their pious beliefs which were heavily influenced by Puritan doctrines, they also followed Ulster-Scots’ ideas on establishing a participatory polity in the church that they then applied to civil governance. In the late twentieth century, the American South was the home of 47 percent of the country’s Scotch-Irish population, and Irish Protestants compose the largest ethnic group in Tennessee and Arkansas. Along with Americans of Scottish descent, they also represent sizeable portions of the populations in other southern states. The South is arguably America’s most religious and perhaps influential region, including in the potentially volatile areas of foreign policy, yet this region is in certain respects a spatial extension of the trans-Irish Sea community and its distinctive culture region born in the seventeenth century.⁷⁵

⁷³ E. G. Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways* (London, 1972), 19.

⁷⁴ Marilyn Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (Oxford, 1987).

⁷⁵ Westerkamp provides a description of this process in *Triumph of the Laity*; It is important to note that the southern States compose a vernacular region known as the Bible Belt. As a region of strong political influence, American foreign policy is heavily influenced by the region’s pious ethos. The percent figure (in reference to the Scotch-Irish in the South) is taken from the 1990 Census of the United States. With respect to culture region, Bowen, in *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, demonstrates a readiness to accept religious diffusion through the Atlantic seaways. Once in America, the culture was protected

Introducing an Historical Religious Geography Perspective into Plantation Research

The body of work conducted thus far on topics related to the Plantation of Ulster in the seventeenth century has been completed primarily by ecclesiastical polemicists as well as social and cultural historians.⁷⁶ The work of James Leyburn represents an interesting departure from the literature compiled by historians because he provides a sociological perspective.⁷⁷ Historical geographers with interests in migration and religion have paid little in-depth attention to the settlement of Protestant Scots in Ulster during the seventeenth century. Professors Lindsay Proudfoot and David Livingstone, both geographers at Queen's University in Belfast, insist that the paucity of work by historical geographers on population flows and Presbyterian diffusion during the Plantation of Ulster is attributable to a lack of archival material on which to base research on large population flows.⁷⁸ While massive data sets on Scots settlers and their precise geographic settlement areas in Ireland escape detection, information on ministers is available for study. As articulate and well-connected leaders in ecclesiastical communities, ministers often had followers who moved with them. In 1636, for example, ministers John Livingstone and Robert Blair attracted 140

from interaction with other groups by the rugged uplands of Appalachia; and, because the region did not experience the industrial revolution, little large-scale immigration has occurred in the South. Through poverty and limited contact with other ethnic groups, aside from the English Puritans, French Huguenots, and Anabaptist Germans who settled the region during the same era, the upland South has a similar religious ethos as Ulster. Although the South has a relatively isolated history, colleges and universities associated with the Presbyterian tradition are common. Of the 67 member institutions in the Association of Presbyterian Colleges and Universities in the United States, 61 percent are located in the South or along the northern boundaries of the Bible Belt. In addition, the University of Tennessee and the University of Georgia, among other state-run institutions, were originally established as Presbyterian colleges. See Barry A. Vann, *Rediscovering the South's Celtic Heritage* (Johnson City, 2004), 136-38.

⁷⁶ Chapters II, III and IV provide a review and analysis of the research on the Scots' movement to Ulster. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*.

⁷⁸ These comments were made to the researcher during phone conversations in 2003. As a review of the archives reinforced their remarks, this thesis is focused on the formation of the Presbyterian community in a trans-Irish Sea context. Therefore, the study builds upon what is known about the settlement of Scots in Ulster by adding information on ministers and their movements, beliefs and understandings because they served as leaders and teachers of their congregations and no doubt had a leading role in their respective geographic communities. The best work on familial settlement of Ulster is by Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*. He used extant land records in Ulster, and his primary source for assigning Scottish home places for those settling families, he used George Fraser Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946). See Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 32-4.

members of their Ulster communities to accompany them on a failed trans-Atlantic relocation. The group returned to Ulster and within two years, circumstances, which they regarded as of divine origin, enabled them to move back to Scotland.⁷⁹ It is the contention of this researcher that the forces impacting ministers, which caused them to migrate, may have influenced a substantial (if hard to enumerate exactly) number of their followers to move with them. Although it is difficult to determine, ministers may also have been influenced by certain people within their congregations to relocate.⁸⁰ A thorough understanding of how the leaders of the expanding Puritan-Presbyterian community in south-western Scotland and Ulster interpreted secular events and circumstances, as well as the geographic space involved, provides a more complete delineation of the creation and spreading out of that community. This then suggests two issues warranting further consideration: firstly, the spatial basis of the community in question, in which case it is proposed to deploy (and to rework) the concept of “culture area”; and secondly, the role played by the likes of leaders’ understandings as an influence on the creation of this community and its spatial dimensions. In order to reflect upon these issues, it is possible to draw some themes from studies of both historical geography and religion.

On the first issue, Alan Baker points out that any historical ‘region’ or ‘area’ being studied (such as the dissenting trans-Irish Sea “entity” that is the focus of the present work) “often did not have boundaries which were clearly defined at the time being studied; and such boundaries as were defined were often not static but themselves

⁷⁹ William Row, in *Life of Blair*, 145

⁸⁰ David Calderwood’s description of the members of congregations expressing themselves to ministers shows that the divines in his circle were inclined to listen to members of their flocks. See Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, vii. 356. Edward Brice, for instance, was recruited to Ulster by a Stirlingshire friend named William Edmonston. See D. J. McCartney, *Nor Principalities Nor Powers: A History (1621-1991) of 1st Presbyterian Church, Carrickfergus* (Carrickfergus, 1991), 21-22.

changed through time”.⁸¹ Baker further explains that attempts to identify regions in the past with accuracy are plagued with difficulties because historical actors and modern observers define the “same” area or region differently according to the varied criteria being employed.⁸² In this respect, attention can be paid to Carl O. Sauer, the renowned North American geographer, who was interested in so-called “culture areas”, the spatial scale used in this research. “The geographer”, Sauer argues, “is engaged in charting the distribution over the earth of the arts and artefacts of man, to learn whence they came and how they spread, what their contexts are in cultural and physical environments”.⁸³ Sauer’s writings demonstrate that cultural diffusion and the formation of culture areas are fluid, and will normally involve diverse groups and complex group learning processes.⁸⁴ More particularly, inspiration can be drawn from E. G. Bowen, a Welsh geographer who, it has been argued, was influenced by Sauer and gratified by the historical and cultural turn in the likes of Sauer’s famous 1941 paper.⁸⁵ Bowen held a strongly cultural conception of regions, discussing culture areas in his work, and it is revealing that in his Presidential Address to the Institute of British Geographers in 1959 he explored ‘le Pays de Galles’, Wales, as a highly unstable spatial construct varying in response to all manner of cultural influences coming and going across the centuries.⁸⁶

The current research argues that sea routes between Galloway and Ulster helped form a dissenting Scottish culture area, which, like Bowen’s construct, is used as a means to express a sense of spatial extent of interconnectedness in lieu of neatly delimited, sealed-off territories conveyed by much regional-geographical thinking.

⁸¹ Alan R. H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge, 2003), 177.

⁸² Ibid. As discussed later in this section, the researcher demonstrates a way to weaken this difficulty.

⁸³ Carl O. Sauer, *Agricultural Origins and Dispersals* (New York, 1952), 1.

⁸⁴ Baker, *Bridging the Divide*, 166.

⁸⁵ Carl O. Sauer, ‘Forward to Historical Geography’: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1941), Vol. 31, 1-24. On the links between Sauer and Bowen, see Colin Thomas, ‘Landscape with Figures: in the Steps of E. G. Bowen’, *Cambria* (1985), Vol. 12, 24.

⁸⁶ E. G. Bowen, ‘Le Pays de Galles’, *Transactions and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers* (1959), Vol. 26, 1-23.

This is seen in the way Bowen causes the culture area to leap off of the page and into his readers' eyes. This is especially true with respect to his maps. To illustrate this, consider how he plots the locations of early Christian inscribed funerary stones. He does not use lines to demarcate a "region", but the historical context (Christianity during the time of Roman withdrawal from Britain) and the specific locations of funerary stones along the coasts of the Irish Sea then suggest interconnectedness among the places.⁸⁷ Bowen further wants us to consider that areas rarely have spatially correlated cultural traits, certainly not in any straight forward fashion. When lines are used, they should be regarded as zones of transition and not necessarily abrupt changes in the cultural landscape.⁸⁸ It is important to point out that Bowen's identification of a western seaways culture area is much more extensive, and indeed more "Catholic"⁸⁹, than what is discussed in this research.

More recently, yet arguably very much in the vein of Bowen, Miles Ogborn points out in his excellent work on historical geographies of globalisation that cultural interdependence impacted upon early modern Europe (1500-1700) through intricate networks that reached across vast bodies of water, including to Asia and the Americas.⁹⁰ He takes issue, however, with the singular economic logic of scholars such as Immanuel Wallerstein, who advanced a "world systems theory" to explain interconnectedness and globalisation. On the contrary, Ogborn wants to underline global connectedness (or relatedness) in present and past times by arguing that such relations are pieced together through all kinds of diffusing, including through migrating

⁸⁷ The inscriptions were written in old Irish. Bowen believed that the use of these stones originated on the continent in the Lyon-Vienne area. See Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaway*, 72-3.

⁸⁸ Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, 28-9.

⁸⁹ The "saints" who he discusses as central to the making of the seaways culture area are usually regarded as bearers of a form of Celtic Christianity that, though varying from the Catholic orthodoxy stemming from Rome, was in various ways conformable (and in retrospect these saints are indeed venerated within a Catholic tradition).

⁹⁰ Miles Ogborn, 'Historical Geographies of Globalisation', in Brian Graham and Catherine Nash, Eds., *Modern Historical Geographies* (Harlow, Essex, 2000), 52.

people, practices, documents, devices and coordinated by an eclectic assortment of human institutions (i.e., empires, corporations, religions, families) composed of people with equally diverse visions, wishes, and desires (for “promised land” etc.). Ogborn goes on to argue that each interconnected network necessarily requires its own delineation with respect to its nature and extent.⁹¹ Bowen anticipated such a broad perspective on the networking of “culture areas” in his two seminal works.⁹²

Informed by Bowen’s use and identification of culture areas, it is important to point out that this work does not purport to show a neatly-sealed-off ethnic/religious space for any group now or in the past. It is arguably true that colonial Scottish Presbyterians wanted to carve out a distinctive place in the world in line with their underlying geothology, and it is true that some today might want to spot simple historical continuities/delimit simple geographical shapes in “identifying” a distinct Ulster-Scotland, but the ideas of Bowen, and indeed the entire emphasis and approach in this work, absolutely cannot and should not lend itself to such simplistic appropriation. This is especially true for Ulster, for spatial discontinuity characterised much of the Scottish, English, and indeed, Irish settlement patterns during the seventeenth century.

In terms of the second issue mentioned above, it is revealing to recall a distinction drawn by Jaqueline Beaujeu-Garnier between the disciplinary perspectives of history and geography: “The content of history is limited to particular objects, namely human actions which are the consequences of conscious thought”.⁹³ Beaujeu-Garnier points out that academic geographers have long tended to concern themselves

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*; and *Britain and the Western Seaways*.

⁹³ Jaqueline Beaujeu-Garnier, ‘The Contribution of Geography’ (published address, Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan Press, 6) in Chris Philo, ‘History, Geography and the Still Greater Mystery of Historical Geography’, in *Human Geography: Society, Space, and Social Science*. Derek Gregory, Ron Martin, and Graham Smith, Eds. (Minneapolis, 1994), 255.

with material objects that are observable to human sight, instrument detection or statistical analysis, encouraging the selection of projects appealing to current temporal contexts which yield more concrete data sets with which to work.⁹⁴ However, it is the contention of this researcher that geographic and historical methodologies can coalesce to provide scholars with a clearer impression of the formation of a seventeenth century Presbyterian community that straddled the Irish Sea. The sentiment that geography and history can coalesce is shared by a number of other scholars, including Sauer and Bowen, for both of whom the issue was not just combining a sensitivity to both time (history) and space (geography)⁹⁵, it was also about bringing into one inquiry both the material and the immaterial, meaning both the observable landscape and the more “invisible” forces that arguably shape that landscape.

It is worth reflecting upon this focus with respect to existing work on the interface between geography and religion. Through the 1990s, studies in the specialty area of cultural geography dealing with religion reveal a body of work best described as lacking coherence and in a state of disarray.⁹⁶ More recently, however, there has been a resurgence of interest in this subfield. Julian Holloway and Oliver Valins insist that geographers of religions are now providing fresh insights into religious and spiritual topics ranging in geographic scale from the corporeal, to the institutional, to the

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Richard Hartshorne felt that past events belonged exclusively to historians and topics of a spatial nature were in the purview of geographers. See Hartshorne, *The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in Light of the Past* (Lancaster, 1935), 135. In his famous address to the Association of American Geographers in 1941, Carl O. Sauer expressed his dissatisfaction with Hartshorne’s way of thinking and clearly felt that history and geology were critical parts of academic geography.

⁹⁶ A. Cooper, ‘New Directions in the Geography of Religion’, *Area* (1992), Vol. 24, 123-129; Julian Holloway and Oliver Valins, ‘Editorial: Placing Religion and Spirituality in Geography’, *Social & Cultural Geography* (2002, Vol. 3, 5-9; Lily Kong, ‘Geography and Religion: Trends and Prospects’, *Progress in Human Geography* (1990), Vol. 14, 3, 355-71; M. Pacione, ‘The Relevance of Religion for a Relevant Human Geography’, *Scottish Geographical Journal* (1999), Vol. 115, 117-13; Oliver Valins, ‘Identity, Space, and Boundaries: Ultra-Orthodox Judaism in Contemporary Britain’. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Glasgow, UK.

geopolitical.⁹⁷ Such studies are important to the body of geographic scholarship, for as they write, “Religious and spiritual matters form an important context through which the majority of the world’s population live their lives, forge a sense of (indeed an ethics) of self, and make and perform their different geographies. Religious beliefs are central to the construction of identities and the practice of people’s lives”.⁹⁸ They did not, however, mention that a number of studies fit nicely into the area studies tradition, which seeks to demonstrate unique expressions of social structure, religion, politics, economics and topography in particular places defined as a region or perhaps even a spatially less-structured construct as a culture area. As succinctly put by William D. Pattison:

The area-studies tradition (otherwise known as the chorographic tradition) tended to be excluded from early American professional geography. Today it is beset by certain champions of the spatial tradition who would have one believe that somehow the area-studies way of organizing knowledge is only a sub-department of spatialism. Still, area-studies as a method of presentation lives and prospers in its own right. One can turn today for reassurance on this score to practically any issue of the *Geographical Review*, just as earlier readers could turn at the opening of the century to that magazine’s forerunner.⁹⁹

Pattison’s observations are valid in this century as well. Fraser MacDonald, for instance, offers us his observations on “the micro-politics and social relations of space in the context of worship” among Presbyterians in Scotland; however, his observations are, as he puts it, “largely based on fieldwork undertaken on the island of North Uist during 1998 and 1999”.¹⁰⁰ Simon Naylor and James R. Ryan also published a study

⁹⁷ Holloway and Valins, ‘Placing Religion and Spirituality’, 5.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 6.

⁹⁹ William D. Pattison, ‘Four Traditions of Geography’, *Journal of Geography* (1964), 211-216.

¹⁰⁰ Fraser MacDonald, ‘Towards a Spatial Theory of Worship: Some Observations from Presbyterian Scotland’, *Social & Cultural Geography* (2002), Vol. 3, 62.

that applies to what might be conceived as a restricted space, maybe a “culture area” of sorts, mosques in the suburbs of South London.¹⁰¹

Taking a longer-term view of the subfield, it is perhaps easier to construct an argument about the approach taken by this present study. In his 2005 paper, Michael Pacione noted that studies which tend to be cast as “geography of religion” studies were made popular in the United States through the work of Sauer and the Berkeley School, which emphasised the influence of “cultural landscape”, including the likes of religious belief and worship, on the “material culture” (in the built forms, say, of churches or other structures with symbolic importance).¹⁰² Though Sauer was particularly concerned about the origin and diffusion of material culture in the creation of cultural landscapes, he was open to new and well-organised approaches to study. As he put it,

(There) has been the tendency to question, not the competence, originality, or significance of research that has been offered to us, but the admissibility of work because it may or may not satisfy a narrow definition of geography. When a subject is ruled, not by inquisitiveness, but by definitions of its boundaries, it is likely to face extinction. This way lies the death of learning. Such has been the lingering sickness of American academic geography that pedantry, which is logic combined with lack of curiosity, has tried to read out of the party workers who have not conformed to prevalent definitions. A healthy science is engaged in discovery, verification, comparison, and generalization. Its subject matter will be determined by its competence in discovery and organization.¹⁰³

Encouraged by Sauer’s admonishment to ask new types of geographical questions, the present study does not really follow-up on his material culture landscape approach, although some mention is made to the material places where ecclesiastical elites held services. On many occasions, these were outdoors, indicating a religiously inspired

¹⁰¹ Simon Naylor and James R. Ryan, ‘The Mosque in the Suburbs: Negotiating Religion and Ethnicity in South London’, *Social & Cultural Geography* (2002), Vol. 3, No. 1.

¹⁰² Michael Pacione, ‘The Geography of Religious Affiliation in Scotland’, *Professional Geographer* (May, 2005), Vol. 57, No. 2, 235-255. See also Carl O. Sauer, ‘The Agency of Man on the Earth’, in *Man’s Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, Williams L. Thomas, ed. (Chicago, 1956), 49-69.

¹⁰³ Sauer, ‘Forward to Historical Geography’.

use of natural landscape rather than the creation of a distinctive cultural landscape.¹⁰⁴

While seeming to dismiss Sauer, Chris C. Park identifies Wilbur Zelinsky as an important alternative influence in the development of the geographical study of religion.¹⁰⁵ In particular, Park points to Zelinsky's 1961 empirical study on church affiliations in the United States, which included a well received map showing contrasting religious (albeit Christian) regions.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, Pacione, who used data collected in the recent Census of the Population, sought to update this approach in his empirical study on religious affiliation in Scotland.¹⁰⁷ Studies in this vein rely on large data sets amenable to quantification and mapping, which is not really possible in the context of the present study, and the researcher here is more concerned with delineating the "immaterial" taproots of diffusion (of a particular grouping of the religious) than with the static mapping of denominations.¹⁰⁸

This difference of approach can be clarified by reference to R. W. Stump, writing in 1986, who contrasted *religious geography* with the objective, spatial delineations of scholars doing work described as the *geography of religions*. Stump proposes that the latter, including Zelinsky's inquiries, is a somewhat different perspective than religious geography. He argues that the former "focuses on religion's

¹⁰⁴ In Scotland and Ulster they were called conventicles. Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 109, gives an example of how Robert Blair used the outdoors, as an extension of sacred space, in communion services.

¹⁰⁵ R. W. Stump, 'The Geography of Religion – Introduction', *Journal of Cultural Geography* (1986), Vol. 7, 1; Chris C. Park, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London, 1994), 78-9.

¹⁰⁶ Of particular note is the fundamentalist-dominated Southern (Bible belt) region. Here Zelinsky's spatial categorisation depends on patterns in the numbers of adherents in Christian Churches (dominated by various Baptist denominations) that make membership data available. In the case of the South, membership in the evangelical Southern Baptist Convention far outnumbers other organizations. His study dismisses, however, the theological thought world influences that Presbyterians and Church of Christ congregations, among others, have had on the creation of the Bible belt. Had he paid more attention to theologies of colonial southerners, he would have recognised the influence of Irish Presbyterians. See Park, *Sacred Worlds*, 79-81. See also Vann, *Rediscovering*, 116-38.

¹⁰⁷ Pacione, 'Religious Affiliations in Scotland'.

¹⁰⁸ It must be pointed out that Zelinsky also employed the "culture area" concept, especially in his *The Cultural Geography of the United States*. His culture areas map of the United States clearly shows that he was able to identify a place as a culture area sometimes without clear boundaries. Still, he shows

role in shaping human perceptions of the world and of humanity's place within it; its primary concerns are the role of theology and cosmology in the interpretation of the universe".¹⁰⁹ This view is arguably consistent with the school of *humanistic geography* advanced by Y. F. Tuan.¹¹⁰ Given the researcher's interest in these immaterial (belief-based) dimensions of diffusion, the research appeals more to Stump's description of religious geography, although it should be admitted that Lily Kong sees religious geography as a perspective shaped by the thought world of the researcher and not the object of study per se.¹¹¹ She wrote that such a study does not constitute a "geography of religion, but belongs instead to the realm of religious geography. This religious geography was what Stump (1986) classified under the rubric of geosophy, the study of geographical knowledge".¹¹² "Geosophy" is a concept associated with another senior figure in the history of American geography, J. K. Wright, who outlined what it entailed in his famous address to the Association of American Geographers in 1947.¹¹³ The discussion will return to Wright further on, but let us jump back briefly to the particular subject-matter at hand.

Because Andrew Melville's Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia filled many important pulpits in the southwest of Scotland and Ulster, their thought world should not be divorced from a study on the expansion of community during the Ulster Plantation. They possessed a high regard for learning and fed ravenously on the writings of their English and continental counterparts, creating an imagined community

them with third order boundaries (hash lines). See Wilbur Zelinsky, *Cultural Geography of the United States, Revised ed.* (Upper Saddle River, 1992), 118-19.

¹⁰⁹ Pacione, 'Religious Affiliation in Scotland'.

¹¹⁰ Y. F. Tuan, 'Humanistic Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1976), Vol. 66, 266-76.

¹¹¹ Kong, 'Geography and Religion', 355-71. See also Lily Kong, 'Religion and Technology: Reconfiguring Place, Space, Identity and Community', *Area* (2001), Vol. 33, No. 4, 404-1. Kong's reference to Stump (1986) is cited as 'Geography and Religion – Introduction'.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ J. K. Wright, 'Terrae Incognitae: The Place of Imagination in Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1947), Vol. 37, 1-15.

of like-minded Puritan brothers and sisters. This is an important characteristic to ascribe to the Scottish divines because in effect their reading selections expanded their “imagined geographies” as well.¹¹⁴ Although it is customary for geographers and historians to conceptualise “imagined communities” and “imagined geographies” as recent phenomena prompted and enlarged by modern communication structures made up of wires and roads, the social networks and reference groups of educated members of the Puritan divines in Scotland and England were members of an imagined community that possessed both apocalyptic and social dimensions. Savage points out that “While people’s actual community identification may have declined, their imagined identification may have increased”.¹¹⁵ As observed by Thrift, “Through the nineteenth century, Western society developed more conscious levels of community identification with places, based primarily on the growth of media and travel”.¹¹⁶ Because of high levels of literacy and the availability of printed material espousing their beliefs, it is necessary to apply the concept of imagined geographies back in time to include social structures such as the body of Scottish and English divines in the seventeenth century who subscribed to the tenets of Puritanism. The diffusion of Puritan-Presbyterianism into Ireland was the result of intellectually generated social movements within highly literate segments of English and Scottish societies, which saw themselves as parts, if not the con-joined head, of the “true Church of Christ”.¹¹⁷

These perceptions among seventeenth-century divines reveal a major limitation with both the Sauerian and Zelinskian geographical orientations to religion, for in effect they require the geographer to focus on either concrete manifestations of religion on the

¹¹⁴ In this instance, imagined geographies of Puritans in South-western Scotland and Ulster included Palestine, England, the continent (especially Calvin’s Geneva), and New England.

¹¹⁵ M. Savage, ‘Spatial differences in modern Britain’, in c. Hamnett, L. McDowell and P. Sarre eds., *The Changing Social Structure* (London, 1989), 244-68.

¹¹⁶ Nigel Thrift, ‘Taking aim at the heart of region’, in D. Gregory, R. Martin, and G. Smith, eds., *Human Geography: Society, Space, and Social Science* (Minneapolis, 1994), 225.

landscape or spatial patterns of denominations, for indeed it might be argued by some that cognitions and emotions associated with “religion” itself should be ignored.¹¹⁸ Little is said of the “interior” (the imaginings and perceptions central to religion as felt and thought) dimensions of belief systems. Within the discipline of geography, older scholars such as J. K. Wright and William Kirk have given considerable attention to the interconnections between geographies ‘real’ and ‘imagined’.¹¹⁹ Kirk’s work drew upon the field of Gestalt psychology. More recently, Chris Philo has drawn heavily on the work of French historian and philosopher Michael Foucault and has added to a growing body of literature embracing behavioural geography by turning attention to the discourses’ organised bodies of thought that cannot but be central to all manner of “locational” decisions.¹²⁰ With respect to the present study, political forces created a variety of human behaviours. For instance, the return to Scotland of Irish ministers and some of their flocks during the “crack down” in the 1630s of Charles I, acting through his lieutenants Lord Deputy Wentworth and Archbishop Laud in the 1630s, clearly had a profound impact on the religious culture of the south-west of Scotland and no doubt contributed to subsequent flows of south-westerners to Ulster, while on the other hand, many covenanters who stayed behind during the reign of Charles II were polarised.¹²¹ This community’s ethos certainly borrowed from sacred history, and like the Israelites before them, they were willing to take refuge in the wilderness.

¹¹⁷ Gordon Donaldson, *Church and Nation*, 74.

¹¹⁸ Lewis Holloway and Oliver Valins, ‘Editorial: Placing Religion and Spirituality in Geography’, *Social and Cultural Geography* (2002), Vol. 1, 5-10, provide a recent analysis on studies that have conjoined geography and religion. For an in-depth look at non-belief attributes of the geography of religions, see Park, *Sacred Worlds*.

¹¹⁹ Wright, ‘Terra Incognita’, 68-88; William Kirk, ‘Problems of Geography’, *Geography*, Vol. 48 (1963), 357-71.

¹²⁰ Chris Philo, ‘Thoughts, Words, and Creative Location Acts’, in Boal, F. W. and D. N. Livingstone, eds., *The Behavioural Environment: Essays in Reflection, Application and Re-evaluation* (London, 1989), 205-34.

¹²¹ W. D. Baillie, *The Six Mile Water Revival of 1625* (Belfast, 1976), 21.

As the eighteenth century entered its second decade, “Ulster as a wilderness” was replaced by “Ulster as a tightly controlled province of an imperial power”.¹²² For a good many Puritan Presbyterians, they began to see America as a real wilderness in which to achieve a Christian commonwealth. Large numbers of them, whether they were residents of Ulster or Scotland, joined the flood of their English brothers and sisters who were establishing communities in America.¹²³ This transition in characterizing the settlement of the north of Ireland has many geotheological implications, for, as Perry Miller discussed with respect to the Puritan settlement of America, the movement of this population “was an organised task force of Christians, executing a flank attack on the corruption of Christendom. These Puritans did not flee to America; they went in order to work out that complete reformation which was not yet accomplished in England and Europe, but which would quickly be accomplished if only the saints back there had a working model to guide them”.¹²⁴ Miller’s seminal work on the “errand into the wilderness” sparked quite a debate among historians who have an interest in colonial North America. As Theodore Bozeman shows in his important work, some scholars completely deny the existence of a “founding errand” among Puritans.¹²⁵ Other scholars, including George Williams, Peter Carroll, Avihu Zakai and Alan Heimert have explored and support the concept of “errand” and “wilderness” as a means of understanding how Puritans in the seventeenth century

¹²² This description captures the cultural aspects of the demographic, economic, and political changes that took place in Ulster during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*.

¹²³ John Livingstone, an Ulster minister and colleague of Robert Blair, had a number of communications with Massachusetts’ governor John Winthrop. Livingstone and other Ulster Presbyterians made at least two attempts to resettle in New England during the 1630s. See John W. Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor* (Belfast, 1996), 21.

¹²⁴ Perry Miller, ‘Errand in the Wilderness’, in *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 11.

¹²⁵ See Chapter 3 in Theodore D. Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill, 1988).

coped with external forces.¹²⁶ However, as these sources show, the concepts of wilderness and errand have been restricted to studies of English Puritans and their migration to and within the North American continent. Buoyed by the comments of the seventeenth century English Puritan, John Cotton, who wrote, “The principal cause of all passages in the world: which is not mans weaknesse, or goodness, but chiefly the wise and strong good providence of God: who presenteth every age with a new stage of acts and actors”,¹²⁷ this study introduces the notions of imagined geographies and communities into Plantation research. In so doing, and taking seriously the kinds of imaginings integral to statements such as those by John Cotton, the present study turns to another geographer of older vintage, namely John Kirkland Wright.

Indeed, most of the terms and concepts used in this study were coined by J. K. Wright to identify the nuances of religious geography, and the research reported below hence owes much to the distinctive, if neglected, coming together of Wright’s Geosophy and Stump’s identification of religious geography.¹²⁸ Specifically, terms such as geotheology (the general relationship between space and the worship of God), geoteleology (the relationship between space and the unfolding of providence), geopiety (the religious, emotional attachment to terrestrial space) and goeschatology (the role of space in the outcomes of providence) are all significant in what follows.¹²⁹ John K. Wright’s approach and his useful lexicon precisely call upon us to consider such interior imaginings in geographical research because of the role that imaginings,

¹²⁶ George H. Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought: The Biblical Experience of the Desert in the History of Christianity* (New York, 1962); Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge, 2002), 120-131; Peter N. Carroll, *Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier, 1629-1700* (New York, 1969); and Alan Heimert, ‘Puritanism, the Wilderness, and the Frontier’, *New England Quarterly* (1953), Vol. 26, 361-82.

¹²⁷ John Cotton, *A Brief Exposition with Practicall Observations upon the whole Book of Ecclesiastes* (1654), quoted in Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*, 120-31.

¹²⁸ It is interesting that Park does not offer any substantive discussion on the themes and topics advanced by Wright and even erroneously suggests that Tuan is the person associated with coining Geoteleology. See Park, *Sacred Worlds*, 19.

feelings and thoughts have in moulding human behaviours which often impact the landscape with visible patterns and structures.¹³⁰ The current research embraces aspects of Sauer and Zelinsky, but then it moves on to a position more closely akin to Wright as a way of deepening the explanation that is offered for the religion's landscape effects, spatial patterns, and links to demography as well as politics.

In summary, this work argues that the thought worlds of seventeenth-century Presbyterians in the south-west of Scotland is particularly important to consider because it provided community members with lenses through which they interpreted secular events as push and pull factors. Their understanding of those events influenced their perceptions of land and seascapes as well as decisions to take action (fight, conform, or migrate) that impacted both south-western Scotland and Ulster. Geotheological beliefs of Scottish Presbyterians diffused to Ulster along with other aspects of their faith. In doing so, a dissenting culture area was formed along the North Channel of the Irish Sea. In writing this research, the hope is principally to illuminate these substantive questions, but also to contribute a novel example of what can be most logically cast as "historical religious geography" building upon the still valuable examples set by the likes of Bowen and J. K. Wright.

Rethinking Cross-Channel Migration Flows

To illustrate the importance of including immaterial aspects of culture as part of an overall explanation of Presbyterian population flows into Ulster, it can be shown that theories of migration offer only partial explanations for them. Nonetheless, geographers have developed several theories that offer basic frameworks for understanding migratory flows among Europeans living in pre-industrial and

¹²⁹ Ibid. 251-67.

industrializing societies. As Douglas Massey and his associates concluded in 1994, available evidence can support a plethora of theories and seldom is one completely refuted.¹³¹ Beginning with E. Ravenstein's seminal article in 1889, in which he theorised laws on the spatial, social, and cultural aspects of migration, scholars have continued to refine his model.¹³² Ravenstein's research centred on population flows in England during a time of heavy industrialisation which took place in the late nineteenth century. This was a development not unlike that which occurred during the late seventeenth century in certain areas of Lowland Scotland. His "laws", like many in the social fields at the time, borrowed from the physical and biological sciences. In particular, he made use of the law of gravity to argue that the distances covered by population flows were, in a nineteenth century context, most often directly related to relative population differentials of the home area and the place of destination, forming a mostly rural to urban shift in settlement patterns. He also declared that with every population flow there would be a counter flow (i.e. immigrants moving back to their places of birth).

In 1971, Zelinsky published an article in which he presented his mobility transition theory.¹³³ This conjecture assumes that migration flows occur as a result of shifts in mortality and/or fertility rates that favour population growth. Demographic transition (growth) can result in excess population in a given area, causing members of the population to migrate. Zelinsky's theory has particular application to this research because historians have recently argued that Scottish migration to Ulster in the seventeenth century was set in motion by overpopulation. Chapter Two provides a

¹³⁰ Wright, 'Terrae Incognitae'.

¹³¹ Douglas Massey, J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino, and J. E. Taylor, 'An Evaluation of International Migration Theory: The North American Case', *Population and Development Review* (1994), 20, 699-752.

¹³² E. Ravenstein, 'Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* (1889), Vol. 52, 241-301.

review of the literature that features this explanation, and Chapter Three examines it with respect to empirical evidence.

In 1983, Huw Jones introduced a Marxist or conflict dimension to Zelinsky's mobility transition model.¹³⁴ As is the case with Zelinsky's model, migration flows in Jones' version of mobility transition are precipitated by population exceeding a region's carrying capacity, but, unlike Zelinsky, Jones pays particular attention to available economic niches.¹³⁵ It follows that a destination area theoretically has the capacity to pull only those migrants who would benefit from open occupational slots in the place's current economic structure. Members of the yeoman farming class in the Lowlands were faced with increasing rents as feuing spread throughout the region. Many displaced farmers found that Ulster offered opportunities to continue farming with long-term lease agreements requiring much lower rent rates.¹³⁶ It is difficult to determine whether they were truly attracted to Ulster because they were able to fit into the available economic structure, as Jones would argue, or if they were attracted by the possibility of preserving their rural lifestyle.

Geographic perspectives that include both immaterial and material aspects of culture, as they impact physical space, along with a consideration of theoretical models on the process of migration are needed in the literature on the Plantation of Ulster, for such models provide a foundation for deductive investigations.¹³⁷ The impetus for this

¹³³ Wilbur Zelinsky, 'Hypothesis of Mobility Transition', *The Geographical Review* (1971), Vol. 61, 219-49. See also Appendices 2-4.

¹³⁴ Huw Jones, 'Evolution of Scottish Migration Patterns: A Social-Relations-of-Production approach', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 102 (1986), 151-64.

¹³⁵ G. Tyler Miller describes carrying capacity as the number of people who can live in a given area. The factors that influence the limit include available physical resources and the manner in which the people use them. See his *Living in the Environment: Principles, Connections, and Solutions*, 11th ed. (Belmont, 1999).

¹³⁶ Feuing, or the renting of lands formerly held by the church or in a feudal arrangement with a lord, was a radical change for yeoman farmers whose families may have lived on a lord's estate for many generations. Rents were often too high, or at least perceived to be so, for many of them. See Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c. 1500-c.1760* (Basingstoke, 1997).

¹³⁷ John R. Weeks, *Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues*, 8th ed. (Belmont, 2002), 246-66.

expression is clearly revealed in the following examples of historians' analysis of the migration of south-western Scots to Ulster between the years 1603 and 1690.¹³⁸ A review of the literature reveals a plethora of faulty statements of basic geographic facts, not to mention a disregard for testing theory against empirical evidence. For instance, the excellent work by Patrick Griffin is diminished by geographic errors and over-simplified explanations associated with migratory flows of Protestant Scots to Ulster. He writes that "by 1610, Scottish tenant farmers from the overpopulated south-eastern regions of Ayrshire, Wigtonshire, and Galloway peopled six Ulster counties set aside by the English government for Plantation by Protestants from Great Britain."¹³⁹ Griffin incorrectly refers to these counties as being situated in the southeast (see Map 1). These counties are clearly in the south-western area of Scotland and the parts of the counties from which emigration occurred were in their western, coastal burghs and their hinterlands.¹⁴⁰

Griffin's conclusion suggests a singular reason, although it has a geographic (ecological) basis, as the push factor. Population pressure as a catalyst for migration decisions, as argued by Griffin, has support from other historians, including Raymond Gillespie, as well as Smout, Landsman, and Devine.¹⁴¹ Unlike his counterparts, Gillespie does include social and economic push and pull factors in his writings on colonial Ulster. Nonetheless, the overpopulation scenario for seventeenth-century Scottish settlement in Ulster is in unison with Zelinsky's theory of mobility transition.¹⁴² Yet Zelinsky's theory, nor the explanation of those historians, does little to explain how this situation, if it existed, was *seen* by the people; moreover, it does not allow for other variables of a non-ecological/demographic nature that may well have

¹³⁸ Chapter Two provides an extensive analysis of migratory explanations made by scholars.

¹³⁹ Griffin, *People with no Name*, 18.

¹⁴⁰ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 32.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Smout, Landsman, and Devine, *Europeans on the Move*.

contributed to decisions to migrate, let alone determining the direction of population flows. Similarly, geographers' gravity model with its emphasis on predicting population movements between places of origin and destination, cannot by itself account for all environmental, cultural and social-psychological variables that influence decisions to migrate or serve as intervening obstacles, including those that precipitated and altered the direction of Scots' migratory flows during the seventeenth century.¹⁴³

While theories and models have their limitations, they can and should be tested with respect to empirical analysis. The same can also be said for the conclusions made by those historians whose works rely on an inductive methodology. Gillespie, introduced above, has contributed brilliantly to the body of knowledge on the Plantation of East Ulster, so it is peculiar that he would make the following observation about the direction and flow of social and economic ties out-with Ulster. He argues that social contacts and market connections with the outside world were directed to the "...south, to the Pale....Communications with England and Scotland were more difficult and even a short journey, such as between east Ulster and Scotland, was fraught with problems".¹⁴⁴ He goes on to state that the rough seas could make journeys take up to twelve hours.¹⁴⁵ Gillespie bases much of his argument on the experiences and comments made by William Brereton and Robert Blair.¹⁴⁶ Although the short route from Portpatrick to Donaghadee was in use prior to the granting of an official charter for a ferry service to Hugh Montgomery in 1616, Gillespie relies in part on Blair's comments which were based on a much longer and emotionally complicated trip that probably began in Glasgow, perhaps as much as 100 miles to the north of Portpatrick.

¹⁴² Zelinsky, 'The Hypothesis of Mobility Transition'.

¹⁴³ Michael Kuby, John Harner, and Patricia Gober, 'Newton's First Law of Migration: the Gravity Model', *Human Geography in Action*, 3rd ed. (Hoboken, 2004), 85-106.

¹⁴⁴ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 24-25.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Historical enquiry into the trans-Channel nature of the region is therefore severely limited by a lack of sophistication in quantitative and qualitative analyses, as well as by the areas of interest of some historians whose work on social institutions in the south-west of Scotland or the north or Ireland is restricted by the shores of the Irish Sea. This is inappropriate because many of the social institutions under study were systemically connected to areas beyond Scotland's shoreline. As a case in point, the Scottish historian Gordon Donaldson, who has accomplished a wealth of research during his career, limits his study on Scottish society during the reigns of James V through James VII by restricting his assessment of Presbyterian non-conformity to the eastern shores of the Irish Sea. His conclusion, or more specifically the implications of his study, may have changed had he followed the spatial pattern that he delineates for Scotland across the Channel and into Ireland.¹⁴⁷

In assessing the theological aspects of the creation of a trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community, it is appropriate for historical and geographic perspectives to coalesce.¹⁴⁸ This is especially true when one considers that the genesis of this community had both political policy and spatial aspects. Despite the fact that after 1603 the Irish, Scottish and English realms of the fledgling empire had the same monarch, the inability of the government to enforce its will uniformly in the three regions at the same time facilitated reverse flows at various intervals during the seventeenth century. Cultural practices with government support also influenced the direction of migratory flows. Not only did many decide to move, they decided to settle in certain places. Why for example, did they move to rural areas in the north of Ireland when economic opportunities were to be had in the Glasgow area as well as the central

¹⁴⁷ During the Stewart Restoration, ministers who would not abjure the National Covenant and submit to Episcopal orders were deposed or deprived of their incomes. See Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland James V-James VII*, 365.

¹⁴⁸ Baker, *Geography and History*.

belt region of their own country? Undetected by Plantation scholars, there was an intervening cultural/political barrier that deflected the direction of the population flows originating in the south-west. By examining Kirk-issued testimonials, which were required of Scots relocating to another parish, Rab Houston delineated spatial mobility patterns for seventeenth century Scotland.¹⁴⁹ The patterns beg further elucidation, for he did not address their trans-Irish Sea spatial implications or present a theological explanation for them. His study reports little evidence of testimonials issued to people originating in the south-west.

By 1707 and the Union of the Parliaments, the monarchy's ability to apply political pressure throughout Great Britain and Ireland was much improved.¹⁵⁰ Over the next decade, the frequently occurring reverse flows of people from Ulster to Scotland were replaced by mass migrations to North America. The socio-theological dimensions of the formation of the trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community are important to consider because migration is only one of many possible reactions people could have to political repression. They could have conformed, fought, or left. No doubt the ethos of this community influenced some of its members to make decisions to migrate while others chose to fight, especially during the mid-1680s which have been called the "killing times".¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ R. Houston, 'Geographical mobility in Scotland, 1652-1811: the evidence of testimonials', *Journal of Historical Geography* (1985), 11, 379-94.

¹⁵⁰ Ulster was subject to the Irish Parliament.

¹⁵¹ The "killing times", like the covenants themselves, is a controversial topic. Douglas Murray addresses how each of them (the times and the participants) has been viewed in the literature. See Douglas Murray, (1992). 'Martyrs or Madmen? The Covenanters, Sir Walter Scot, and Dr. Thomas Martyrs McCrie', *Innes Review* (1992), XLIII, No. 2, 166-75. See also Ian B. Cowan, 'The Covenanters: A Revision Article', *Scottish Historical Review*, xlvii (1968). However, the government did search out ministers and their followers, who worshipped in illegal, out-door services called conventicles. As the 1680s progressed, harsher measures were taken by the government of Scotland to suppress non-conforming worshippers, including killing people without a trial. See Donaldson, *Church and Nation*; Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-88* (London, 1976); Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 105; Nigel Tranter, 'The Killing Times', *The Story of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1987), 185-94.

Researchers must recognise that political forces acting on people, as during the Covenanter “killing times” (1684-85), may be interpreted in different ways. Obviously, some Presbyterians, known as Covenanters in the south-west of Scotland, chose to stay and resist the government’s efforts to enforce ecclesiastical uniformity on them while others sought refuge in Ireland, for no doubt some of the residents created imagined geographies of Ulster that, in their minds, offered them sanctuary.

Parameters and Objectives of the Study

With respect to common religious characteristics of the immigrants and the geographic patterns created by the migration flows, this research examines the manner in which a trans-Channel community was formed, how it was constituted geothologically and how it functioned in the context of facilitating migration. To achieve this objective, it is important to establish some guidelines or parameters for the research. Specifically, the time period, the themes and the sources of evidence are presented in this section. As is shown in Chapter Two, most of the research on Scots’ migratory behaviour is focused on the years 1609 to 1625 and again from the 1680s onward. The interval of time in the middle with some overlap at the beginning and end warrants sustained study. The social networking and demographic factors that facilitated trans-Channel community formation through extended migration in the later decades of the Plantation are rooted in the early to middle decades of the seventeenth century. This study will embrace all the years between 1603 and 1690. This period sees the ascension of Scotland’s James VI to the throne of Calvinist England as James I and the formation of a Puritan community that, through its real and imagined components, transcended English, Scottish, and Irish identities.¹⁵² The date of 1603

¹⁵² Presbyterians were certainly Calvinists, but not all Calvinists were Puritan.

also marks the arrival in Antrim of the first group of Protestant ministers from Scotland. It ends with the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland and its toleration in Ireland.

The turbulent events of the middle of the seventeenth century that influenced social movements and geographic relocation requires this study to place a premium on religiosity, group dynamics and social networks, and also too on human-environmental relationships. It draws upon social theories that capture the nuances of the interplay between social institutions, groups, and the manifestations of collective human behaviours. The study, therefore, recognises that Scotland during this time period was the home of people organised into formal and informal groups who held and communicated beliefs and interpretations about their situations with respect to the past, present and future. Those individuals and groups, however, were parts of larger social and imagined worlds that were impacted by macro and even synergistic forces emanating from both cultural and ecological factors.¹⁵³

To unravel the complex, interconnected factors that underlie the process of trans-Channel community formation, it is necessary to describe the region's prevailing Reformed ethos, its origin and susceptibility to schismatic actions, and its diffusion to Ulster. This goal requires delving into the thought worlds of the ecclesiastical leaders in the community. However, most of the scholarship on the mind and character of the seventeenth-century Scottish folk who moved to and from Ireland has not progressed much beyond that which Leyburn describes in his seminal work that was published in

¹⁵³ The use of the term synergy in this context is consistent with geography as "cultural ecology" (Carl Sauer) or "human ecology", as described by the American historical geographer Harlan Barrows. Barrows argued that humans adapt to environments, so there is interplay between biotic and abiotic elements of the environment with human activities. See B. L. Turner, II. 'Contested identities: Human-environment geography and disciplinary implications in a restructuring academy', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (2002), 92, 52-74.

1962.¹⁵⁴ Leyburn points out that every historian who writes on the mind and character of these people rely “upon the judgement of two early Presbyterian ministers in the region, and one of whom was not even contemporary with the times”.¹⁵⁵ This research broadens that evidence base by introducing doctrinal statements, John Livingstone’s autobiography¹⁵⁶, letters and sermons. It is also necessary to describe networking patterns that carried the ethos across the North Channel as well as those that sustained it once it was established in Ulster. Sociometric evidence for delineating trans-Channel community links were gleaned from the *Fastis* of the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, as well as from parish and family histories. Autobiographies of Robert Blair and John Livingstone are also excellent sources for identifying social links. The Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland houses numerous books and manuscripts detailing relationships between Scots on both sides of the Irish Sea. In addition to providing information on networking patterns (i.e., comments and references to colleagues, friends and family), those sources are helpful in finding evidence of perceived adverse environmental and cultural factors (famine, disease, warfare, political repression, unemployment) that precipitated migration. This will be especially true for highly literate ministers, who presumably kept better records than the members of their congregations. To some extent, what the research can reconstruct of these migrations is shaped by the remaining records. It is also possible to determine to what extent the people of south-western Scotland saw the Irish Sea as an intervening obstacle or a transportation artery.

¹⁵⁴ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*. This book is still in print.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 108. These ministers were Robert Blair and Andrew Stewart. Stewart became minister at Donaghadee in 1645 and remained there as minister until his death in 1671. Stewart wrote a history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and his account was published in Patrick Adair, *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in the North of Ireland* (Belfast, 1866).

¹⁵⁶ John Livingstone, *Life of John Livingstone: Memorable Characteristics* (Wodrow Society; Edinburgh, 1845).

Beyond the traditional aspects of geography, this research will introduce into the body of Ulster Plantation research the notion of imagined geographies, including communities of the imagination, which were imbued with sacred or geotheological qualities. It also uniquely features two important uses of quantification techniques to show trans-Irish Sea regionalisation. Specifically, the birth, educational backgrounds and subsequent migrations of divines, as well as regional and national data on deposition rates for clerical non-conformity at the Restoration, are used to show this regionalisation. With a significant body of extant writings available for review, it is not difficult to demonstrate that Presbyterians of the era, if not all Protestants in Scotland, regarded themselves and their lands as sacred. Through migration resulting from social networks and institutional ties, that sentiment was diffused to the north of Ireland.¹⁵⁷ Given that scholars have successfully conjoined J. K. Wright's georeligious concepts to the Puritan settlement of colonial North America, it is reasonable to examine the geotheological attributes of Scotland and Ulster as factors in the formation of a trans-Irish Sea Puritan-Presbyterian community.¹⁵⁸

Assumptions and Research Questions

Before presenting the questions posed in this study, it is important to consider a basic assumption that informs them. There are admittedly few extant records on large segments of the populations that settled in Ulster during the seventeenth century Plantation movement. This research assumes that reconstructing the real and imagined communities of Presbyterian divines who moved to Ireland, their ethos and their subsequent movements makes it possible to expand our current understanding of the

¹⁵⁷ In this instance, the use of "social networks" appeals to Network theory of migration and "institutional ties" relates to the Institutional theory of migration. See Weeks, *Population*, 262-63.

¹⁵⁸ Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*.

forces that influenced a significant, but perhaps ultimately undeterminable, number of Scots to seek new homes in Ulster.

From that assumption and Ogborn's urging discussed earlier, this research proceeds to ask and answer seven questions: (1) "Was the North Channel of the Irish Sea an intervening obstacle or a facilitator of social linkages between Scotland and Ireland"? (2) "Did the physical geography of south-western Scotland influence external social and economic linkages away from Scotland and toward Ireland"? (3) "What factors were associated with pushing the Presbyterians and other Scots to Ulster"? (4) "Did the ethnic policies of the Plantation influence the formation of the trans-Channel Presbyterian community"? (5) "Is there evidence to demonstrate social connections and geographic flows of Irish Presbyterian ministers with and between people and places on the eastern side of the Irish Sea"? (6) "Did the dissenting polity of Presbyterianism contribute to schismatic behaviours, including political dissention and geographic relocation between south-western Scotland and Ulster"? (7) "Is there evidence to demonstrate trans-Irish Sea regionalisation associated with Scottish geotheology?" Answers to these questions provide deeper insight into how population pressures, a widely held assumption underlying the migration of south-western Scots, influenced migratory flows. It also helps to shed light on the political and cultural issues still confronting Northern Ireland.

To answer those questions, the chapters of the research are structured in the following manner: Chapter Two provides an examination of the landscapes of South-western Scotland and Ulster along with explanations involving the movement of seventeenth-century Scots within it.

Chapter Three explores the most common explanation for the migrations of Scots across the Irish Sea in the seventeenth century. That explanation includes both

economics and overpopulation as conjoined factors that precipitated massive flows of Scots to Ulster. More specifically, the explanation is seen as 'ecological' in the sense that overpopulation created a surplus of labour in the south-western region of Scotland. People from that part of the country left Scotland in search of better living conditions.

Chapter Four delves into the ethnic politics of the Tudor and Stewart dynasties and the Protectorate, and in so doing considers a further common explanation, based on the politics of the period, for the migrations under study. These policies pursued by the Tudor and Stewart crowns provided the foundation for the settlement of Protestant Scots in Ireland, as well as for the institutionalisation of ethnic conflict in Ulster, since the monarchy unwittingly used the Protestant Church and its more schismatic elements, especially those with particularly strong orientations to Puritanism infused with notions of a participatory yet theocratic polity, as a vehicle for social change. This situation created the social infrastructure to create migration through social networks and institutional ties between Scots living in Ulster and those remaining in Scotland.

Chapter Five lays the foundation for delineating the formation of a trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community. This chapter shows the genesis of the social structure that Gordon Donaldson describes as an ecclesiastical intelligentsia.¹⁵⁹ The chapter also demonstrates how the social structure diffused to Ireland through the policies of James VI and I. The chapter also shows the places of birth for the first 188 ministers in the Irish Presbyterian Churches, where they were educated, and to where some subsequently resettled out-with Ireland. This chapter shows clearly the relationship between the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia and Irish Presbyterianism.

Chapter Six shows how the doctrines of seventeenth-century Scottish Presbyterian divines in south-western Scotland and Ulster contributed to their belief

¹⁵⁹ Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 149.

that they were defenders of the true Christian faith, setting them at odds with the monarchy. While sermons are examined with respect to delineating potentially schismatic attitudes and beliefs that led to political confrontations, this chapter also presents an analysis of the National Covenant and doctrinal statements that supported Presbyterian ministers' theological positions that encouraged civil disobedience. This is important because the National Covenant was the basis for dissenting, theocratic behaviours among certain divines, setting them at odds with the restored monarchy bent on Erastianism. As Appendix 5 shows, the discussion of the beliefs that set the stage for this confrontation offers a significant explanation of the political reasons for the migrations of a portion of the ministers who are identified in Chapter Five. To this end, the chapter shows regional rates for non-conformity, and in so doing, it challenges some historical interpretations of scholars, particularly that of Gordon Donaldson. The data presented in this chapter clearly show that the rates of depositions for non-conforming Irish Presbyterian ministers, who were highly concentrated in Ulster, were close to those of their counterparts in the south-western region of Scotland. It also shows that in light of the rate of depositions for non-conforming ministers those expanding south-western Scottish regions (Glasgow, Ayr and Galloway) had more in common with Ireland's non-conforming ministers than they had with the eastern and northern areas of Scotland.

Chapter Seven shows how the Presbyterian community viewed itself and its greater Scottish society in the plans of providence. This chapter embraces J. K. Wright's various interpretations of the significance of human attachment to space that stems from religion. To this end it shows that some of these Scots saw themselves as an elect nation extending from the people of Israel, and, like their spiritual forebears, they were inclined to seek refuge in the "wilderness" during times of political and

environmental stress. Depopulated areas in the north of Ireland provided opportunities for taking refuge against external forces while preserving their sense of *Gemeinschaft*.

Chapter Eight is a summary chapter, which returns to the theme - the overarching theme - of what putting geography into religious history can offer and how it permits a more complex and nuanced, but insightful, fuller history to be written.

CHAPTER TWO

MOBILITY IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND AND ULSTER

Introduction

The body of research compiled by religious and social historians on the migration and settlement of Protestants in Ulster (the nine northern counties of Ireland) during the Plantation movement (1603-1715) lacks an appreciation for the synergy between south-western Scotland and Ulster and the infusion of communities that originated in the minds, in the geographies of the imagination, of Puritan-Presbyterians associated with the Churches of Scotland and England. As discussed briefly in Chapter One, historical geographers have paid little attention to the study of the migration of Scots to Ulster during the seventeenth century. When they do address the topic, the discussions are speculative and offer no empirical research with a clear methodological framework. For instance, Ian Whyte argues that migration between Scotland and Ireland in the seventeenth century is difficult to classify as internal.¹⁶⁰ Those population flows, according to Whyte, could be considered as international, presumably because the regions were administered under the auspices of two distinct parliamentary governments.¹⁶¹ In terms of delineating push and pull forces, geographers'

¹⁶⁰ Ian D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Great Britain, 1550-1830* (London, 2000), 3.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

explanations, like their colleagues in the fields of history and religion, often restrict their attention to monarchical policy and overpopulation in the Scottish Lowlands.¹⁶²

As discussed in Chapters One and Six, social and cultural historians who hail from England, Scotland and Wales as well as from Ireland tend to specialise in the social and cultural attributes of their respective nations. Even when their work addresses two kingdoms such as Ireland and Scotland during the seventeenth-century, there is a lack of appreciation for the process of regionalisation that took advantage of existing sea routes. Ian Cowan has produced a significant body of work on the Covenanters who dominated the south-western landscape during the years 1660 to 1688.¹⁶³ In his book, Ireland is mentioned, and he does point out that two Scottish Covenanters were apprehended in Ireland. He further writes about two Irish ministers who were killed at the battle of Rullion Green in December 1666.¹⁶⁴ Beyond those two examples, Cowan does not show any other connections between the two places. David Stevenson, who has also produced quality scholarship on the Covenanters, seldom mentions the Irish connections or the existence of social ties between south-western Scotland and Ulster.¹⁶⁵

If the migration of Puritan-Presbyterians was in fact an extension of a Scottish community across the North Channel of the Irish Sea, as is argued by this researcher, the flow could be rather described as inter-regional or even intra-regional.¹⁶⁶ In a political, administrative context Ireland and Scotland were distinct places in the seventeenth century, but with respect to classifying the coastal burghs and their

¹⁶² Michael Kuby, John Harner and Patricia Gober, *Human Geography in Action 3rd ed.* (Hoboken, 2004), 334.

¹⁶³ Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688* (London, 1976).

¹⁶⁴ They were Andrew MacCormick and John Cruickshank. See Ibid. 64.

¹⁶⁵ David Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenanters and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988).

¹⁶⁶ James Rubenstein, *The Cultural Landscape 7th ed.* (Upper Saddle River, 2002), 497.

hinterlands as belonging to an existing perceptual/vernacular¹⁶⁷ region (Irish Sea and coast-lands), the body of research offers little direct illumination. By piecing together statements and observations found in the literature, the settlements along the North Channel of the Irish Sea seem to have formed the nodes of a functional region from which trade, social links, and religious ties emanated.¹⁶⁸ When viewed from the standpoint of a functional region, migration to and from Ulster should be classified as internal or intra-regional. As a result of human interchange since the Mesolithic era, the territory along the Irish Sea arguably became a culture area.¹⁶⁹

To make such a distinction it is necessary to determine whether the Irish Sea served as a means of transportation, or, conversely, as an intervening obstacle. Is there further evidence to support the application of Bowen's seaways theory to the seventeenth century, and thereby to argue that established sea routes facilitated the development of a Puritan-Presbyterian influence in the coastal culture area found along both shores of the North Channel of the Irish Sea? Answering this question informs the interpretation of historical analyses completed thus far on the Plantation movement, for historians do not fully address this issue. Even when something approaching such an analysis is attempted, it is not complete and offers little to our understanding of how a dissenting culture area along the shores of the Irish Sea could have occurred.¹⁷⁰ To answer that question, this chapter provides an analysis of the studies involving Scottish migration and settlement in Ulster during the Plantation, including a discussion on the

¹⁶⁷ Kuby, Harner and Gober, refer to an area with a particular cultural identification as a perceptual region. See *Human Geography*, 33.

¹⁶⁸ The idea that Atlantic coastal settlements interacted with each other through seaways is supported by E. G. Bowen who argued that sea routes allowed various Celtic places located from Ireland to Brittany to interact with each other. See his *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in Celtic Lands* (Wales, 1969). A functional region is "An area organised around a node or focal point". Rubenstein, *Cultural Landscape*, 496.

¹⁶⁹ E. G. Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways* (London, 1972).

¹⁷⁰ While Raymond Gillespie is not the only historian to study the settlement of Protestants from Scotland in Ireland, his work is seminal. As is shown in this chapter, his analysis of the Irish Sea as a

limited research on religious factors associated with those flows. As the later sections of the chapter demonstrate, the topics and empirically supported explanations offered in the literature can be richly synthesised with additional primary data to show that it was physically possible to form a seventeenth-century trans-Irish Sea community of Puritan-Presbyterians. After all, Scottish Puritan-Presbyterian migration intensified throughout the seventeenth century and was particularly strong after the establishment of a Presbyterian polity in the Kirk in 1690.

Explanations for Scottish Migrations to Ulster

Despite vacillating policies toward Ulster's Roman Catholic and dissenting Protestant settlers, among whom Presbyterians were renowned, and also despite William and Mary's establishment of Presbyterianism as the official polity of the Church of Scotland in 1690, Scots Presbyterians unceasingly streamed into the north of Ireland.¹⁷¹ By the close of the Plantation movement in 1715, the estimated figure of 30,000 Scots immigrants in 1650 had increased by more than eight-fold through natural increase and continual Scottish immigration.¹⁷² From its founding on 10 June 1642 with five ministers and four elders, the Army Presbytery in Ulster had grown by 1660 to include five presbyteries that employed 70 ministers. Also by 1660, the Army

transportation artery is not supported by empirical evidence. See Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* (Cork, 1985), 24-25.

¹⁷¹ Chapter Four shows that growth in the Presbyterian Synod was significant as compared to modest growth in the Church of Ireland. The contrasts in growth caused bishops in the Church of Ireland to wage a paper war against the Synod. Under pressure from Episcopalians, Queen Anne authorised the Test Act of 1703 to discourage membership in dissenting churches.

¹⁷² Patrick Griffin cites Smout, Landsman, and Devine but gives a figure that is 70,000 to 80,000 people higher than theirs. It may be that he mistakenly quoted their larger figure of approximately 100,000 which they cite to account for all of Scots emigration (Poland, Ireland, Scandinavia, and elsewhere). See Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots-Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton, 2001). See also T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Migration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 1994). An estimate of between 40,000 and 50,000 Scots living in Ulster was made during the Cromwellian Interlude (Thomas Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, S. C. Lomas, ed., 3 volumes, 1904, III, 178). The rate

Presbytery, which had been renamed the Presbytery of Ulster in 1646, served 80 congregations with 100,000 communicants.¹⁷³ Even as late as 1714, observed Bishop MacMahon, Calvinist immigrants “from the neighbouring country of Scotland ... are coming over here daily in large groups of families.”¹⁷⁴ Edward Synge, Bishop of Tuam, estimated that between 1690 and 1700 50,000 Scots families settled in Ulster.¹⁷⁵ Apparently to meet the heavy demand for its ministries, the Presbytery of Ulster, which was renamed the Synod of Ulster in 1690, was reorganised in 1702 and nine presbyteries were formed. At that time, there were nearly 120 congregations and more than 100 ministers serving an estimated 250,000 Scots immigrants.¹⁷⁶ The number of Presbyterian congregations at the Restoration in 1660 was doubled by 1715.¹⁷⁷ The most recent of the arrivals had been Covenanters, so “the tone of Ulster Presbyterianism, already prevailingly Puritan, took on the added strictness and rigidity of that persuasion.”¹⁷⁸

These migratory events increased in intensity toward the end of the seventeenth century, and for at least a decade and a half into the next.¹⁷⁹ This conclusion is arguably consistent with the theory of chain migration, which is a “process whereby migrants are part of an established flow from a common origin to a prepared destination

of population increase, of course, would be somewhat reduced if these data are used relative to the estimates for 1715.

¹⁷³ J. N. Ogilvie, *The Presbyterian Churches: Their Place and Power in Modern Christendom* (London, 1896), 87. At least ten more ministers were installed by 1665, for during the early years of the Stewart Restoration seventy-two ministers were deposed for non-conformity and eight conformed to Episcopacy. See James McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church 1613-1840* (Belfast, 1951), 4-52.

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Peadar Livingstone, *The Monaghan Story* (Enniskillen, 1980), 132.

¹⁷⁵ William E. H. Lecky, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, II (London, 1883), 400-1; Arthur L. Perry, *Scotch-Irish in New England* (Boston, 1891), 7.

¹⁷⁶ James B. Woodburn, *The Ulster-Scot* (London, 1914), 172. Griffin, *People with No Name*. However, Griffin, 19, provides a date of 1690 for the establishment of the Ulster Synod and its nine presbyteries. He further provides a figure of 150,000 Ulster-Scots by that date. The figure of 250,000 is based on the additional inputs of 50,000 Scots families (assuming a conservative two persons per family) as presented in Lecky, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 400-01; and Perry, *Scotch-Irish in New England*, 7.

¹⁷⁷ John Dunlop, *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the Conflict in Ireland* (Belfast, 1995), 24.

¹⁷⁸ James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), 132.

¹⁷⁹ John R. Weeks *Population: An Introduction to concepts and Issues*, 8th ed. (Belmont, 2002), 262-63.

where others have previously migrated”.¹⁸⁰ Also, the migration of Scottish Presbyterians to Ulster from 1660 to 1715 occurred during a time in which their Episcopalian counterparts quite possibly would have derived a greater political and economic advantage by settling in Ireland. The Church of Ireland shared the same polity and theological orientation as Scotland’s Episcopalians,¹⁸¹ but their migration was minimal, as was that of the Roman Catholics after the Catholic rising of 1641. It must be stated, however, that from 1660 to 1690, people with Episcopal orientations had little political incentive to leave Scotland.¹⁸² The imposition in Ireland of the discriminatory Test Act of 1703, which placed severe restrictions on dissenting Protestants with respect to employment opportunities and the legality of their church functions such as marriages and funeral ceremonies, took over a decade to dampen the flow of Scots to Ireland.¹⁸³

Those data show an overwhelming rate of growth in the Irish Presbyterian community. The emigration of Lowland Scots from their homeland to the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century, which included the formation of the first permanent Presbyterian denomination,¹⁸⁴ no doubt involved an abundance of interesting reasons beyond an analysis of policy and political decisions, yet the causes of their resettlement lack an adequate investigation. As T. C. Smout, Ned Landsman, and Thomas Devine describe the body of research on the post-James I Plantation movement in Nicholas Canny’s collection of studies on European migration, “The main destinations were now Ulster, possibly England, to some extent America, with a continuing component to the

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 598.

¹⁸¹ Griffin, *People with No Name*, 16.

¹⁸² Walter Alison Phillips, *History of the Church of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Present* (Oxford, 1934).

¹⁸³ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 164-68.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Bell, *The Book of Ulster Surnames* (Belfast, 1988), 1 contends that the Scottish Gaels were essentially assimilated into Irish society through closely related cultures. The Protestant religion and English language of the Lowlanders drove a cultural barrier between the Catholic Irish and the Protestant Scots, creating a discrete community of Ulster-Scots.

Netherlands. Unfortunately little sustained study has been undertaken of any of these movements, except that to America.”¹⁸⁵ The work of W. MacAfee and V. Morgan provides little elucidation on the years after 1660.¹⁸⁶ The policies that created the Plantation movement, along with its initial settlers, on the other hand, have been heavily scrutinised by scholars.¹⁸⁷ Because the Ulster-Scots removal to America began as the Scots migration to Ireland ended, the events of that time period have likewise received intense analysis. The same can be said of the scrutiny given to the exodus of Highland Scots and the Catholic Irish to colonial and nineteenth-century America. Their migration has attracted scholars from both sides of the Atlantic.¹⁸⁸ Some Presbyterian historians, regardless of their nationality, have endeavoured to make martyrs out of the immigrants as well as of those who died during the “killing times” (1680s), and others have portrayed them as “frontiersmen” in the service of God.¹⁸⁹

We know much about the undertakers,¹⁹⁰ including where they held lands in Scotland; moreover, we recognise that during the reign of James I they were motivated

¹⁸⁵ T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, and T. Devine, ‘Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in *Europeans on the Move*, Canny, ed. (Oxford, 1994), 89.

¹⁸⁶ W. MacAfee and V. Morgan, ‘Population in Ulster, 1660-1760’, in *Plantation to Partition: Essays in Ulster History in Honour of J. L. McCracken*, P. Roebuck, ed. (Belfast, 1981).

¹⁸⁷ Philip Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Dublin, 1984); Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration*; J. M. Hill, ‘The origins of the Scottish Plantation in Ulster to 1625: A reinterpretation’, *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), 40-70; C. Brady and Raymond Gillespie, eds., *Natives and New Comers: The Making of Irish Colonial Society 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986); M. Perceval-Maxwell, ‘Ireland and the monarchy in the early Stewart multiple kingdom’, *Historical Journal*, 34 (1991), 279-95; Cyril Falls, *The Birth of Ulster* (London, 1936).

¹⁸⁸ See A. W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement in Darien, 1735-1748* (Athens, 1997); Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and its first American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton, 1985); H. T. Blethen and C. H. Wood (eds.) *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish* (Tuscaloosa, 1997); M. S. Wokeck, ‘Irish Immigration to the Delaware Valley before the American Revolution’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* ser. C (1996), 103-35; M. Cullen, ‘The Irish Diaspora of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration, 1500-1800*, N. Canny, ed. (London, 1994), 113-49; M. Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scotch-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (New York, 1988); Griffin, *People with No Name*. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*.

¹⁸⁹ See E. N. Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage: The Covenanters’ Struggle for Unity in Truth* (Ross-shire, 2000); Rory Fitzpatrick, *God’s Frontiersmen: The Scots-Irish Epic* (London, 1989); B. Kennedy, *The Scotch-Irish in the Hills of Tennessee* (Belfast, 1995).

¹⁹⁰ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration*.

by economic gain.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, we know that those undertakers recruited settlers and ministers, presumably from their estates or nearby areas.¹⁹² It is also generally agreed upon that in the middle and late decades of the seventeenth century, political strife over Cromwell's Commonwealth¹⁹³ as well as the Covenanter problems during the Restoration served to precipitate emigration.¹⁹⁴

For the typical migrant living in the middle of the seventeenth century, less is known. However, limited explanations do exist, and they are often reflections of pull factors or what is known about the qualities that made Ulster settlement appealing. Because land was comparatively cheaper in Ulster, there was a greater chance that a person could become socially mobile there. It logically follows that poorer economic conditions back home caused emigration.¹⁹⁵

In addition to political policies, it has been argued that the weak economic conditions in the south-west of Scotland in the seventeenth century were caused by overpopulation. This specific explanation is widely accepted among historians, including Raymond Gillespie,¹⁹⁶ Ian Whyte,¹⁹⁷ Patrick Griffin,¹⁹⁸ Simon Schama,¹⁹⁹ T. C. Smout, Ned Landsman, and Thomas Devine.²⁰⁰ Theoretically, that explanation fits well into Wilbur Zelinsky's mobility transition construct that is popular among demographers (see Chapter One).²⁰¹ Nonetheless, there is a need to synthesise theories

¹⁹¹ Ibid. Falls, *Birth of Ulster*; Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migrations*.

¹⁹² Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor*.

¹⁹³ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 108; Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*.

¹⁹⁶ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 35.

¹⁹⁷ Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History, c. 1050- c. 1750* (London, 1995), 120.

¹⁹⁸ Griffin, *People with No Name*, 18.

¹⁹⁹ Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: the British Wars 1603-1776* (London, 2000), 36.

²⁰⁰ Smout, Landsman, and Devine, 'Scottish migration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 87-9.

²⁰¹ Zelinsky, Wilbur, 'The Hypothesis of Mobility Transition', *Geographical Review* Vol. 61 (1971), 219-49. A delineation of this theory is provided in Chapter One, and an analysis of its relationship to Scottish migration flows to Ireland, as argued by scholars, is presented in Chapter Three.

about mobility with the distinctiveness of a particular cultural group (such as dissenting Presbyterians) in south-western Scotland and Ulster.

A recently published work entitled *Ulster and Scotland 1600-2000: History, Language and Identity* promises to provide essays by leading scholars on the relationship between Ulster and Scotland.²⁰² With respect to the migration of Puritan-Presbyterians from Scotland and Ulster, however, the collection of essays offers little new insight into the perspectives that shaped the world views of the leaders of that community.²⁰³ The book includes three chapters on seventeenth-century migrations. A chapter by Steve Murdoch offers a Scandinavian perspective on Scots and Ulster in which he challenges the notion that Ulster was the primary choice of immigration for Presbyterians from the Scottish Lowlands. Murdoch argues that Scandinavia and the Baltic offered a more lucrative destination for Scots than Ireland. He further points out that “This could either lead to Scots from Ireland being drawn to the Baltic or vice versa”.²⁰⁴

Unlike Murdoch who focuses on Scots and Ulster-Scots in Scandinavia, John R. Young provides a summary in his chapter of some of the political events that were associated with non-conforming ministerial migrations between Scotland and Ulster. Specifically, he focuses on the Plantation scheme as a policy and migration phenomenon resulting from persecution over the Five Articles of Perth (1620s and 1630s), the conflicts associated with the National Covenant, the Catholic rising in Ireland (1641), the Civil War (1637-1651) and the Restoration.²⁰⁵ Though he clearly sees major political events as a causal factor in the migration of dissenting Scots

²⁰² William Kelly and John R. Young, *Ulster and Scotland 1600-2000: History, Language and Identity* (Dublin, 2004).

²⁰³ This is important because their world view and ethos filtered external events and may have led to decisions to migrate.

²⁰⁴ Steve Murdoch, ‘The Scots and Ulster in the Seventeenth Century: A Scandinavian Perspective’, quoted in Kelly and Young, eds. *Ulster and Scotland*, 87.

divines, his analyses lack an in-depth examination of the role of community, individual perspectives and the function of transportation infrastructure in south-western Scotland and Ulster.

Patrick Fitzgerald also contributes a chapter on the Scottish migrations to Ulster in the late 1690s. His principal concern is with economic conditions that served as push and pull factors in Scottish migration flows. Fitzgerald argues that “the pattern of migration (between Ulster and Scotland) clearly bore a strong correlation with fluctuations in the agricultural economies of Britain and Ireland”.²⁰⁶ Fitzgerald’s chapter helps bring into focus the rural to rural migration pattern formed across the North Channel during the last decade of the seventeenth century, but it fails to explain why Ulster was chosen as a place to settle over other high areas such as those found in and around Glasgow.

The collection of essays in *Ulster and Scotland* reinforces the established explanation that economic and political factors were the primary reasons for the movement of Scots in the seventeenth-century. It provides little insight into how the community of Puritan-Presbyterians formed and functioned in the context of this movement to and from south-western Scotland or between south-western Scotland and Ulster. As Young admits, a national-regional model is needed because national policies impacted the communities and individuals in the south-west.²⁰⁷

None of those works feature any discussions on the social dynamics within the community, its ethos or how its members understood secular events. It is difficult to find any discussion on the trans-Channel nature of the ties that bound Irish Presbyterians to their Scottish counterparts, including those among ministers. As

²⁰⁵ Young, *Ulster and Scotland*, 11-22.

²⁰⁶ Patrick Fitzgerald, ‘Black ‘97’: reconsidering Scottish migration to Ireland in the seventeenth-century and the Scotch-Irish in America, quoted in Kelly and Young, *Ulster and Scotland*, 74.

²⁰⁷ Young, *Ulster and Scotland*, 13.

geographers have generally neglected research on the Plantation of Ulster, there have been few substantive studies on the use of mobility infrastructure during the seventeenth-century in south-western Scotland and Ulster.²⁰⁸ My research seeks to provide an important contribution to building a model that recognises that the community of Puritan-Presbyterians in the south-west of Scotland was linked to a Scots community in Ulster. This seventeenth century expansion of community into an existing culture area has had a lasting impact on the Irish and Scottish landscapes. Nonetheless, the research completed thus far on the Plantation of Ulster lacks an examination of the religious climate in Scotland with respect to its political and economic linkages. Beyond that, research needs to include a delineation of the physical features of the land and seascapes that helped form the centuries-old Irish Sea culture area, for mobility infrastructure was well established and used by the seventh century. These neglected areas of study are discussed in the next two sections. They will provide an important foundation on which to re-construct the Puritan-Presbyterian community that grew out of it.

Other Factors Driving Scottish Mobility in South-western Scotland and Ulster

Despite the widely accepted overpopulation explanation (economic deprivation), social institutions and situations that had the capacity to serve as push and pull factors in creating migration scenarios between south-western Scotland and Ulster are difficult to separate from each other in causal explanations. When viewed in the context of an expression of political freedom, the restriction of religious practices, for example among dissenting Presbyterians in the south-west after the Restoration in

²⁰⁸ Clearly, there was an undetermined number of Scots in Ulster who joined the Church of Ireland, and a number of Scots served as ministers in its pulpits. Still, the growth in Irish Presbyterianism throughout the seventeenth century is striking in contrast to memberships in the Church of Ireland.

1660, arguably provided a political impetus to migrate.²⁰⁹ The same can be said for political decisions that debarred dissenting Protestants in the south-west from full participation in the nation's economic life.²¹⁰ One could reasonably argue that much of the migration from Scotland to Ireland over issues of economics and religion after the ascension of Charles I, including the decades up to the Glorious Revolution, were actually caused by political/religious factors.

There are relevant non-Plantation migration studies of the era that have implications for Plantation research. Rab Houston has studied internal migrations in seventeenth-century Scotland. Specifically, he studied migration mobility in the late seventeenth century by analysing testimonials of people who moved internally from one parish to another. Testimonials were issued by an officer of a Kirk session. Migrants presented those testimonials to the sessions in the parish of their proposed new Scottish homes. They were in effect relocation passports. As Margo Todd points out, testimonials were so important that active trade in counterfeit versions was common.²¹¹ Houston concludes that people were moving within the most populous counties and that employment was a factor.²¹²

What is significant about Houston's work in the context of the Plantation of Ulster is the near absence of testimonial records from south-western Scottish parishes, although nearby Hutton and Corrie parishes yielded records as did Melrose in the east and Wiston and Robertson in the southern periphery of the central belt. The Lothians and the central belt parishes yielded virtually all of the testimonials.²¹³ In light of what

²⁰⁹ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 101-7.

²¹⁰ Dissenting Protestants after the Restoration in 1660 were denied access to economic opportunities in high growth areas such as those found in the Central Belt because of their failure to obtain Kirk-issued testimonials which would have permitted them to relocate to a new parish in Scotland. See Houston, 'Geographical Mobility in Scotland'.

²¹¹ Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, 2002), 12.

²¹² Houston, 'Geographical Mobility in Scotland'.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

is known about the militant Covenanter movement in the south-west during the reigns of Charles II and James VII, the migration pattern as depicted by those testimonials suggests that formalised religious practice outside of the Church of Scotland prevailed in the south-western region, making most of the population that was prone to migrate unable to relocate within Scotland. The pattern could also have meant that there were no members of the established church migrating to, within, or from south-western parishes.²¹⁴ The implication of Houston's study for Plantation scholarship is that the economic activity in the Lothians and central belt was compelling enough to cause intra-regional and inter-regional migration, but that the inability of dissenting Protestants in the south-west to obtain Kirk-issued testimonials may have blocked their settlement in those areas that offered gainful employment.²¹⁵ In that case, it is reasonable to argue that better economic conditions in Ulster presented a more realistic option for those who were hard pressed by poor economic conditions at home.²¹⁶

Huw Jones has cleverly constructed a model that incorporates economic structure or niches into migration decisions.²¹⁷ He argues that scholars with Marxist interpretations of population change have paid little attention to migratory events. His model attempts to delineate the conformity between Scottish migration patterns and the broad sequence of the mobility transition, but framed by changes in modes of production. In other words, the type of industry in a given area requires a correspondingly similar type of worker. This can be seen in a contemporary context. For example Silicon Valley, California, requires large numbers of technically trained workers, so it will attract persons fitting that economic niche. On the other hand, it will

²¹⁴ This situation hints at a distinctive regional religious culture.

²¹⁵ This analysis is the product of deduction employed by this researcher.

²¹⁶ For a variety of reasons, including changes in land tenancy, Whyte offers a similar conclusion on the motive for many migrating Scots. See Whyte, *Migration and Society*, 108.

²¹⁷ Huw Jones, 'Evolution of Scottish Migration Patterns: A Social-Relations-of-Production Approach', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 102 (1986), 151-64.

not attract pastoral farmers. Informed by Jones' model, and by recognizing that the flows were primarily from rural-to-rural places, it is reasonable to argue that Ulster attracted pastoral farmers from the south-west of Scotland because that was an economic niche it offered.²¹⁸ However, such an explanation is reductionistic and excludes other factors that may have influenced their decisions and ability to migrate between South-western Scotland and Ulster. As the next section shows, south-western Scotland and Ulster formed culture area as a result of centuries of cross-Channel interchange. Mobility within it was relatively easy when compared to overland movement of people and commerce.

The Irish Sea

Transportation and sailing capability on the Irish Sea in the seventeenth century is an understudied area of interest that directly affected the direction and intensity of the expansion of community and associated religious diffusion. However, it is a topic of particular concern to some scholars, most notably historical geographers and archaeologists. The geographer H. J. Mackinder, in a manner consistent with the historical scholarship that was common during the twentieth century, described the North Channel of the Irish Sea as the "insulation of Ireland", or more simply as an intervening obstacle.²¹⁹ It was archaeology that gave us empirical evidence to demonstrate that the Irish Sea was not such a divide or intervening obstacle during pre-modern times. Based on the scholarship of archaeologists, O. G. S. Crawford published an article in 1912 that recognised the importance of western sea-routes as a means of distributing gold lunulae of Irish origin.²²⁰ In 1932, Cyril Fox published *The*

²¹⁸ Whyte, *Migration and Society*, 106-13.

²¹⁹ H. J. Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas* (Oxford, 1902), 21.

²²⁰ O. G. S. Crawford, 'The Distribution of Early Bronze Age Settlements in Britain', *Geography Journal*, XL (1912), 184-304.

Personality of Britain in which he identified sea-routes off Western Europe. He further subdivided the routes into three sections that included the waters of the Irish Sea.²²¹ Building upon the work of those scholars and others, E. G. Bowen, a Welsh historical geographer, wrote that “no longer do we consider that in ancient times the sea divides and the land unites, but on the contrary, that the sea unites and the land divides”.²²² In making this observation, Bowen identified ancient sea-routes between Belfast Lough, Iona and the Solway Firth (see Map 1).²²³ Those routes were established during the Mesolithic period (between 8000 and 3000 BC).²²⁴

Clearly transportation improved over the centuries and would have had an impact on migratory events and the creation of a trans-Channel Presbyterian Scots community, but it is rarely mentioned in the Plantation literature. Indeed, as is shown in this section, it is a topic that has received only cursory study by Plantation scholars. Historians have produced most of the research on the events of the early modern period, but their interests and training generally do not include environmental or religious/theological factors as an explanation in, or even as variables affecting, scenarios full of human action. Among historians, there is disagreement about whether or not the North Channel of the Irish Sea was a transportation artery or an intervening obstacle. Despite this shortcoming in the literature and informed by the work of Bowen, it is feasible to piece together statements from primary sources and maritime histories to establish that by the seventeenth century (at least) it was possible to extend an interactive Scots community across the Irish Sea. As Bowen’s scholarship suggests, sea transportation was used by merchants, farmers, and fishers, as well as saints (ministers) who lived in settlements scattered along the sea coasts of Ireland and Great

²²¹ Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain* (Cardiff, 1932).

²²² Bowen, *Saints and Settlements*, 3.

²²³ Ibid. 25.

²²⁴ Bowen, *Western Seaways*, 16.

Britain. This was especially true for those who traded goods with markets in London, Dublin, Glasgow and Edinburgh.²²⁵

The seventeenth-century settlement patterns in south-western Scotland suggest a strong orientation toward the Irish Sea. Moving inland from the Scottish coast, the topography quickly becomes rugged, and the density of human settlements diminishes. Many areas have over 300 metres of local relief, and elevations of over 600 meters are numerous in the southern highlands.²²⁶ The ruggedness of the land has historically pressed the human population against the sea, and travel across land up until the seventeenth century and beyond was impacted by the terrain. It was convenient and less costly for the people of the south-west to use the Irish Sea for transportation. Living near the Irish Sea also enabled the residents to harvest fish, a great source of protein, while minimizing shipping and transportation costs. Lowland Scots especially relied heavily on Atlantic herring, even during times of scarcity.²²⁷

The south-west of Scotland has a restricted number of settlements, mostly coastal burghs that by today's standards are of modest size. They were much smaller in the seventeenth-century. Dumfries, Wigton, Newton-Stewart, Portpatrick, Irvine, and Stranraer, for instance, had fewer than 2,000 people each during the Plantation era.²²⁸ As Whyte points out, "Much of the Lowlands, outside the central belt, were served only by small settlements, barely urban, with populations of a few hundred, and the occasional larger town with perhaps 2,000 inhabitants".²²⁹ Most people supplemented their diets with fish and many of the residents were fisherman who sold their catch to urban markets, including the growing population in and around Glasgow.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Merrick, which is located in south-western Scotland, is 850 metres high. Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways*, 41.

²²⁷ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1998), 144.

²²⁸ Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c. 1500-c.1760* (London, 1997), 116-7.

²²⁹ Ibid.

For the most part, residents of both the open country and the small towns were accustomed to relying on the sea. Coastal burghs were tied together by western sea-routes that were followed by navigators who knew them well. Sea transportation in the seventeenth century, unlike in the Mediterranean basin, relied more on traditional methods of navigation. Navigators on the Irish Sea depended on their memories of coastline features and their sense of direction to follow the routes. Mediterranean seafarers, on the other hand, benefited greatly from the work of Venetian, Genoese, and Catalan draughtsmen who compiled widely used harbour books, which described coastlines, ports of call, and the amount of time required to travel between ports.²³⁰ A harbour book or *Portolano* was written by seamen for seamen.²³¹ The seafarers who plied the waters of the Irish Sea in the sixteenth-century regarded those manuals as ‘sheepes skinnnes’ and held those who used them in contempt.²³²

Navigators on the Irish Sea likely understood that the most favourable time to traverse the North Channel was after the passage of a cold front. The Irish Sea and its coastal areas are subject to frequent low pressure centres or depressions that bring misty, rainy weather. When comparatively cold, northerly air pushes into the basin, “The resulting visibility can be quite outstanding”.²³³ For navigators who relied upon coastal landmarks, clear skies associated with high pressure centres made sailing easier and safer. Night travel, as experienced by Robert Blair the Scottish divine who ministered on both shores of the Irish Sea, was likewise affected by the passage of a

²³⁰ E. G. Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways* (London, 1972), 124.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² William Bourne of Gravesend, c. 1535-1582, ‘Preface’, *A Regiment of the Sea and other Writings on Navigation*. The Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, No. CXXI. E. G. R. Taylor, ed. (Cambridge, 1963). Bowen provides a good analysis of Bourne’s work. See Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways*, 125-6. For an examination of Mediterranean navigation in the sixteenth century, see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York, 1972). Originally published in French in 1966.

²³³ Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways*, 40.

cold front, especially with an emerging bright moon shining against a star-filled night.²³⁴ The coastline is in plain view on those nights.

In recognition of the sea-orientation of the culture area, ministers used metaphors with which their flocks could easily relate to their situations. Samuel Rutherford, who held a charge at Anwoth near the Solway, is noted for the imagery used in his writings.²³⁵ He employed fishing and sea-faring metaphors in his letters and sermons. The way in which he described fishing activities suggests that the practice was a means of making a good living. As he observed, "I think I see them fishing for baronies, and thousands setting their lines and making all their might for a draught of fish, and to make up a fair estate to them, or theirs".²³⁶ Alas, he goes on to note, many come back with empty nets. In a letter to Lady Cardoness, Rutherford wrote:

When Christ hides Himself, wait on Him, and busy yourself till He returns; it is not a time to be careless. It is a good thing to be grieved when He hides His smiles. Yet believe His love in a patient waiting and believing in the dark. You must learn to swim and hold up your head above the water, even when the awareness of His presence is not with you to hold up your chin. I trust in God that He will bring your ship safe to land. I counsel you to study sanctification, and to be dead to this world. Urge kindness on Knockbrenn. Labour to benefit by his company; the man is acquainted with Christ.²³⁷

Rutherford's use of metaphors involving the sea, fishing or swimming to show the futility of works without faith, or to underline the need to have faith in times of trouble, was evidently set within the context of an activity that he felt his flock would understand.

²³⁴ Blair's description of the trip, which included overnight travel, suggests the passage of a cold front. He does not mention whether or not the moon was high. See Robert Blair, *Life of Mr. Robert Blair: Containing his Autobiography, from 1593 to 1636*, T. M'Crie, ed. Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1848), 53.

²³⁵ Gordon Donaldson and Robert S. Morpeth, *Who's Who in Scottish History* (Wales, 1973), 134.

²³⁶ Samuel Rutherford, *Fourteen Communion Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1891), 198.

²³⁷ Samuel Rutherford, *Letter to Lady Cardoness*, number 100, February 20 1637.

Despite the seafaring orientation of the culture area, historians' comments on the North Channel as a facilitator of transportation are not uniform. For instance, Raymond Gillespie holds a different view from that of James G. Leyburn.²³⁸ Immigration to Ulster, according to Gillespie, meant travel across the Irish Sea. Sea travel at the time, he reckons, was often dangerous and uncomfortable. Leyburn, on the other hand, regards the North Channel as much less of an obstacle. The lands of Ulster were, writes Leyburn, "visible across the Channel from the shores of southwestern Scotland. Any Scot who had the inclination might now take the short journey across to Ulster".²³⁹ In contrast, Gillespie argues that Ulster's economic and social contacts lay to the south toward the Pale and not to the west or east toward Scotland and England. Gillespie further notes that the Irish Sea posed many difficulties for both transporting goods and for delivering correspondence. He writes that "The North Channel was frequently rough and crossing it in a small, open boat was uncomfortable as Sir William Brereton discovered when he crossed in 1636 and was violently seasick".²⁴⁰ To make matters worse, he had to swim ashore.²⁴¹ Brereton, Gillespie goes on to write, also complained about the expensive costs of crossing the Channel.²⁴² He paid £1 for his sickening journey. Gillespie also notes that Robert Blair became seasick when he crossed the Channel. Because of the high frequency of rough seas, adds Gillespie, it was necessary for trips to be well planned yet flexible. Crossing the Channel could take up to twelve hours.²⁴³ Twelve hours, however, was well within the travel time of most migrants during the era, for, as Rab Houston found in his study,

²³⁸ James G. Leyburn (1902-1993) served as Dean and as the head of the Sociology Department at Washington and Lee University in Virginia from 1947 to 1972. As a sociologist, he was not tied to disciplinary expertise of a single nation. Instead, his focus was on social and cultural diffusion across large bodies of water and national boundaries.

²³⁹ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 101.

²⁴⁰ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 24-25.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² It is quite possible that Brereton may well have been charged more than local people.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

people relocating in seventeenth-century Scotland rarely ventured beyond one day's travel from their old homes.²⁴⁴

Gillespie's argument is based on comments made by men with little known experience in boats, except of course for Robert Blair. It is doubtful that the typical farming and fishing family living along the coast would have held the same view, as is evidenced by the extensive use of the Portpatrick to Donaghadee sea route.²⁴⁵ At a minimum distance of 21 miles, south-western Scotland and Ulster are close, and for a seafaring folk that distance made for a fairly easy voyage, and one that was not beyond the reach of most local people.

In practice, the travel time was usually much shorter than twelve hours. The 21 miles of sea Channel that separate Portpatrick and Donaghadee, which was a common route as far back as the early days of the Plantation, was manageable in less than half that time. In 1747, the itinerant minister John Wesley made the crossing in rough seas, and it took his boat five hours.²⁴⁶ On a later trip it took Wesley only three hours to make the journey.²⁴⁷ Drawing upon the Montgomery manuscripts, Bardon writes that a journey across the Channel between Donaghadee and Portpatrick was a three-hour trip in fair weather.²⁴⁸ "By 1607 it was not uncommon for Scots, when the weather was favourable, to go on horseback from Stranraer to Portpatrick with wares for sale, cross in a passage boat, hire horses at Donaghadee, ride to Newtownards, sell their produce in the market, reverse the journey and be home the same day".²⁴⁹ Sea traffic between the two places was so common that complaints made their way to the Scottish Privy

²⁴⁴ Rab Houston, 'Geographical Mobility in Scotland, 1652-1811: The Evidence of Testimonials', *Journal of Historical Geography* (1985), 11, 379-94

²⁴⁵ F. G. MacHaffie, *Portpatrick to Donaghadee: the Original Short Route* (Stranraer, 2001).

²⁴⁶ Although Wesley's crossing was some 57 years beyond the time frame of this study, it is doubtful that sailing technology had improved much during the ensuing years.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 12.

²⁴⁸ Jonathon Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast, 1992), 122.

²⁴⁹ MacHaffie, *Portpatrick to Donaghadee*, 8.

Council in 1615 regarding shipments of stolen goods upsetting the Plantation. In response, and in an effort to control shipping and travel between Scotland and Ireland, the Privy Council awarded Hugh Montgomery a charter for a ferry service along the route in 1616.²⁵⁰

Robert Blair wrote that many people came over from Scotland, and that cattle were brought as well.²⁵¹ The earl of Abercorn, a Tyrone settler, brought large shipments of cattle over from Scotland for the express purpose of providing manure for his estate.²⁵² The cattle business in Ulster was robust and shipping was good enough in Bangor and Donaghadee that by 1628, those ports handled a quarter of all Irish beef exports.²⁵³ Cattle from all parts of Ireland, as early as the 1630s, were shipped from those ports because of the “aptness of transportation” offered by them.²⁵⁴

The relative ease with which members of the Puritan-Presbyterian community could cross the North Channel enabled them to make visits to see acquaintances and others to whom they felt special affection or allegiance, including ministers such as John Livingstone. After he was deposed for non-conformity from his charge in Killinchy, he relocated to Stranraer on 5 July 1638.²⁵⁵ On one occasion, 500 members of his former congregation in Killinchy came over to take communion from his hands.²⁵⁶ Also on one occasion, 28 Ulster children were brought over to Stranraer to be baptised by Livingstone.²⁵⁷

Kerby Miller notes that on the eve of the Famine, as many as 60,000 poor people from the remote reaches of north-western Ireland, mainly Connaught, Tyrone,

²⁵⁰ Ibid. 7-8.

²⁵¹ Blair, *Life of Mr. Robert Blair*, 57.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ D. Woodward, quoted in R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 72.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ James McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church 1613-1840* (Belfast, 1951), 10.

²⁵⁶ *Jubilee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1890* (Belfast, 1890), 42.

²⁵⁷ John Livingstone, *Life of John Livingstone: Memorable Characteristics* (Edinburgh, 1845), 104.

and Donegal, made annual trips to find work in England and Scotland. By the end of the Plantation era, Irish fishermen regularly made excursions to the Newfoundland fisheries.²⁵⁸ Merchants dealing in textiles and grains operated on both shores of the North Channel during the Plantation.²⁵⁹ In addition to regular deliveries of mail, livestock, and coal, it was common for ministers and military personnel to traverse the Irish Sea.²⁶⁰ The notion that the Irish Sea was an intervening obstacle, as suggested by Gillespie and argued by Mackinder, seems not to consider the possibility of a shared cross-Channel culture area. Clearly these facts illustrate that Channel crossing was within reach of many Ulster settlers, and it is difficult to concur with the notion that the North Channel was an intervening obstacle. On the contrary, it served as a transportation artery. This conclusion supports Bowen's delineation of western seaways and their use in creating a coastal culture area along the shores of the Irish Sea.

Summary

Because of the complex interplay of religious, political, and economic, as well as environmental elements from which push factors and intervening obstacles could be drawn, explanations concerning the migration of Scots to Ulster need to be set in the ecological context of south-western Scotland and Ulster. For instance, the comparatively low population density in the south-western Lowlands during the period relative to areas such as the Lothians and the Central Belt raises some questions about relying too heavily on the overpopulation thesis. However, when one considers the impact of the inland topography of the Southern Uplands, it becomes clear that the population was socially, culturally and economically oriented to the coast. No doubt

²⁵⁸ Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985), 34.

²⁵⁹ Michael Fry, *the Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001), 10.

²⁶⁰ MacHaffie, *Portpatrick to Donaghadee*, 8-10.

human population was, as the location of regional burghs suggests, highly concentrated near the sea, which makes it logical to argue that the culture area was overpopulated. The work of Bowen has demonstrated that the Irish Sea was a transportation artery which was in use as early as the Mesolithic period. During the Plantation era the western sea routes that traversed the North Channel moved people back and forth between Ireland and Scotland. The flows, however, greatly favoured a westward movement of people and culture into Ireland.

The push forces acting on Scots in Great Britain are difficult to separate from each other. For instance, non-conforming Christians suffered economic problems because of political discrimination. There were restrictions during the 1660s and 1680s on Presbyterian-minded south-westerners who sought settlement in the Glasgow area as well as in the Central Belt region. Unless they lied, a trait not associated with covenanter and Puritan piety, they would not have had Kirk-issued testimonials to present upon arrival in the region. Theoretically and empirically there is support for the contention that overpopulation, along with other social, cultural, and political push and pull factors, played a role in creating the emigration scenario that precipitated the settlement of Scots in Ulster.²⁶¹ Regardless of the push and pull factors or the political policies that compelled Presbyterians to leave their established communities in Scotland, the geographic pattern of intraregional migration is consistent with the “urban sprawl” phenomenon. The Irish Sea, like a modern highway, provided an artery for extending the Puritan-community westward across the North Channel and into and Ulster. Aside from this research, recognition of the role of seaways in a study on the Plantation of Ulster is absent from the literature.

CHAPTER THREE

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITIONS IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND

Introduction

The ecclesiastical conflicts, which at times in the seventeenth century dominated the regional landscape of south-western Scotland, were not the only factors creating unstable living conditions in the region. Economic and demographic circumstances also combined to create certain difficulties for the region and are often centralised in explanations of the migrations from south-western Scotland to Ireland, particularly Ulster, from the early-1600 onward. As a result of social and cultural developments, a better business climate emerged in some places, especially to the north and east in the Glasgow, Central Belt, Edinburgh and border areas (see Map 1).²⁶² Modest growth in employment in those places facilitated demographic transition and geographic mobility. In addition to an apparent rise in population caused by a reduction in deaths relative to births, meanwhile, changes in land tenancy and impediments to relocating, non-conforming Presbyterians after the Stewart Restoration in 1660 then left a surplus of labour in the south-west. These factors reduced the region's carrying capacity, creating the social and economic conditions associated with

²⁶¹ Griffin, *Ireland's Ulster Scots*, 19. While it is impossible to know exactly how many of those Scots were Presbyterians, it can be surmised that most were members of Presbyterian-dominated communities.

²⁶² Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland 1560-1707* (Edinburgh, 1980). The border region benefited from the king's peace which was brought about by the ascension of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England as James I. See Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* (Cork, 1985).

being overcrowded. Unemployment and social dislocation were then added to the list of adverse forces impacting on south-western Scotland.

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, Scotland experienced little sustained population growth.²⁶³ However, evidence does suggest that, as the seventeenth century unfolded, population grew for the country as a whole.²⁶⁴ While it can be stated that the country experienced population growth in the seventeenth century, simply stating that the south-west was overpopulated with some attention to economic hardships fails to describe the precise conditions as they developed in south-western Scotland and Ulster. Interestingly, discussions on how overpopulated conditions developed are absent from most of the research conducted on the Plantation movement, although as indicated, it is a common explanation for causing population flows to Ireland throughout the seventeenth century.

Their explanations are reasonable, but they lack an adequate analysis based on a clear methodological framework. For example, Smout, Devine, and Landsman offer the over-population thesis as the main reason for emigration at the exclusion of social pressures resulting from community and family ties in their highly religious south-western society. Specifically, they point to the comments made by Thomas Pont who, in 1597, described the Ayrshire Barony of Cunningham by writing that “one may wonder how so small a bounds can contain so very many people”.²⁶⁵ Smout and his colleagues provide more analysis by arguing that Ayrshire, Wigtonshire and Galloway were overpopulated by 1600, and that by 1650 the resulting poor economic conditions

²⁶³ Throughout Scotland's history, there were years in which population grew and other periods of time in which it declined. This fact is revealed in the following estimates: Michael Lynch reports a population estimate of between one-half to one-million people for the year 1300. See Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 2001), 54. Scotland's population is estimated to have been one-million in 1700, so the demographic pattern, at least for 400 years, was stable. See T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1998), 240.

²⁶⁴ This point is developed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

²⁶⁵ B. R. S. Megaw, 'The Date of Pont's Survey and its Background', *Scottish Studies*, xiii (1969), 71-3; Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 35.

there had forced between 20,000 and 30,000 Lowland Scots to immigrate to Ireland (see Map 1).²⁶⁶ Raymond Gillespie also refers to Pont's description in support of his rationale for the cause of Scottish migrations to Ulster.²⁶⁷

In addition to the observations made by Pont, Sir William Brereton, a traveller in the region during the seventeenth century, gave a similar description of the apparently overcrowded conditions in the south-west. Brereton noted that the beleaguered economic conditions in that region of Scotland were the main causes for precipitating migration flows across the Irish Sea.²⁶⁸ Gillespie gives credence to Brereton's account by pointing out that the land use patterns in the south-west were centred on pastoral practices.²⁶⁹ As such, there was little demand for labour, and so there was a surplus of population relative to the economic structure in the area.²⁷⁰ His explanation is consistent with the mobility transition theory advanced by Huw Jones.²⁷¹

Sir William Alexander observed in 1624 that "Scotland by reason of her populousnesse being constrained to disburden her selfe (like the painful bees) did every yeere send forth swarmes".²⁷² Although Michael Perceval-Maxwell regards Alexander's comments as biased because he was interested in promoting colonial ventures, he admits that those "swarmes" were an occasional embarrassment to Edinburgh.²⁷³ In the 1620s, a Venetian Ambassador gave such an opinion of Scotland. He wrote that the "Kingdom is populous ... the women being prolific, showing how

²⁶⁶ T. C. Smout, N.C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Migration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Europeans of the Move: Studies in European Migration, 1500-1800*, Nicholas Canny ed. (Oxford, 1994), 78-79, 85, 87-88; As footnoted previously, an estimate of between 40,000 and 50,000 Scots living in Ulster was made during the Cromwellian Interlude. See Thomas Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, S. C. Lomas, ed., 3 volumes, III (1904), 178.

²⁶⁷ Megaw, 'Pont's survey', 71-3; Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 35.

²⁶⁸ Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland and the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland*, E. Hawkins, ed. (London, 1844), 119.

²⁶⁹ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 40.

²⁷⁰ This is because pastoral agriculture requires less human labour than arable agriculture. Ibid.

²⁷¹ Huw Jones, 'Evolution of Scottish Migration Patterns: A Social-Relations-of-Production Approach', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 102 (1986).

much more fruitful are the northern parts”.²⁷⁴ An anonymous author described Scotland in the 1580s as a place where the “Beggars & vagrant poore (exist in) infinite numbers, and the same by reason of their extreame wants and misery (are) very bold and impudent”.²⁷⁵

Taken together, those sources provide compelling evidence to conclude that Scotland’s urban areas and the south-western region were indeed overpopulated. The argument, which offers little elucidation on the conditions that caused an excess of population relative to the carrying capacity, has made its way into recent histories of Britain. For instance, Schama offers a similar explanation. He writes that “By 1620, large numbers of poor farmers had been transplanted from the overpopulated, over-zealous Calvinist south-west of Scotland to a place where they could really get their teeth into a challenge”.²⁷⁶ It is important to point out that most of the English settlers in Ulster were also Calvinists.

Schama does not state that south-western Scotland was home to Puritan-Presbyterians, signifying a dissenting polity structure. It was the home of charismatic ministers such as John Livingstone, Robert Blair, David Dickson and John Knox’s son-in-law John Welch and Samuel Rutherford. The region’s Puritan community viewed all events, whether of a political, economic, or environmental nature, through its ethos.²⁷⁷ Because of their emotional connection to the glens and moorlands of the region that was reinforced by the belief that Scotland was a covenanted land, John K.

²⁷² Sir William Alexander, ‘An Encouragement to the Colonies’, in D. Laing (ed.), *Royal letters, Charters, and Tracts Relating to the Colonisation of New Scotland... 1621-1638* (Edinburgh, 1867), 38.

²⁷³ Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 27.

²⁷⁴ *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library, 1621-3*, 426.

²⁷⁵ *British Museum Additional Manuscripts* (London, 1856), ff. 33-4.

²⁷⁶ Schama, *The British Wars*, 36.

²⁷⁷ This topic is further examined in Chapters Five through Seven.

Wright would have described the south-west as a “geopious” region.²⁷⁸ A minister’s power to influence people to relocate nonetheless had to have some secular basis, and overpopulation, if it was an issue for him, would have given him fertile material for his sermons and letters.²⁷⁹ An examination of sermons and letters, which is presented later in this chapter, supports Todd’s assessment that famines occurred in Scotland and that they were believed to be the result of sinful behaviour.²⁸⁰ Emigration was not viewed as a means to escape God’s wrath, for Puritan Scots believed that his nature as a sovereign, omnipresent deity made his justice inescapable.²⁸¹ Those who migrated in the name of economic survival were often seen as sinful and in need of repentance, and, because the entire community could experience God’s wrath for their wrong doings, public penance and church attendance were demanded from them to make peace with God.²⁸² Migration as a response to “persecution” was another matter, however, for even baby Jesus was taken into the spiritual wilderness of Egypt to escape the sword of Herod.

With the religious environment in mind, this chapter examines the overpopulation rationale for seventeenth-century Scottish migrations to Ulster. In doing so, it probes four topics related to population and the perceptions of conditions associated with having too many people in an area: the carrying capacity in Scotland’s

²⁷⁸ To appreciate the sentiment that the Puritan-Presbyterians in the region had toward the sacredness of Scottish earth, refer to a letter from James Renwick to Loudoun, September 1683, in E. N. Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage: Covenanters’ Struggle for Unity in Truth* (Ross-shire, 2000), 102-3.

²⁷⁹ Margo Todd has done work in the area of how the Protestant culture of Scotland viewed ecological crises. She argues that famines and plagues that may be related to overpopulation were the consequences of sin. Even the sins of an individual could provoke God’s wrath, which might be directed at an entire community. Repentance and public apologies to the congregation and God were required of sinners who were deemed responsible for the calamity, not emigration. See Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), 250.

²⁸⁰ It must be pointed out that this was a common view in medieval Catholicism as well as in the Old Testament.

²⁸¹ As subsequent chapters show, emigration was seen as an acceptable means to escape the wrath of a magistrate.

²⁸² Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 250. Ian Hazlett explores this theology in ‘Playing God’s Card: John Knox and Fasting’, in Roger Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformations* (London, 1998), 176-200.

regions with special attention given to the south-west; the evidence demonstrating demographic and economic changes in the region; the immaterial aspects of social and economic development; and whether or not ministers perceived economic conditions in such a way as to encourage others to relocate to the less populated environs of Ulster. In the Puritan community of south-western Scotland and Ulster, there was clearly a negative reaction to being destitute as a result of a famine or for any other reason. Nonetheless, as this chapter shows, the overpopulation scenario as a push factor in the migration of south-western Scots to Ulster has merit. The reasons for the conditions that caused their plight are complicated, and they could be interpreted as being the result of political persecution or the result of God punishing a sinful magistrate or Kirk.

Carrying Capacity in South-western of Scotland

Scotland in 1600 was an impoverished yet varied land that had been subjected to intense resource exploitation.²⁸³ The shallow soils of the Highlands in the north gave way to the fertile, arable lands of the Central Belt and eastern Lowlands.²⁸⁴ Socially, the feudal system that was introduced by the Normans had dominated the Lowland landscape for several centuries while the resilient clan system of the Gaels prevailed in the Highlands. However, as Whyte points out, the southern and eastern Highlands were not devoid of feudal influences and neither were the Lowlands absent from the social impact of the clan system.²⁸⁵

In terms of land use, the south-western Lowlands were virtually denuded of trees. Whereas the Lothians and border regions have landscapes and climates suitable to deep plough and pastoral farm practices, west of the Borders, the landscape becomes

²⁸³ James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), 1-30.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c. 1500-c.1760* (London, 1997), 94-114.

rocky, reflecting the resilience of the regional features of the lithosphere.²⁸⁶ In this region, and especially to the north or the interior of the Lowlands, high prominences and moorland dominate the landscape. This region, known as the Southern Uplands, is best suited to grazing but not to deep plough cultivation (see Map 1). Upland areas that exceed 700 metres are common in Galloway. Given the fact that the Solway Firth and Irish Sea are but a few miles away from those high prominences, the local relief is dramatic in places. In his travels from Glasgow to Ayrshire early in the Plantation, Sir William Brereton observed that “We passed through a barren and poor country, the most of it yielding neither corn (grain) nor grass; that which yields corn is very poor, much punished with drought”.²⁸⁷ Shakespeare, whose geography of the imagination was based presumably on Scotland’s reputation, likened its landscape to the barrenness of the palm of the hand.²⁸⁸ With the exception of a few settlements, most circa 1600 were located near or on the coast. Ayr, Dumfries, Portpatrick, Castle Douglas, Wigton, Newton Stewart, Glenluce, Stranraer, Girvan, and Irvine were the region’s largest settlements. They were located between the Southern Uplands and the coast.

The rugged upland areas were also not conducive to the overland transport of produce and livestock, or to the importation of needed goods. Taking advantage of western sea-routes, as discussed in the previous chapter, the south-west therefore developed a culture oriented to the Irish Sea.²⁸⁹ In addition to the physical setting of the region that encouraged its western orientation, Scottish regions have traditionally demonstrated a strong element of localism.²⁹⁰ Those facts taken together no doubt caused the region to orient its external economic contacts away from Edinburgh and

²⁸⁶ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 1-30.

²⁸⁷ Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 1634-35 (Manchester, 1844), 118.

²⁸⁸ William Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors*, Act III, scene ii.

²⁸⁹ See E. G. Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements* (Wales, 1969), 22-7.

²⁹⁰ Whyte, *Society and Economy*, 94-114.

toward the west across the Irish Sea. The North Channel provided an effective transportation medium for both products and people. Through receiving a charter, Hugh Montgomery began operating legal ferries between Portpatrick and Donaghadee in Ireland in 1616. The charter was granted in response to a demand for reliable transportation among merchants and travellers taking advantage of the Ulster Plantation.²⁹¹

Aside from the site and situation advantages of coastal settlements, the carrying capacity in the interior of the region must have been as low as for many Highland areas in the north-west.²⁹² Overpopulation, which is relative to environmental and cultural factors, especially with respect to economic structure, could have caused pastoral farm residents to emigrate under adverse conditions. On the other hand, the Plantation of Ulster increased economic activity in the south-west of Scotland, causing a growth and diversification in the culture area's industries. Shipping and other forms of trans-Channel commerce were certainly encouraged by the Plantation. As Whyte writes, "Trade with Ireland, easily overlooked, provided a valuable boost to the west-coast burghs, particularly after the Ulster Plantations in the early seventeenth century".²⁹³ Growth in those forms of commerce absorbed some of the pastoral labour force of the hinterland while increasing the population density of coastal settlements. Perhaps the observations on population made by Pont, Brereton, and Alexander were influenced by this shift in the regional population? Clearly, the Plantation of Ulster and the economic growth in and around Glasgow would have increased the region's carrying capacity, thus reducing the impact of the consequences of overpopulation and the impetus to emigrate. Beyond the environmental factors influencing the carrying capacity of the

²⁹¹ See F. G. MacHaffie, *Portpatrick Donaghadee: The Original Short Route* (Stranraer, 2001), 6-7.

²⁹² This idea is supported by Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 114, although his comparison pertains to border counties which would have had an even higher carrying capacity than the south-western districts.

region, the immaterial aspects of culture, which included economic decisions as well as religious beliefs and expectations for “godly behaviour” among the faithful, also played a role in impacting its capacity to absorb more people. As the next section demonstrates, there were significant changes with respect to economic relationships and population during the seventeenth century.

Challenges to Demographic and Economic Change in the Lowlands

Despite intermittent outbreaks of bubonic plague (1644-1649), smallpox and dearth (1670-1689) and the ravages of famine during the last half of the 1690s, the growth in urban population outpaced that of the rural hinterland.²⁹⁴ Economic indicators, particularly the prices paid for crops and burghal taxes to the national government, suggest that the seventeenth century was a time of perceptible economic growth and diversification of manufacturing in Scottish cities. This was especially true for the areas in and around Glasgow, Aberdeen, the Central Belt and Edinburgh. Still, the Lowland hinterland, especially in the south-west seems to have been besieged by the pressures of having too many people and too little opportunity. Episodes of plague were not the only impediments to the south-west’s economic growth and its ability to feed its people.

One of the primary reasons for the vulnerability of the masses was their reliance on a restricted diet that featured the oat crop. Any failure of the crop on a local scale pushed the peasantry from their normal position of rough plenty into a deep trough of deprivation and possible famine.²⁹⁵ There were years of plenty, however. For example, the first fifty years of the seventeenth century were times of good to acceptable harvests, although there were a few seasons after 1630 in which prices for crops were

²⁹³ Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy*, 141.

higher than normal.²⁹⁶ The production of 1623-24 was bad, however,²⁹⁷ and the effects of shortage were felt most among the poorest areas of the country. From 1660 to 1695, there were mostly bountiful crop yields, so food prices were high during only four harvests.²⁹⁸ Prior to this period, poor harvests had been often followed by starvation among the poorest people, as well as by widespread dislocation of farm families. The army of vagabonds, which had always existed in Scotland, “was enormously swollen during times of bad harvest, and emigration to Ireland and Scandinavia always ran highest in these years.”²⁹⁹ The period of relative plenty in Scotland (1660-1695), for instance, was followed by a three-year period of famine during the closing years of the seventeenth century.³⁰⁰ The Kirk’s policies on relief of the poor undoubtedly reduced the number of deaths from famine during that time, but the Kirk and the state could do little to find meaningful occupational positions for the estimated 200,000 beggars who roamed Scotland in 1698.³⁰¹ Scotland as a whole was therefore besieged by the consequences of overpopulation as the eighteenth century arrived with its estimated population of one million people, a possible one-hundred percent increase since 1600.³⁰²

In order to study Scottish population, including population pressures and migration flows to and from the south-west during the seventeenth century, it is necessary to rely on varying estimates reported by scholars and contemporary

²⁹⁴ Michael Flinn, *Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977).

²⁹⁵ Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, 143.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. 144.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. 143-44.

³⁰¹ Ross, *Chronology*, 70.

³⁰² There are several conflicting population estimates for Scotland prior to 1755. The population figures used in this scenario are taken from Ross, *Chronology*, 70, and Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, 240; See also Scottish Record Office: Dalhousie Muniments.

authorities, which included the work of Alexander Webster who conducted the first reliable estimate of Scotland's population in 1755.³⁰³ As Whyte observes,

The pattern of population distribution in 1755 is probably a reasonably accurate reflection of that of earlier times. The growth of many burghs in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the expansion of Edinburgh and Glasgow in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, would have increased the contrast between population densities in central Scotland and other areas but otherwise the pattern of population densities was probably not much different at least as far back as the late sixteenth century.³⁰⁴

Informed by Whyte's observations on the static nature of Scotland's population distribution, it is possible to use Webster's data in a regional context. In 1600 Scotland had an estimated population of 500,000.³⁰⁵ Most of its people, according to Leyburn, lived on the north-eastern coastal strip and in the Lowlands, roughly two-fifths of the country's land area (approximately 12,162 square miles).³⁰⁶ A population estimate of 1,048,000 was made at the time of Union in 1707.³⁰⁷ While there is no way of knowing precisely how the population was distributed in 1707, the coastal region, and particularly the Forth, Clyde, Tayside (Perth to Dundee) and Aberdeen areas, were probably the more densely populated. Leyburn contends that the largest urban area, Edinburgh, had a population approaching 10,000 inhabitants in 1600, but Michael Lynch and Margo Todd provide a larger figure of 12,000 for 1560, some forty years

³⁰³ Ibid. 240. John Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*. I. (Edinburgh, 1826), 148-9.

³⁰⁴ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 115.

³⁰⁵ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish*, 3. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 113, writes that Scotland's population in 1500 has been estimated at between 500,000 and 700,000. Gordon Donaldson provides an estimate of "perhaps 800,000" for the year 1560. See Gordon Donaldson, *James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 133.

³⁰⁶ Ibid. Alexander Webster did not examine population data with respect to this geographic configuration. A lowland and coastal strip zone set against a Highland region establishes a dichotomy to illustrate the pattern of population settlement in Scotland as well as to reflect the cultural regions of the country. Webster divides Scotland into a Central Belt that includes the counties of Ayr, Dumbarton, Lanark, Renfrew, Clackmannan, Stirling, the Lothians, Fife, and the City of Dundee. The Highland region includes all areas, including the low-lying coastal strip, north the Central Belt. The Lowland region is limited to all areas to the South. See *Scottish Population Statistics: Including Webster's Analysis of Population, 1755*, James Gray Kyd, ed. (Edinburgh, 1975), xviii.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

earlier.³⁰⁸ Assuming that 90 percent of the population lived in the Lowlands, population density there would have been 37 people per square mile.³⁰⁹

Webster concluded that there were 1,265,000 Scots living on the land in 1755. Webster did not, however, use a Highland-lowland dichotomy. He used a three-way division that separated the Lowlands and Highlands with a Central Belt. Webster's use of a trichotomous regional comparison does accurately portray the country's cultural and physiographic regions, but he makes some peculiar assignments of places into those respective regions. For example, he places Perthshire in the Highlands, but the southern part, including population centres such as Auchterarder, the Bridge of Earn, Dunning and Perth are situated in the Lowlands. Moreover, he places the comparatively low-lying coastal strip from Dundee through Montrose to Aberdeen with its high population density in the Highlands. In 1755, the north-eastern coastal strip had a population density of more than 60 people per square mile as compared to 0 to 19 people per square mile in the Highlands, yet Webster saw fit to include the coastal strip in the same category as the Highland villages of Fort William, Inverbroom and Achanalt.³¹⁰ The Central Belt had a population density in excess of 90 people per square mile. On the other hand, the south-western Lowlands, excluding south Ayrshire, had a density of between 20 and 39 people per square mile, the lowest in Scotland with the exception of the north-western Highlands.³¹¹

Webster's study offers a limited, but valuable, spatial perspective on seventeenth and eighteenth-century population in Scotland. It must be kept in mind

³⁰⁸ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 3; Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), 3, & 9-14; Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 10.

³⁰⁹ Figures are calculated from data provided by Michael Lynch, *Scotland: a New History* (London, 1992) 367; John Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 148-49; and Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 3. Ninety percent is based on population data for 1755 $(1,265,000 - 115,000) / 1,265,000 (100/1) = 90$ percent, where Webster's total population (148-49) minus Lynch's Highland population figure (see 367) is the numerator. The Central Belt, which is within the Lowland region of Scotland, would have had a higher population density than the Border counties and the south-west of the country.

³¹⁰ Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, I, 148-49.

that the comparatively low population density in the south-west perhaps reflected a post-Plantation era people whose numbers had already been depleted by emigration. However, high growth areas such as those found in the Lothians and the Central Belt likewise sent away emigrants.³¹² Given that by the end of the seventeenth century, 40 percent of the population in the Lothians lived in urban areas, population density in the south-western Lowlands was comparatively lower.³¹³ In the early years of that century, many of the villages in the Lowlands were small. Only a few settlements had as many as 2,000 inhabitants.³¹⁴ If Scotland was a *Gemeinschaft* society, as suggested by Leyburn, then it is reasonable to assume that towns such as Irvine, Anwoth and Dumfries were small enough for native residents to know nearly everyone who lived in their settlement. Economic and demographic changes in those settlements arguably upset the residents' sense of *Gemeinschaft*.

From these informed sources, it is possible to argue that between 1600 and 1755 Scotland's overall population may have increased by a factor of 2.53.³¹⁵ In Edinburgh the number of residents had climbed from 10,000 to 57,000.³¹⁶ The city had increased its population by a factor of 5.7 or 4.75.³¹⁷ The proportion of the population living in cities (more than 10,000) increased by a factor of 3.31.³¹⁸ Unlike England, Scotland did not have a primate city. In the 1690s Edinburgh's population accounted for only 4.7 percent of the country's population, whereas London accounted for 10 percent of England's population. This is important to note because, given Scotland's rural past,

³¹¹ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, 115.

³¹² As many as 25,000 Scottish soldiers served in Scandinavia and another 30,000 families, presumably from eastern Scotland, lived in Poland. See Whyte, *Migration and Society*, 114.

³¹³ *Ibid.* 116.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ See Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 3 and Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 148-49.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ The figure of 4.75 is based on the changes between the estimates published in Lynch, *Edinburgh and Reformation* and Todd, *Culture of Protestantism* and the 1755 data. Lynch further estimates that the city's population tripled during a less expansive one-hundred year period, between 1560 and 1660. See Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*.

the relatively greater rate of growth in Edinburgh as opposed to the country as a whole suggests that urban growth resulted from population flows from the hinterland and not through natural increase.³¹⁹ The comparatively low population density of the south-western area relative to the south-eastern and Central Belt regions does little to support the contention that overpopulation, as caused by relative changes in the birth and death rates for the population, was the main push factor in the emigration of south-western Scots.

As the seventeenth century progressed, Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as their hinterlands were gaining in economic importance. "While the economy was still essentially rural", writes Gordon Donaldson, "burghs were becoming more conspicuous and the changing pattern of the economy had its effect on the prosperity and relative importance of the burghs".³²⁰ *They provided attractive residential and work options for impoverished rural peasants who were becoming disaffected by the feuing of farm land in the Borders and by the raising of rents in the south-west.*³²¹ The growth in Glasgow, like that of Edinburgh, suggests that its rate of increase in population between 1600 and 1755 was faster than for the country as a whole. Rural to urban shifts were also occurring in other parts of the country. Aberdeen, for instance, grew by 50 percent from 1695 to 1755 while its rural hinterland declined in population.³²² In 1612 Dundee paid 11 percent of the burghal taxes in Scotland, but as a result of economic growth in the Central Belt, especially in the east, its share of the tax burden by 1705 had declined to only 4 percent of the nation's total. Meanwhile, Glasgow's burghal tax share rose

³¹⁸ Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy*, 115.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 117.

³²⁰ Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 391.

³²¹ Feuing refers to a change in land tenancy, which effectively killed the man-rent basis of Scotland's feudal society. Money-rent replaced labour as the means by which non-landowners were allowed to stay on the Lord's estate.

³²² R.E. Tyson, 'The Population of Aberdeenshire 1695-1755: A New Approach', *North Scotland*, VI (1984-85), 113-31.

from 4 percent to 20 percent.³²³ This is important to recognise because the redistribution of burghal tax payments show that internal population flows coincided with regional economic growth, which expanded the carrying capacity of arcas adjacent to the South-west.

As Smout writes about the period from 1690 to 1780, which he calls the prelude to the take-off, the era:

by contrast, inaugurates a more or less inevitable and self-sustaining progression towards a modern economy ... The take off's most obvious feature is fast industrialisation, though it is frequently characterised by a previous, or near-simultaneous, transformation in agriculture. Nevertheless, farming and rural life inevitably decline in importance before the explosive vitality of the urban and industrial sectors, and the force of this rupture may produce social confusion so great that many intelligent observers in all ranks of society will deplore the fact that it ever happened. In the long-run, however, as self-sustained growth becomes the norm, very great benefits accrue from the industrial revolution.³²⁴

The available data and Smout's description of the demographic and economic transitions occurring in the late-seventeenth century all suggest that the country was in indeed in stage two of the demographic transition model. It is in fact quite possible that Scotland was experiencing a "prelude to the take off" earlier than 1690.

From a geographical standpoint, the data on demographic growth and economic shifts suggest that segments of the population were moving from rural to urban places decades before 1690; thus many people were experiencing a stressful shift away from their familiar social settings associated with *Gemeinschaft* to the uncertainties of a new life brought about by the externally generated goals of *Gesellschaft*. It would also appear that, based on regional population patterns and absents the influence of topography and land use capacity, the south-western region was not the most likely area to experience emigration resulting from population pressures. On the other hand, the ruggedness of the south-western Lowlands and the coastal settlement patterns of the

³²³ Ibid. 391.

residents suggest that the ecumene for the population was quite reduced or spatially restricted. Moreover, the feuing of farm land and the requirement of possessing Kirk issued testimonials of good conduct for relocating to another parish, as discussed in Chapter Two, kept south-western non-conformists out of the midst of high growth areas.

As Rab Houston discovered, this would have certainly been the case after 1660.³²⁵ A displaced Presbyterian farmer in the Restoration period would not have been able to relocate to the areas in Scotland that offered opportunities for employment, for the Kirk, which was subjected to an Episcopal polity under Charles II, would have denied him a favourable testimonial. No doubt the movement of people in and around coastal burghs, where trans-Irish Sea commerce and employment opportunities existed, made the small settlements seem overcrowded to visitors such as the Venetian ambassador³²⁶ and Sir William Brereton. Overcrowded conditions would have been more apparent during certain times of the year, for, as Schama points out, market days brought in especially large crowds.³²⁷

Changes in Land Tenancy

Rory Fitzpatrick combines both *population increase and closed economic niches* in the Lowland's dying feudal society as the impetus for emigration among Lowland Scots. No doubt the economic expansion in the coastal burghs on either side of the Irish Sea attracted many of them. The changes started when:

the expectations of the nobles and lairds were raised by the unaccustomed prosperity ... they had seen on the Continent ... To break free and achieve a more luxurious standard

³²⁴ Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, 223.

³²⁵ Houston, 'Geographical Mobility in Scotland'.

³²⁶ *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library, 1621-3*, 426.

³²⁷ Schama, *The British Wars*, 89. It must be pointed out that the Church of England also provided Monday services.

of living they imposed money rents, changing tenancies over to a feuing system, whereby a tenant made an initial payment and thereafter an annual fixed one.³²⁸

As Fitzpatrick assessed the situation, the “Lowlands, an area with the largest population and the one most affected by social changes, now had a large pool of potential emigrants, people desperate for land or work”.³²⁹ The Hamilton estates of the western shires raised rents during the 1640s by as much as tenfold, and the rents in the border region were similarly raised due to increased trade with England after 1603 and the Union of the Crowns. For instance, the rental of Ettrick in the eastern Borders rose from £2763 in 1586 to £22,760 by 1650.³³⁰ As Fitzpatrick’s research demonstrates, geographies of the imagination, in this case perceptions of conditions on the continent, led landowners to raise rents, which in turn dislocated large numbers of people. However, Fitzpatrick’s explanation fails to consider how the Lowland religious culture, with its emphasis on pious, hardworking, self-reliant lifestyles, may have actually accelerated the feuing of lands. That topic is taken up in the next section.

Religion and Economic Change

Ideas and religious beliefs can influence the *interpretation of political*, economic, and/or environmental events. It is possible that *overpopulation, which was* actually a failure of the economic structure to accommodate disaffected rural farmers, facilitated an environment in which the ideas and beliefs of Puritan-Presbyterian Scots, as the heirs of the chosen and wandering Nation of Israel, came alive with ardent *joie*

³²⁸ Rory Fitzpatrick, *God’s Frontiersmen: The Scots-Irish Epic* (London, 1989), 9.

³²⁹ Ibid. Fitzpatrick’s comments about the relative size of the Lowland population fails to recognise distinct areas within the Lowlands such as the Borders, Fife, the Lothians, the Central Belt, the Clyde estuary region, and the south-west. There were marked differences in population in these areas. Those differences are explored in Chapter Four.

³³⁰ Whyte, *Scotland’s Society and Economy*, 33.

de vivre.³³¹ With many Scots already settled in Ireland and their religion widely expressed in Ulster, exile across the narrow Irish Sea was thinkable during times in which environmental, political, or economic conditions at home were unpleasant or potentially life-threatening.³³² While the belief system of the Puritan-Presbyterian community in south-western Scotland made many members ready for migration in the face of oppression, it also contributed to the social infrastructure that supported, if not encouraged, economic growth.³³³ Ironically, the emphasis on productivity and prosperity as signs of eternal election helped to undermine the tenancy system in the region. Not only did the Puritan belief structure encourage hard work among lowly tenants, landowners also sought evidences of God's favour. Collecting money rent in lieu of the man-rent exchange of the feudal system was certainly in unison with the prevailing religious ethos that placed responsibility on the individual for earning God's blessings.³³⁴ Unfortunately for a number of tenants, they were unable to pay their rents and were forced to migrate. Since having money to pay rent was a sign of God's benevolence, not having enough to cover living expenses could raise concern about one's salvation.³³⁵ Being displaced from a tenant's position may also have been seen as evidence of God's displeasure about un-repentant sins.³³⁶ Either way, the displaced farmer bore the burden of conscience and responsibility for finding a way out of poverty.

³³¹ This thought is captured in the *Scots Confession* (1560) and many other extant documents. Refer to Chapter Six for a discussion on the geotheological attributes of the Puritan-Presbyterian community.

³³² Leyburn argues that the Covenanter strife, especially in the wake of their defeat at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, forced many to migrate to Ireland. See Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*. The immaterial aspects of religious culture are explored in subsequent chapters.

³³³ A casual relationship between Calvinism and Capitalism is a highly contested topic. See Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, 88.

³³⁴ The replacement of man-rent with money rent was called feuing. See Whyte, *Society and Economy*, 29-30.

³³⁵ The theological points underlying the mindset of the members of the community are covered systematically in subsequent chapters.

³³⁶ This topic is addressed in the next section.

Nonetheless, a portion of the economy's expansion and its capacity to generate surplus wealth to make speculative investments in the Plantation scheme was arguably the result of the efforts of the Kirk at the parish level to bring about change among the members of its congregations, who apparently inculcated the Protestant ethic, for such was the catalyst for the kind of profit and investment pattern that made it socially permissible to dislocate tenants whose family had lived on the laird's estate for generations. This belief system and its relationship to capitalism are described by Max Weber.³³⁷ In discussing Weber's thesis, sociologist Gordon Marshall notes that idleness, wasting of one's time, and ostentatious living were considered to be extreme vices in Scotland during the seventeenth century. On the other hand, he observed that industry, long-term economic planning, diligence in one's vocation, saving, and reinvesting were highly regarded behaviours. According to Marshall, a social by-product of the Calvinist-based ethic in Scotland was pressure on Calvinist Scots to:

invest in industry and set themselves up as manufacturers, rather than as 'country squires', wasting their time and inheritance in the useless and unprofitable pursuit of easy or 'gentlemanly' life; that tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers should be encouraged in every possible way; that increased productivity was self-evidently a 'good thing', and that where this was at all possible, increased profits should be sought via better management, improved techniques, rationalisation of the productive process, the use of better-quality raw materials, proper training of the labour force ... which in turn would yield even greater sums for further reinvestment and expansion.³³⁸

However, empirical analysis of Weber's thesis is difficult because of the scarcity of data and the effect that other political and economic forces undoubtedly had in expanding Scotland's economy in the wake of the Scottish Reformation. While a direct link between religion and the rise of capitalism in Scotland is difficult to make,

³³⁷ Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1958).

³³⁸ Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits*, 280-1. Such a mindset would clearly undermine the resilience of the feudal social structure. Profits from by feuing provided landowners with evidence of God's blessings.

Marshall found that 106 new manufacturers were established in Scotland between the years 1560 (the time of the Scottish Reformation) and the Act of Union in 1707.³³⁹

In contrast to the assessment made by Marshall, Weber's thesis concerning religion and economic growth is dismissed by Smout.³⁴⁰ As he writes,

Max Weber's classic thesis suggests a close link between the rise of Calvinism and the rise of a capitalist economy in European societies. The Calvinist ethic with its stress upon man's calling and on the virtues of hard work and frugality, in its destruction of medieval taboos against money lending and in its belief that the successful acquisition of wealth is a sign of God's blessing, is said to provide the ideal soil for the rooting of economic individualism. Few countries were more completely Calvinist than Scotland, yet it is hard to see how any support can be found for Weber's thesis from the situation in this country between 1560 and 1690 ... The Reformation cannot be shown in any way to have favoured the rise of economic individualism.³⁴¹

While little can be said in direct opposition to Smout's point concerning "economic individualism", his argument misses the central thesis of Weber's work, which advocates the idea that sustainable economic development is predicated on significant community and social development. Smout does acknowledge the Kirk's role in facilitating improvements in education as a positive contribution to social infrastructure that contributed to the rise of the conditions that encouraged industrialisation.³⁴² Yet Weber's thesis is not on institutional initiatives relative to the establishment of economic individualism; rather, its focus is on beliefs and expectations (spirit) that result in pious behaviour that reveal manifestations of signs of God's election in the life of the individual. This notion is in harmony with the rise of the doctrines of prior and predestinarian decrees and bi-lateral covenants in Scottish religious thought in the seventeenth century.³⁴³ As Marshall rightly points out, Weber further contends that

³³⁹ Ibid. 284-319.

³⁴⁰ Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, 88.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid. 90.

³⁴³ James B. Torrance, 'Strengths and Weaknesses of the Westminster Theology', *the Westminster Confession in the Church Today* (Edinburgh, 1982), 40-55.

since the “truly faithful” in Christ abhorred worldliness and materialism while still believing in the moral virtues of hard work, the income derived from their labours was not spent on mere worldly things. The money saved by not buying nonessential items was, according to Weber, an act of pious asceticism, and the resulting surplus income was invested in solid and productive ventures which, they believed, would reveal God’s blessings through the accrual of profits and long-term financial security.³⁴⁴ This belief was expressed by members of the south-west’s ecclesiastical intelligentsia such as David Dickson who wrote:

That some Professoures in the visible Church, may make defection, and not persever to the ende. 2. That such as make finall Defection here-after, are not a parte of GOD’s House, for the present, howsoever they bee esteemed. 3. That true Believers must take warning, from the possibilitie of some Professoures Apostacie; to looke better to themselves, and to take a grip of CHRIST, who is able to keepe them. 4 That true Believers both may, and should, holde fast their Confidence, unto the ende; yea, and must ayme to doe so, if they persever ... 6. That the more a man aymeth at this solide Confidence, and gloriation of Hope, the more evidence hee giveth, that hee is of the true House of God.³⁴⁵

Dickson taught that it was God’s will that true believers would manifest visible signs of internal election and justification in their lives. Such a belief would, it could be argued, place upon the individual a “psychological imperative” to be productive in his or her calling. Dickson and his colleague James Durham admonished their readers “That the way to be sure both of our effectual calling, and election, is to make sure of our faith in new obedience constantly: *for if ye do these things, (saith he), ye shall never ‘fall’*,

³⁴⁴ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, 1976).

³⁴⁵ David Dickson, *Truth’s Victory over Error* (Edinburgh, 1684), 253. Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits*, 91. Dickson is important in the South-western Scotland and Ulster, for his communion services were attended by Presbyterian ministers and parish friends from Ulster. See John Livingstone, *A Brief Historical Relation of the life of Mr. John Livingstone, Minister of the Gospel, Containing Several Observations of the Divine Goodness Manifested to Him, in the Several Occurrences Thereof*, Thomas Houston, ed. (Edinburgh, 1848), 97.

understanding by these things, what he said of sound faith, and what he had said of the bringing out of the fruites of faith”.³⁴⁶

Dickson and Durham were not alone in writing letters and sermons suggesting a psychological imperative that encouraged social behaviours that could have increased economic productivity or a sense of responsibility for un-repent sin. Robert Rollock, who in 1596 encouraged the absorption into Scottish theology of the Puritan construct of bi-lateral covenants,³⁴⁷ exhorted his readers to be diligent in their labours because, “Alas, it is a shame when a stranger sets his foot in Scotland to see this great disorder, and that shame-lesse begging. Then there is the remedie, labour ... thou glorifies God in thy doing & labouring: but in idleness, thou glorifies not God”.³⁴⁸ Rollock also made it clear that occupations, regardless of their status, were to be pursued diligently and that failure to do so would not be good. He wrote: “if thou be going at the pleugh. Thou glorifies God. Eate thy bread with the sweat of thy browes, otherwise it shall not do thee good”.³⁴⁹

Those attitudes and behaviours, though perhaps not universally shared, provided the foundation for social development amongst ardent Puritan-Presbyterians which created a favourable environment for the institutionalisation of sound business practices and ventures, including raising rents on poor tenants who felt that their sins caused their own plight. Additionally, the literacy programmes of the Kirk, as Smout points out, as well as a general increase in the value of learning encouraged by the Kirk Reformers, all added to the development of social infrastructure.³⁵⁰ In other words, in a logic

³⁴⁶ David Dickson and James Durham, *The Sum of Saving Knowledge* (Edinburgh, 1871), 28.

³⁴⁷ While the bilateral covenant construct originated on the continent with Ulrich Zwingli and Heidelberg Reformed theologians such as Wolfgang Musculus, Rollock was heavily influenced by English Puritanism. See James B. Torrance, *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today* (Edinburgh, 1982), 48. Later chapters explore the concept of bilateral covenants.

³⁴⁸ Robert Rollock, *Lectures Upon the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians* (Edinburgh, 1598), epist. 1, 71 f.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, 81-8.

suggested by Weber, over a period of perhaps several generations these pious attitudes led to ascetic, work-oriented behaviours that produced modest amounts of surplus wealth with which investments in human capital and economic activity could be made. This process arguably gave rise to capitalism, and to the creation of institutions to sustain it.

These changes, however, did not produce immediate, quantifiable data such as that which would be depicted on bank balance sheets, if they existed during the early and middle parts of the seventeenth century. It did, however, produce the social conditions necessary for the creation of modest monetary surpluses for the establishment of a national bank in 1695.³⁵¹ There were also sufficient funds, and surplus products, for making investments in ventures like the Ulster Plantation and the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (1695) and its ill-fated Darien Scheme (1698).³⁵² By 1695, the agricultural economy thus showed signs of diversification. The potato, a new-world import, was being cultivated in Scotland and the western Isles. Also in that same year, leisure activities, such as public concerts, were appearing in Edinburgh.³⁵³ In part because of religious forces influencing more stable social and economic conditions, modest expansions in the carrying capacity occurred and theoretically accelerated population growth to such an extent that surplus populations formed again as economic niches quickly filled while further religiously influenced economic decisions involving land tenancy caused the primary employment niche in the south-west to close.

Religious beliefs and economic change were intertwined in south-western Scotland and Ulster. As Chapter Five shows, most of the relocations of ministers

³⁵¹ David Ross, *Chronology of Scottish History* (New Lanark, 2002), 69.

³⁵² A. W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement in Darien, 1735-1748* (Athens, 1997).

³⁵³ Ross, *Chronology*, 69.

occurred for political reasons. The next section demonstrates that, although Puritan leaders in south-western Scotland and Ulster encouraged hard work and pious behaviour, they arguably had little sympathy for those migrating because of poverty.

Regional Religious Culture and the Interpretation of Overpopulation

The consequences of overpopulation include susceptibility to starvation and death from disease that are caused by malnutrition, but there is scarce evidence that divines used conditions brought on by overpopulation, such as famine, as a reason to encourage others to migrate to Ireland. On the contrary, political repression made palatable silage for those Puritans who saw themselves as chosen heirs to persecuted and beleaguered biblical saints, for as Samuel Rutherford wrote to John Nevay, “Suffering for Christ is the very element, wherein Christ’s love lives, and exercises itself, in casting out flames of fire and sparks of heat”.³⁵⁴ To Puritans, symptoms of overpopulation were the result of idleness and/or Sabbath breaking and were regarded as sinful. The culture of Scottish Protestantism regarded “Sabbath observance as the solution to a multitude of ills, from plague and famine (divine judgement on Sabbath breach), to sexual promiscuity and violence: it was the means to the end of a godly and well-ordered community, and a principal mechanism for establishing the new culture of Protestantism”.³⁵⁵ Regardless of the reason, being poor was a sign of God’s disdain for sinful behaviour.³⁵⁶ Those who migrated because of being victims of overpopulation were certainly not encouraged to do so by religious leaders. On the contrary, to migrate to Ireland for basic survival needs was regarded as evidence of having lived a scandalous life.

³⁵⁴ In this letter, Rutherford is referring to political persecution. See Samuel Rutherford to John Nevay, 16 June 1637, *Rutherford Letters* (London, 1894).

³⁵⁵ Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 34.

³⁵⁶ Poverty was also a judgment on the rich—in the biblical prophetic tradition.

Conditions such as regional famine that were caused by the population exceeding the carrying capacity were, in the minds of Protestants in Scotland, God's way of dispensing just punishment for sins, including those of an individual.³⁵⁷ Rollock, as already mentioned, declared that "it is a shame when a stranger sets his foot in Scotland to see this great disorder, and that shame-lesse begging".³⁵⁸ Rollock thought there was one solution to this problem and that was that idle people needed only to do labour. Robert Blair, who served as a minister in both Ireland and Scotland, wrote that for the most part those who immigrated to Ulster were escaping poverty and scandalous lives.³⁵⁹ The Reverend Andrew Stewart wrote that "From Scotland came many, and from England not a few, yet from all of them generally the scum of both nations, who, from debt, or breaking and fleeing justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God".³⁶⁰ The fact that there were economic, social and political forces acting against residents of the south-west was of no concern to him because a sovereign God would have made it possible for a truly righteous, Sabbath observing man to make a living through employment or provide for a bountiful crop to feed himself and his family.³⁶¹ Durham and Dickson held similar views.³⁶² In light of the negative social sanctions against those who migrated because of poverty resulting from overpopulation, the conditions they experienced must have been exceptionally difficult. As Chapter Five and subsequent chapters show, persecution at the hands of the magistrate, however, was an acceptable spur to migrate.

³⁵⁷ Ibid. 174.

³⁵⁸ Rollock, *Paul to the Thessalonians*, epist. 1, 71 f.

³⁵⁹ Blair, *Life of Blair*, 55.

³⁶⁰ Andrew Stewart, cited in Patrick Adair, *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in the North of Ireland* (Belfast and Edinburgh, 1866), 2.

³⁶¹ Rollock, *of Paul to the Thessalonians*, epist. 1, 71 f.

Summary

According to the regional descriptions of population made by Webster, the most likely areas to experience emigration resulting from high population growth would have been the Central Belt followed by the Dundee to Aberdeen coastal strip. Whereas the carrying capacity of the interior of the south-west was restricted by thin soil and uneven topography, as well as by reliance on agriculture that was changing from a man-rent to money-rent arrangement, the region's coastal settlements, the neighbouring border region, the Central Belt and the east coast were undergoing economic expansion that made employment opportunities more readily available. Population estimates, census data and observations of travellers show that some but by no means all out-migrating rural people relocated to those high-growth areas.

If overpopulation was a factor in the migration scenario in the south-west of Scotland, then, it does not by itself explain why Ireland was more attractive than the Central Belt and the areas in and around Glasgow. Written testimonials from parish officials from the established Church were required for entry into a new Kirk parish, for those who did not possess one were deemed to be subversive. It is likely that this situation deflected Presbyterians emigrating from the south-west away from areas in Scotland experiencing growth.³⁶³ Ireland arguably became an attractive option for many of them, although, as implied, there is little evidence that ministers saw the conditions associated with overpopulation as sufficient reason to encourage their congregations to immigrate to Ulster. On the contrary, to Puritans, idleness and the failure to work diligently at one's calling or vocation were viewed as sinful. As such, economic factors may have prompted many to migrate from south-western Scotland to Ulster, but they may not have felt empowered to acknowledge these economic causes.

³⁶² Dickson and Durham, *Sum of Saving Knowledge*, 28.

As the next chapter shows, the Anglicisation efforts of the monarchy's Plantation initiative relied heavily on religious institutions, so while economic need pushed many across the Irish Sea during the first decades of the seventeenth century, the political policies of the government helped to justify movement between south-western Scotland and Ulster. Such religious and political circumstances arguably favoured a context in which migration across the North Channel did become acceptable to, even promulgated by, the Puritan-Presbyterian intelligentsia. It is to such matters that much of the remainder of this thesis will turn.

³⁶³ See Houston, 'Geographical mobility in Scotland'.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELIGIOUS POLITICS OF THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

Introduction

The Plantation of Ulster was an economic venture with a distinct mission to create cultural change among Gaels through socialisation with loyal British subjects.³⁶⁴ The Church of Ireland with the monarch as its supreme governor was to be the primary institution through which the native Irish were to learn their new roles as responsible, civilised citizens of the realm.³⁶⁵ The Church of Ireland needed resident members as agents of social change, so the recruitment of Protestants from the loyal parts of Great Britain began in 1608.³⁶⁶ However, before the seventeenth century was concluded and from the standpoint of the monarchy, the unexpected synergy and hybridisation of English and Scottish Puritan-Presbyterianism, because of its non-conforming nature, spawned more problems than it originally had with the Gaelic Irish. The issues of inter-group (settler versus native) conflict which were inherent in the Plantation scheme have continued to plague the seed of the Protestant settlers. As the western sea routes carried subsequent generations of Ulster Protestants westward to North America, they spread their culture with them, especially into the South where they were instrumental

³⁶⁴ Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'Civilising Those Rude Partes': Colonisation within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s', in Nicholas Canny ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century: The Origins of Empire* (Oxford, 1998), 124-47. The process of adopting English cultural traits, including loyal dispositions, is sometimes called Anglicisation. See David Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 18.

³⁶⁵ Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration in the Reign of James I* (London, 1973), 254.

in creating the vernacular region known as the Bible Belt.³⁶⁷ It is tempting for modern observers to explain ethnic³⁶⁸ tensions in Ulster away on the bases of a purely religious argument, when in practice economic and political inequalities, demographic change and community survival have played important roles in perpetuating them. As with the Plantation itself, some of those factors were clearly of a political origin.

The king's policy on the pacification of the Scottish Borders facilitated peace with England that led to regional prosperity.³⁶⁹ This produced surplus wealth that was invested in the Plantation of Ulster. Because the border country was among Scotland's most productive farm regions, the new peace encouraged better farm practices as well as increased trade in woollens, linen and cattle with English markets, including those in and around London.³⁷⁰ The pacification of the Borders, which occurred at a simultaneously with the Jacobean Plantation initiative, also brought a reduction of thievery, murder, and mayhem in the Lowlands as well as an undetermined increase in Scottish migration to Ulster.³⁷¹ Ulster provided an outlet for the exploitation of the country's burgeoning population and a place of refuge for those fleeing legal trouble or any perceived religious persecution.

The Presbyterian Scots' migratory flows to Ulster were hence set in motion by the policies and actions of James VI & I, but the resistance of the native Irish to his plan manifested itself in sometimes fierce and persistent political resistance, including

³⁶⁶ David Ross, *Chronology of Scottish History* (New Lanark, 2002), 57.

³⁶⁷ Billy Kennedy, *The Scots Irish in the Hills of Tennessee* (Belfast, 1995); David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford, 1989); Barry Vann, *Rediscovering the South's Celtic Heritage* (Johnson City, 2004).

³⁶⁸ It is worth noting that ethnicity can be defined as the condition of belonging to a religious or cultural group with myths involving shared ancestry or heritage (English, Lowland Scot and Gael). See John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Ethnicity* (Oxford, 1996), 6.

³⁶⁹ T. M. Devine, S.G. E. Lythe, 'The Economy of Scotland under James VI', *Scottish Historical Review*, 1 (1971), 93-5, 105; Gillespie, *Colonial Scotland*, 36.

³⁷⁰ S. G. E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in Its European Setting* (Edinburgh, 1960), 199; Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 104.

³⁷¹ George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets: the Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers* (London, 1971).

that which found a home and outlet in the institution of religion. The ethnic dimensions of the Plantation scheme discouraged social integration with the native population. The policies also encouraged Protestants in Ireland to maintain ecclesiastical, social and economic ties with their counterparts in Scotland and Great Britain.³⁷² Michael Fry contends that the trans-Channel ties between the Presbyterians in Ulster and the Scottish Kirk contributed to the continuance of religious and political strife. He observes that because of those social and institutional contacts “a legacy of bloodshed and bitterness endured to sour relations with the Catholics”,³⁷³ but his argument does not consider how and why those institutions and their ethos came into existence in the first place. In assigning culpability to Irish Presbyterians and the Kirk, Fry, in a sense, blames one of the victims. Those trans-Channel ecclesiastical relationships were, in many respects, set in motion and maintained by the ethnic policies of the Stewart dynasty and the Cromwell Protectorate; yet the confiscation of native Irish lands in Ulster had actually started earlier during the Tudor wars.³⁷⁴ Beyond that distinction, however, Fry’s comments are accurate because Irish and Scottish Presbyterians have maintained trans-Channel connections for centuries.

It is important to stress the notion that limited religious conflict, in the spirit of creating lasting social change among the “rude Irish”, was an intended result of the monarchical Plantation policy. That conflict, though, was to subside under strong social pressure reinforced by persistent political might. What was not foreseen by the Tudors, the Stewarts, and the Lord Protector was the institutionalisation of conflict through the politicisation of religion there. Furthermore, it was the extension of

³⁷² John Stevenson, *Two Centuries of Life in Down 1600-1800* (Belfast & Dublin, 1920), in Fraser G. MacHaffie, *Portpatrick to Donaghadee: The Original Short Route* (Stranraer, 2001), 8.

³⁷³ Michael Fry, *Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001), 12.

³⁷⁴ Given the attitude of James I to the culture of the Gaels and his at times favourable treatment of Catholics, it can be argued that the Roman religion was only one of many aspects of Irish culture that

political and economic discrimination against dissenting Protestants in Ulster that began with the passage of the Test Act in 1703, despite decades of the government paying their ministers a stipend called the *Regium Donum*, which contributed to the immigration of many of its members to North America.³⁷⁵ This result was not envisaged by James VI and I and his successors because they thought the native Gaels of Ireland would become anglicised through social interaction and instruction delivered by loyal Church clergy, and that, as a result, the problems with the “rude Irish” would fade away.³⁷⁶

The Ulster Plantation

Prior to the reign of James I, it was the policy of Tudor monarchs either to crush the rebellious Irish or to force them into adopting English culture.³⁷⁷ Neither Queen Mary’s Plantation in mid-Leinster nor Queen Elizabeth’s more ambitious efforts in Munster achieved their goals. In Ulster by 1603, the effects of the Nine-Years War against Irish chieftains, O’Neill and O’Donnell, left the land ravaged and depopulated. Adding to the misery of this war, which was fought in the name of Elizabeth I, was famine across the bogs, hills, and mountains of the north of Ireland. Ulster’s population was literally reduced by terror and famine. Sir Arthur Chichester summed up the role of his forces when making a strike into Ulster, “We spare none of what quality or sex soever and it hath bred much terror in the people who heard not a drum there or saw a fire of long time”.³⁷⁸ An English settler wrote in 1610 that Ulster

was impacted by the king’s socialisation plan to make the Gaels loyal British subjects. This topic is further explored in the chapter.

³⁷⁵ The 1990 Census of the United States shows that 47% of America’s Scotch-Irish resides in the South along with 33% of the country’s nearly 40 million-strong Irish population, most of which are Protestants.

³⁷⁶ Ohlmeyer, ‘Civilizing Those Rude Partes’, 124-47.

³⁷⁷ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985), 19; Ohlmeyer, ‘Civilizing of Those Rude Partes’, 130-143.

³⁷⁸ Sir Arthur Chichester, in Rory Fitzpatrick, *God’s Frontiersmen: the Scots-Irish Epic* (London, 1989), 9.

“presents her-selfe in a ragged sabled robe, ragged there remayneth nothing but ruynes and desolation, with very little shoue of humanitie”.³⁷⁹ In about 1600, military leaders of the English forces in Ulster estimated that the native Irish could muster an army of 8,592 men.³⁸⁰ By multiplying that figure by four to account for nuclear families, Perceval-Maxwell provides a population estimate of between 25,000 and 40,000 native Irish at the turn of the seventeenth century.³⁸¹ The population density would have ranged from 1.13 to 1.80 people per square kilometre, depending upon which total population figure is used.³⁸² To show the impact of the Tudor campaigns on Ulster’s people, it is necessary to compare population density for all of Ireland. Whyte estimates that Ireland had a population density of 33.89 per square kilometre in 1600, so Ulster’s population was nearly decimated.³⁸³

The ravages of war and famine left a population vacuum in Ulster. The population in the Scottish Lowlands, which was concentrated in the Lothians and the central belt regions and along the coastal areas, was 14.29 people per square kilometre.³⁸⁴ Population density in the farming hinterland of coastal burghs was much greater than for inland areas. For the farming and fishing population pressed against the Irish Sea in the Scottish Lowlands, the openness of lands in Ulster was attractive. That openness was certainly used by James VI and I to lure anglicised settlers into the decimated lands of Ulster. With respect to the later years 1652 to 1672, Whyte points

³⁷⁹ T. Blenerhasset, ‘A Direction for the Plantation of Ulster’, in J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, from A.D. 1641 to 1652...*, i, part I, *Irish Archaeological Society* (Dublin, 1879), 317-18.

³⁸⁰ *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, 1606-8*, 276.

³⁸¹ Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster* (New York, 1973), 17.

³⁸² Population density is based on 22,126.4 square kilometres (8,543 square miles) for the nine counties of Ulster and 25,000 and 40,000 people, respectively.

³⁸³ Ian Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (New York, 2000), 108.

³⁸⁴ Figures are calculated from data provided by Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992) 367; John Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*, 148-49; and Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 3.

out that...”tenant farmers from the south-western Lowlands ... who immigrated to Ulster enjoyed better tenurial conditions than they had at home”.³⁸⁵

Despite better economic conditions by 1610, native Irish guerrilla groups called wood-kerns, to which Blair made reference, resurfaced to harass Protestant settlers. Before the Plantation era they were a thorny problem to rival Gaelic lords. Small bands of them would come out of the woods to pillage the farms of new settlers, before retreating once again to the safety of the trees. Laws were passed to curb their Robin Hood-like activities. A wood-kern could be shot without trial, but it was common for them to be taken alive and paraded through a local village to the place of execution before being summarily hanged. Sir Arthur Chichester eventually permitted the guerrillas to leave Ireland ostensibly to enlist in the forces of Gustavus Adolphus, so they could be used against James’ Spanish opponents.³⁸⁶

James believed he understood the principal reason for the failure of earlier attempts to anglicise Ireland. He reasoned that the Tudors’ efforts to solve the “Irish problem” of rebellion and backwardness failed because there simply were not enough British settlers.³⁸⁷ For centuries, English settlers including Normans had assimilated into the dominant Irish population and became part of the so-called problem. When he ascended the English throne in 1603, James enthusiastically inherited the Tudors’ scheme to anglicise the native Irish.³⁸⁸ The Plantation of Ulster was a project that he attacked with intense personal interest, declaring its objectives “worthy always of a Christian prince to endeavour.”³⁸⁹ The king was already experienced at trying to settle Gaelic areas with anglicised colonists. From 1597 to 1607 he tried unsuccessfully to

³⁸⁵ Whyte, *Migration and Society*, 109.

³⁸⁶ Ibid. *Plantation Papers: Containing a Summary Sketch of the Great Ulster Plantation in the Year 1610* (Belfast, 1889), 30.

³⁸⁷ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 20.

³⁸⁸ Ohlmeyer, ‘Civilizing Those Rude Parties’, 124-47.

³⁸⁹ Quoted in Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (London, 2000), 408.

plant Protestants on the Isle of Lewis and Kintyre.³⁹⁰ The establishment of permanent Scottish settlements in Ulster was the direct result of the experience and perspicacity, though short-sighted, of the king himself.

The resilient work of Sir Arthur Chichester, a dedicated English Puritan and Lord Deputy of Ireland who helped to decimate Ulster's population during the Tudor Wars, was an important aid to James and the enabler of Puritan ministerial recruitment in the Church of Ireland. A number of Scots ministers were brought over to serve in the Church of Ireland, and a large portion of them carried with them a deep and abiding wish to serve God and Christendom under the auspices of an ecclesiastical body that was structured along the lines of Presbyterianism.³⁹¹ These ministers and their English compatriots such as John Ridge and Henry Colwart built the foundation, through instruction, for a laity³⁹² hungry for their own, but unfortunately for the king, dissenting Presbyterian Church.³⁹³

The Jacobean plan envisioned a major role for the monarch's institution of Protestant religion to play, for James I was interested in creating an environment in which an anglicised way of life would be seen as a better alternative to that of the native Irish. He felt that this situation was best accomplished through the homogenising of religion, the introducing of civil order and government amongst a 'godles, lawles, and disordered' people.³⁹⁴ His policy and method were based on his belief in the superiority of British culture. According to his plan, Protestant settlers from England and Scotland would provide the Gaelic-speaking, Irish Catholics with cultural and political role models to envy and emulate, for, as Jane Ohlmeyer points

³⁹⁰ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 228, 252.

³⁹¹ Cyril Falls, *The Birth of Ulster* (London, 1936).

³⁹² The word laity would not have been used in the seventeenth century; however, modern scholars have used it with respect to non-ordained members of the Church. See for example, Marilyn Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (Oxford, 1987).

³⁹³ Blair, *Life of Mr. Robert Blair*.

out, the king and his officials in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London viewed the peripheral regions in the realm with worry; she notes that “Their inhabitants were classified as barbarians, rebels, and subversives intent on destabilizing the peripheries of the British monarchies”.³⁹⁵

In 1609 at the behest of the king, the Privy Council authorised advertisements to solicit applications for Protestant planters who would in turn recruit Protestant settlers. The king’s ability to carry out his scheme of planting Ulster with Protestants was made possible by the seizing of lands vacated by the fleeing Catholic Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. Their lands occupied six counties in Ulster, and with them, James I had sufficient lands to plant large numbers of Protestants from Great Britain. The king had in previous years granted large tracks of lands on the northeast coast of Ireland to the Hamilton and Montgomery families, mainly in Counties Down and Antrim. Those grants of land, along with the six counties escheated by the fleeing earls, gave James the opportunity to plant most of the nine counties in Ulster.³⁹⁶ This was a unique situation for an English monarch bent on socially and culturally transforming the native Irish.

The Stewart policies on Catholicism in Ulster were manifestly similar to those followed with respect to the Scottish Gaels. In contrast to his predecessors, “the essence of Crown policy ... was to seek social reform rather than promote wholesale social dislocation.”³⁹⁷ This policy replaced his initial, failed attempt in 1598 to plant Lowland Scots on the Island of Harris. Under the king’s cousin the Duke of Lennox, the colonists called the Fife Adventurers were under no illusions about their mission.

³⁹⁴ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, First Series, VII, 706.

³⁹⁵ Ohlmeyer, ‘Civilizing Those Rude Partes’, 127.

³⁹⁶ Monaghan, Cavan, and Donegal are Ulster counties, but being the furthest Ulster counties from the fertile source of colonists, they were not heavily settled by Scots or English pioneers.

³⁹⁷ Alan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stewart, 1604-1788* (East Lothian, 1996),

They were to put Lewis residents to the sword, making it clear for further settlement of colonists from the Lowlands. The adventurous settlers and agents of social change attempted to build a small town called Stornoway, but soon became dismayed by the wet climate and the persistent harassment by locals. The Gaels proved to be strong opponents, forcing James to rethink his strategy to anglicise them.³⁹⁸ To him, it seemed more prudent to bring about social and cultural change through education, so James developed a plan to use the established Protestant Church for that purpose. The king ordered Lord Deputy Chichester to bring about Anglicisation through Church instruction and to refrain from requiring oaths of ecclesiastical supremacy or allegiances on the Irish natives.³⁹⁹

Perhaps the king wanted only to exclude biological genocide from his methods because the plan he chose was clearly intended to bring about the death of his realm's Gaelic culture, for he loathed it. James I wrote in *Basilikon Doron*, "(those) that dwelleth in our mainland, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some show of civility; the other, that dwelleth in the isles, and are utterly barbarous, without any sort or show of civility".⁴⁰⁰ James' ideas about the Scottish and Irish Gaels are shown in the manner in which he treated the chiefs from the Isles. In 1608, he asked Lord Ochiltree to help him in a scheme to bring about cultural change among them. The plan called for tricking the chiefs into a snare from which their release was contingent upon their agreeing to certain conditions dictated to them by Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles. Those conditions, spelled out in a document known as the Statutes of Iona, were forced upon the chiefs in 1609.

³⁹⁸ John Macleod, *Dynasty: The Stewarts 1560-1807* (London, 2001), 141.

³⁹⁹ Perceval-Maxwell, *Migration in the Reign of James I*, 254

⁴⁰⁰ James VI, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1598), 71.

The Statutes were renewed in 1616.⁴⁰¹ They impacted the traditional lifestyles of future generations by requiring leading families in Scottish Gaeldom to send their children to the Lowlands for instruction in English. Under the king's actions, the chiefs were responsible for the conduct of every member of their respective clans. Limits were established on the size of their households, the number of war galleys they owned, drinking and feasting, carrying firearms and bards, troublemakers whose heroic orations were liable to incite violence, were to be suppressed.⁴⁰² The king was arguably more concerned more about their loyalty and wild lifestyle than he was with their religion, although a purely secularised education did not exist in the Lowlands at the time.⁴⁰³ James intended to plant Anglicised settlers in Ulster to drive a wedge between the Gaels in Scotland and their friends and relations in Ireland. It so happens that many of these Gaels whom the king regarded as "wolves and wild boars"⁴⁰⁴ were also Roman Catholics and those he chose to serve as an anglicising wedge were mostly Calvinist Protestants still celebrating their Reformation and liberation from the "evils of papacy". Clearly there was antipathy among the Protestants for Roman Catholics, so conflict was inherently built into the Plantation scheme even if other aspects of cultural genocide could be removed from the scenario.

Even so, the *Statutes of Iona* actually encouraged Catholic migration to Ulster. This migration was facilitated by clan ties and the well-established western sea routes. The MacDonalds of Kintyre lost political ground to the Protestant earl of Argyll, Achibald Campbell, who had the support of the king's court. The numerous septs of the MacDonalds were also politically discredited, so they too crossed the North

⁴⁰¹ Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 230-232.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ It is worth noting that James' wife died a Roman Catholic, and his son Charles, an Arminian, married one, a union the king endorsed. Nonetheless, George Mullan insists that James was a Calvinist; see *Scottish Puritanism 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000), 215.

⁴⁰⁴ Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 228-232.

Channel to the seemingly receptive MacDonnell lands in Antrim.⁴⁰⁵ Catholic migration was severely dampened after the 1641 rising was quelled. The rising was facilitated by Charles I, Archbishop William Laud, and Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth. The Lord Deputy had assembled and trained an Irish Catholic army to fight Calvinist supporters of the National Covenant in Scotland. Charles also ordered Randal MacDonnell, the Earl of Antrim, to assemble an army of his Catholic kinsmen to aid in the suppression of the upstart supporters of the National Covenant.⁴⁰⁶ As this example illustrates, pragmatic politics frequently overruled issues of religion, but in the end the Plantation of Ulster was an economic venture, and Roman Catholic Gaels who controlled lands were deprived of their holdings and subjected to humiliating circumstances, including the need to seek menial employment on lands they once owned.⁴⁰⁷ Lands that were allocated to Catholics of good merit were typically in remote upland areas that required intensive timber harvesting before crops could be planted.⁴⁰⁸

Pressed between 1642 and the Restoration in 1660 were the staunchly Puritan years of the Protectorate. Irish Presbyterians suffered little under Cromwell, but his Protectorate made it certain that Ulster was not to be a sanctuary for their Scottish Catholic counterparts. Catholic landownership in Ulster was eradicated, and Catholics were treated with a widespread assault. Cromwell viewed his army's assault on Irish Catholics as the manifestation of divine retribution for the slaughter of English victims slain during the 1641 rising. A statistician of the period, Sir William Petty, calculated that of the estimated 1,448,000 inhabitants of Ireland, some 616,000 died from the acts

⁴⁰⁵ A. McKerrall, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1948). According to Robert Bell, *The book of Ulster Surnames* (Belfast, 1988), 154, MacDonnell is an alternate form of MacDonald in Ireland.

⁴⁰⁶ Nothing really came of the Earl's initial efforts, but one of his kinsmen, the dashing twenty-one-year-old Alasdair McColla MacDonald, went to the aid of the Covenanter-turned Royalist the Marquis of Montrose. MacDonald served the king with as many as 2,000 native Irish fighters. See Macleod, *Dynasty*, 204.

⁴⁰⁷ George Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608-1620* (Belfast, 1877).

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

of war, famine, and plague. Of that number, Petty further estimated that 504,000 were native Irish.⁴⁰⁹ After the restoration, Charles II tried to give relief to the Irish who had been deprived of their lands. He sympathetically called them the “innocent Irish”. The Earl of Antrim, after spending time in the Tower of London for his part in supporting Charles I, was restored. By 1688, however, only four percent of the land in Ulster was owned by the native Irish.⁴¹⁰ In all of Ireland, according to Ford, two-thirds of the land was owned by natives prior to Cromwell’s Protectorate and the reverse was true after the restoration.⁴¹¹

Besides religion, the Plantation initiative intended to replace Gaelic with a standard form of communication. However, the Lowland Scots’ language differed from the king’s preferred dialects spoken in the south of England. The prevailing tongue in the Lowlands was Scots, a dialect that evolved from the Northumbrian variety of English after the Norman Conquest in 1066.⁴¹² It seems that their tongue made little difference to the king, though, because out of the 77 Scots who made application, 59 were granted land, which by 1611, amounted to 81,000 acres. English planters were also granted 81,500 acres. Of the Scots, five of the 59 were nobleman, all of them were Lowlanders, and at least eighteen were lairds from the south-western counties of Scotland.⁴¹³ Most of the great houses of the south-west took part. They included, Sir Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch, Robert McClellan (Laird Bomby, who later became Lord Kirkcudbright), Sir Thomas Boyd, the Cunninghams and Crawfords of

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. 125

⁴¹⁰ Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast, 1992), 143.

⁴¹¹ Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915), 152-153.

⁴¹² Rubenstein, *The Cultural Landscape*, 140.

⁴¹³ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 92.

south Ayrshire, John Murray of Broughton, Dunbar of Mochrum, a Stewart of Garlies, and Sir Patrick M’Kie.⁴¹⁴

Of those that took part as planters, many expressed Presbyterian orientations and certainly most were doctrinal Calvinists.⁴¹⁵ For the time, their beliefs coincided with those of the English Puritans who settled near them. As the Calvinist theologian J. I. Packer writes, theological discourse in Great Britain was an intriguing subject, for “in the seventeenth century it was every gentleman’s hobby”.⁴¹⁶ In other words, there was social pressure on economic and political elites to demonstrate knowledge about God, regardless of their commitment to personal piety. The ease and eloquence with which a person spoke of doctrinal points, especially from a Calvinist perspective, was a mark of an educated person, and, with seventeenth-century Scotland boasting more universities than its larger neighbour to the south, religious discourse was made a common feature of social, economic and political life among the country’s leaders. This was especially true in the south-west where religious discourse with political overtones was intense.

As a result of living on confiscated lands and amongst a people bitter toward the English monarch for its war against them, the antipathy expressed by the Irish toward the Scots Protestants caused Lord Deputy Chichester to write that “they (the Irish) hate the Scottyshe deadly”.⁴¹⁷ The Scots who settled in Ulster had, as a result of the feelings demonstrated by the native Irish, a strong incentive to maintain ties with familiar institutions, family and friends in their old communities back home.⁴¹⁸ The western sea routes connecting South-western Scotland and Ulster made the maintenance of those social and institutional linkages possible.

⁴¹⁴ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, VIII, 267-68; C.A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish, or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, North America*, 2 vols. (London, 1902), 344.

⁴¹⁵ Perceval-Maxwell, *Migration in the Reign of James I*.

⁴¹⁶ J. I. Packer, *Knowing God* (London, 1993), 26.

⁴¹⁷ John Stevenson, *Two Centuries of Life in Down, 1600-1800* (Belfast, 1920) cited in Fraser G. MacHaffie, *Portpatrick to Donaghadee: the Original Short Sea Route* (Stranraer, 2001), 8.

Politics of Religion in Ulster and Reverse Migration to Scotland

The monarchy was thus a critical player in evolution of Protestant Ulster and its culture of religious segregation that featured an in-grouping process reinforcing social and institutional ties with the south-west of Scotland. Until the ascension of Archbishop William Laud and Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth in 1633, Irish bishops and ministers made allowances for diversity in religious practice, so thus polity issues amongst Protestants during the formative years of the Plantation were of minimal importance.⁴¹⁹ Certainly there was antipathy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. With Laud and Wentworth to help him, Charles I stubbornly continued his father's attempts to create ecclesiastical uniformity throughout his realm. Charles insisted on the deposition of Ulster ministers who opposed his model of episcopacy, breaking the short-lived tradition of toleration in Protestant polity. At least seven of the ministers who led the revival in the Six Mile Water Valley, a topic discussed shortly, in eastern Ulster relocated to Scotland to fill pulpits in the south-west (see Map 2). This was after the Presbyterian element within the Kirk launched its successful protests against Laud's liturgy that precipitated the National Covenant in 1638.⁴²⁰ Those ministers included Robert Blair, John Livingstone, George Dunbar, Henry Colwart, James Hamilton, Robert Cunningham, and John Ridge.⁴²¹ Two more ministers were deposed, but Josias Welsh died in 1634 and Edward Brice died before their depositions could be carried out. Robert Blair accepted a ministry at Ayr in July 1638. Under the

⁴¹⁸ Michael Fry, *Scottish Empire*, 8-9

⁴¹⁹ Robert Blair, *Life of Mr. Robert Blair*, 58-9; John Livingstone, *Life of John Livingstone: Memorable Characteristics* (Edinburgh, 1845), 142; A. F. S. Pearson, *Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Belfast, 1947), 69.

⁴²⁰ W. D. Baillie, *The Six Mile Water Revival of 1625* (Belfast, 1976), 21.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

direction of the General Assembly, he relocated to St. Andrews in October 1639. Also, Blair became an active member of the Scottish General Assembly.⁴²²

Upon arriving in Scotland, the seven leading ministers from Ireland joined the charismatic, staunchly Presbyterian and Puritan divines in the region. David Dickson of Irvine and Samuel Rutherford at Anwoth were not only among the south-west's most charismatic and inspirational spokesmen for their Puritan, anti-prelatic cause, they were also articulate, educated and well-connected members of the Melvillian network.⁴²³ In addition to those returning ministers, many of their loyal followers relocated with them as well. As Livingstone writes in his autobiography, "many of the religious people in the North of Ireland had left it in the year 1637, when the *deposed ministers* were forced out of it".⁴²⁴ Many who did not relocate often made the trip across the North Channel to take communion from their ousted ministers. Still others made the trip to have their babies baptised.⁴²⁵ David Dickson and his congregation welcomed ousted preachers and visiting Ulster laity into their Church at Irvine. According to Robert Blair, on "the 26th of March that year, 1637, the communion was celebrated at Irvine, where Messrs Blair and Livingstone were employed. Many resorted to this communion from Ireland, out of the parishes Bangor and Killinchie; their wives and some of the eldest ... children came over".⁴²⁶ Before their depositions, Blair had served as minister at Bangor, and Livingstone had likewise served at Killinchy. On one occasion Livingstone records that 500 Ulster Presbyterians attended his communion in Scotland, and 28 children were baptised.⁴²⁷

⁴²² John W. Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor* (Belfast, 1996), 22-3.

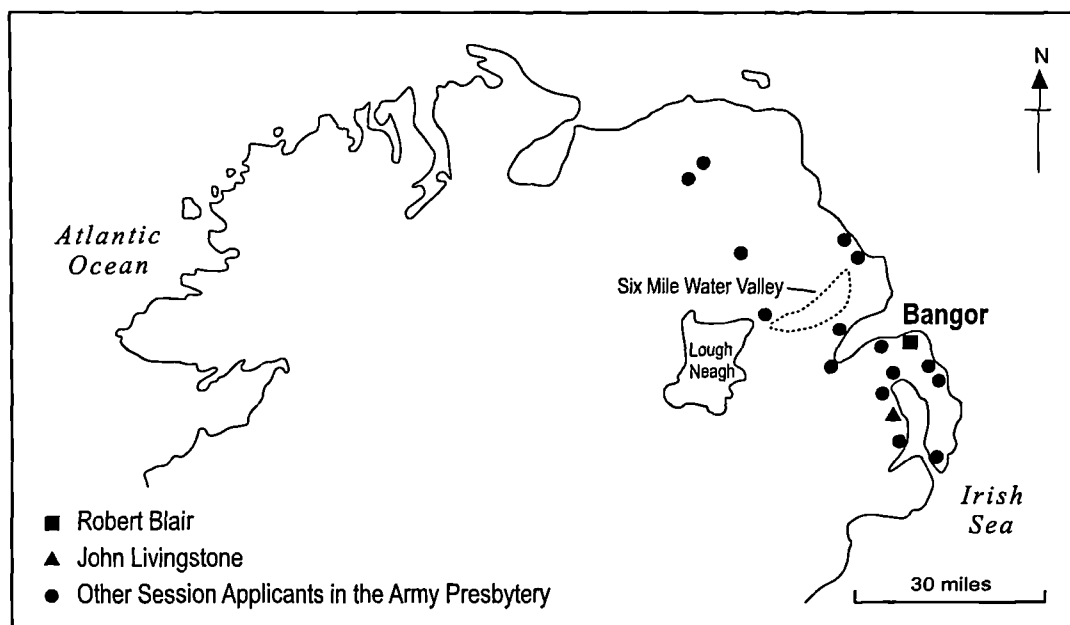
⁴²³ David George Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 13-44.

⁴²⁴ Livingstone, *Mr. John Livingstone*, 108.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ Robert Blair, *the Life of Mr. Robert Blair*, 148.

⁴²⁷ Livingstone, *Mr. John Livingstone*, 104.



Map 2: Seeds of Irish Presbyterianism, showing the key locations where the Scottish Presbyterians settled and were active.

The relocation of the ousted Ulster clergy and members of their respective congregations on the eastern shores of the Irish Sea had an impact on the Scottish religious and political landscapes. “A shipload of Ulster-Scots”, writes G. W. Sprott, “returned to the West of Scotland in 1638 and introduced their Irish novations into their Mother Church. Such was the origin of the party which degraded our worship and in the end, allied itself with Cromwell and secretaries, and ruined the Covenanting Movement”.⁴²⁸ In this instance, Sprott is speaking of the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643). An important distinction to make here is that he was not referring to the militant Covenanter movement in the south-west that surfaced after the Stewart restoration.

In discussing Sprott’s observation, W.D. Baillie points out that the Ulster-Scots brought practices with them to the south-west of Scotland that they had learned in Ireland through co-mingling with English Puritans like John Ridge and Henry Colwart.⁴²⁹ It should also be recalled that Ridge and Colwart relocated to the south-west of Scotland after their depositions. With an emphasis on teaching reading skills and a belief in the “priesthood of the individual”, these clergy and their Scottish colleagues had empowered lay members of the congregations in Ulster to assume leadership roles in informal worship services. Those skills allowed the laity to continue their religious practices during the extended absence of their ministers. Robert Blair’s exhausting teaching duties were not limited to Sunday sermons. In Ireland, Blair taught and ministered to 1,200 adult parishioners and their children. He felt they needed more instruction in the catechism, so he conducted four public services per week and then spent one or two days a week providing instruction to families in the community.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ G. W. Sprott, *the Worship of the Church of Scotland after the Covenanting Period, 1638-61* (Edinburgh, 1893), 8.

⁴²⁹ Baillie, *Six Mile Water Revival*, 21.

⁴³⁰ Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), 75-6.

Regardless of the reason for the absence of a minister, the education provided by Blair and other ministers enabled lay people to hold private meetings and prayer conferences without the immediate oversight of clergy.

Through the Ulster experience, Baillie further writes that “the Ulster-Scots soon began to fall into the form and spirit of Congregationalism, or Brownism as it was called. Brownism was renowned for its opposition to all set forms in public worship, including the use of the Lord’s Prayer; to private devotions in church by the minister; to the singing of the Gloria at the end of the Psalms; and to the use of the Creed at Baptism, and was indifferent to all rules of ceremonial, however simple”.⁴³¹ When ousted Irish ministers like Ridge, Blair, and Colwart, relocated to Scotland they brought those novations with them. Their opposition to the Kirk’s Episcopal polity after the restoration and the government’s lack of tolerance for their dissenting practices encouraged them to meet in conventicles, which were private, outdoor meetings of the kind they had held in Ireland.⁴³² Theologically literate congregations on the shores of south-western Scotland and Ulster no doubt increased expectations of many to participate in polity matters.

Lay member-led meetings held the Ulster Puritans together between the mid-1630s and 10 June 1642, at which time Scottish Army chaplains sent by the Covenanting Party to quell the 1641 Irish Rising helped to establish the first presbytery at Carrickfergus.⁴³³ It consisted of five ministers and four elders.⁴³⁴ By September, fifteen areas in Down and Antrim had applied to the Kirk for Ministers.⁴³⁵ Over the

⁴³¹ Baillie, *Six Mile Water Revival*., 21-2.

⁴³² Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 109, gives an example of how Robert Blair used the outdoors, as an extension of sacred space, in communion services.

⁴³³ Robert Baillie, David Lang, ed., *the Letters and Journals*, 3 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1841), Vol. 1, 249.

⁴³⁴ *Jubilee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1890* (Belfast, 1890) 44.

⁴³⁵ Patrick Adair, *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Belfast, 1866), 96.

next eighteen years, Irish Presbyterianism grew to include 70 ministers serving 80 parishes with an estimated 100,000 settlers.⁴³⁶

Diversity among Ulster Protestants

Many of the clergy and settlers that went to Ulster during the reign of James I, like Edward Brice and John Livingstone, wanted a Presbyterian polity, but there were a number of Scottish settlers and prelates who were not so inclined. Between 1603 and 1625, at least 65 Scottish ministers served in Ireland, and 12 more Scots served as bishops, including seven who were installed in Ulster.⁴³⁷ Bishop Andrew Knox of Raphoe and Bishop Robert Echlin of Down were Scots who advocated episcopacy. These bishops, however, were not averse to recruiting Presbyterians, for they were faced with the restrictive laws of supply and demand. Before Charles I began his policy of deposing Ireland's Presbyterian clergy in 1632, the Church of Ireland in Ulster tolerated a hybrid polity. As Michael Fry notes, "Under this hybrid system presbytery never languished ... With the Antrim Meeting of 1626, it formally constituted itself in Ireland".⁴³⁸ While most of the ministers from Scotland were presumably dedicated Presbyterians, others were less committed. Marilyn Westerkamp argues that Robert Blair's willingness to serve in the Church of Ireland shows his "ability to fit into an Episcopal communion, provided that certain key rituals and beliefs could be retained within individual parishes".⁴³⁹ On the other hand, Mullan counters her points by observing that to be a seventeenth-century Presbyterian minister meant

⁴³⁶ Ford, *Scotch-Irish in America*, 153-53.

⁴³⁷ Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 268.

⁴³⁸ Fry, *Scottish Empire*, 11.

⁴³⁹ Marilyn Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (New York, 1988), 22-3.

harbouring a deep hostility to episcopacy, and Robert Blair certainly was a Presbyterian.⁴⁴⁰

While scholars may never agree on Robert Blair's true thoughts on episcopacy as it manifested itself in Ireland, a system to which he clearly submitted, there can be little doubt that one of his Scottish colleagues in Ulster showed less commitment to any form of polity. In 1625, James Glenndinning, a graduate of St. Andrews University, ignited revivalism in the Six Mile Water Valley in County Antrim, but his support for Presbyterianism was questionable at certain times in his career. For example, he left Ulster in 1630 ostensibly to tour the Seven Churches of Asia, but in 1648 he was back in Scotland where he signed the Solemn League and Covenant. In 1662, he withdrew his objections to episcopacy.⁴⁴¹ Like Glenndinning, most Scots in the south-west of Scotland and in Ulster after 1638 were supporters of the National Covenant, and unlike him, many after the Stewart Restoration were covenanters.⁴⁴²

Charles II, for brief time, treated Presbyterians with disregard. The Irish Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity (1662) to enforce the king's plan to revise episcopacy. The Ulster-Scots, unlike their counterparts in Scotland, had a friend in one of the king's trusted lieutenants in Ireland, Sir Arthur Forbes.⁴⁴³ Before settling in County Longford, their powerful friend, himself a Scot, *had fought with the Marquis of Montrose* on the king's behalf. Through the efforts of Forbes, the king changed his tactics in dealing with the dissenting Presbyterians. Thanks in large measure to the persistence of Forbes in 1672 Charles II initiated an annual payment to Presbyterian ministers called the *Regium Donum*.⁴⁴⁴ King William renewed the practice of the

⁴⁴⁰ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 79.

⁴⁴¹ Baillie, *Six Mile Water Revival*, 9-10.

⁴⁴² Sir William Petty in Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 106-7.

⁴⁴³ Fry, *Scottish Empire*, 13.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

annual payment (a block grant) in 1690 at which time it amounted to £1,200, a handsome sum of money for the time.⁴⁴⁵

The mixing of Scottish and English settlers and their clergy in Ulster during the first few decades of the Plantation created a hybridised Puritan ethos that became, in the minds of many south-western Scots and Ulster folk, inextricably linked to the Presbyterian polity that empowered the congregation relative to ministers and government officials.⁴⁴⁶ Whether that ethos was a factor in decisions to fight or to make flight among the Scots and their counterparts in Ulster depended in large measure on how they were viewed by the governments in England, Scotland and Ireland at any given time.⁴⁴⁷ In spite of everything, the flow of English Puritans eventually shifted away from Ulster to New England during the 1630s and Virginia after 1650, but the impact of congregationalism introduced into Ulster by the dissenting nature of their free-standing, voluntary polity strengthened the session and congregation's position relative to ministers, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies.⁴⁴⁸ This situation set them at odds with the Erastian impulses of the monarchy.

⁴⁴⁵ The annual payment was subsequently suspended two times prior to the close of Scottish migrations to Ulster, once under Queen Anne and the last time in 1714 under George I. See Bardon, *History of Ulster*, 162.

⁴⁴⁶ In numerous discussions the author had with Colin Williamson, the Secretary of the Irish Ministers Fraternal organisation within the Scottish Kirk, this topic was pondered. From his perspective, a parish session in Ulster has much more authority over ecclesiastical affairs than its counterpart in the Kirk. In addition, the Kirk being a national church body and Irish Presbyterianism an independent denomination, the interaction between English Congregationalists and Scots Presbyterians in Ulster during the seventeenth century tended to democratise the Irish Presbyterian polity. These discussions were held in the Strathearn Parish in Perthshire, Scotland, between June 2002 and November 2003. In December 2002, the author accompanied Rev. Williamson on a three day trip to Northern Ireland where his impressions on polity were further explained.

⁴⁴⁷ Scholars such as Raymond Gillespie and T.C. Smout argue that economic issues created by overpopulation caused most of the migrations to Ireland. See Chapter Two for a full discussion on their views.

⁴⁴⁸ For a discussion on the migration of English Puritans to America, as opposed to Ulster, see A. Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Oxford, 2002). The

Polarizing and Dividing the Protestants

The remaining years of the Plantation movement (1690-1715) were times in which politics began to divide even the Protestants. Although this time frame is beyond the scope of this study, some exposition on the religious policies of those years is important because it shows the temporal extension of the institutionalisation of religious conflict in Ireland, as well as the community dynamics that stretched from south-western Scotland across the North Channel through Ulster, promoting migration amongst a select group of Protestants. This same community subsequently facilitated, rationalised and sanctified emigration from Ulster to North America, diffusing political and religious idealism to among other places the back-country of the southern colonies.⁴⁴⁹ America presented them with the opportunity to live in a Puritan *Gemeinschaft*, once some community leaders determined that such an opportunity was extinguished in Ulster.⁴⁵⁰ This century long movement of Ulster people to America was set in motion in 1717-18.⁴⁵¹ The political policies of prior decades, especially those affecting dissenting Protestants, certainly influenced trans-Atlantic population flows among them.⁴⁵²

The three-year reign of James II (1685-1688), the Roman Catholic brother of Charles II who had also converted to Catholicism as he lay dying, was an abysmal time for Ulster Presbyterians. His policies, like those of his father but unlike his brother, caused a temporary dampening of the flow of Scots to Ulster.⁴⁵³ James II had served his brother as viceroy in Scotland during Charles' attempts to deal with the petulant

rise of Brownism is an even more pronounced example of the empowerment of congregations relative to over-arching governing bodies. See Baillie, *Six Mile Water Revival*, 21-2.

⁴⁴⁹ Vann, *Rediscovering the South's Celtic Heritage*. Also, see David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* ((Oxford, 1989).

⁴⁵⁰ This topic is explored in later chapters.

⁴⁵¹ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*.

⁴⁵² Ibid. It must also be recognised that this population flow shows a spatial extension of the western sea routes identified by E.G. Bowen in *Britain and the Western Seaways* (London, 1972). See also his *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in Celtic Lands* (Wales, 1969).

leaders of the Covenanters. He, like his brother, had a low opinion of ardent Presbyterian-minded Scots. As king, he unleashed on the Scots, John Graham of Claverhouse, whose fearsome reputation travelled with eighteenth-century Ulster folk to the American backcountry of southern Appalachia.⁴⁵⁴ In Ulster, James II made Richard Talbot the Earl of Tyrconnel (1685). A dedicated Catholic, James also placed Tyrconnel in command of the Catholic forces in Ireland.⁴⁵⁵ James also purged Protestants from the army and replaced them with Catholics. It was rumoured among Ulster-Scots that Tyrconnel planned to eradicate Protestantism from Ireland in a manner similar to the efforts against Covenanters in Scotland. It was amidst those rumours that hundreds of families left Ireland, presumably back to Scotland.⁴⁵⁶

James' failure to take Londonderry after a 105 day siege and his subsequent loss on the battlefield to his nephew and son-in-law William of Orange at the Boyne in the summer of 1690 set the stage for the emergence of the Ulster Protestants' premier political hero. Unionists still have high regard for William, and that devotion is displayed widely with the colour orange as a symbol of triumph over their Catholic neighbours. It is likewise displayed in the west of Scotland and in certain parts of the southern United States.⁴⁵⁷ It seemed in the wake of the Battle of the Boyne that all

⁴⁵³ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*.

⁴⁵⁴ Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, was relentless in his pursuit of Scottish Covenanters among whom he gained the nick name of "bloody Clavers". In the twentieth century parents in America's southern uplands have continued to warn their children that it is important to "Behave yourself or Clavers will get you". See Charles Knowles Bolton, *Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America* (Boston, 1910), 300. See also Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 129.

⁴⁵⁵ Bardon, *History of Ulster*, 150.

⁴⁵⁶ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 128. With Presbyterian-minded Scots in the path of Claverhouse, it is likely that an undetermined number of the families that left Ulster may well have immigrated to America.

⁴⁵⁷ Orange was adopted as the school colour of the Universities of Tennessee and Texas. The University of Tennessee was founded as Blount College in 1794 by Americans of Ulster Presbyterian descent. The Presbyterian minister Rev. Samuel Doak was the primary force behind the establishment of Blount College. See Billy Kennedy, *The Scots-Irish in the Hills of Tennessee* (Londonderry, 1995). As later generations of Tennesseans moved westward across the southern landscape, they established new colleges and Universities. Texas was heavily settled by Tennesseans. The social and cultural connections between Tennessee and Texas are strong. For instance, the small East Tennessee community served by Blount College was the childhood home of Sam Houston (born 2 March 1793), an American of Ulster Scots descent, who served as a member of Congress from Tennessee (1823-27) and

Protestants composed a unified political force in Ulster, but that illusion was short-lived. Just as the acts of indulgences authorised by Charles II to reinstate repentant Presbyterian ministers in Scotland weakened the solidarity of the Presbyterian community in the south-west, Protestant unity in Ulster seems to have suffered as a result of the suspension of the *Regium Donum* under Queen Anne. The annual payment was finally killed by her successor George I. Leyburn argues that the immigration of Ulster folk to America was partly caused by the suspension of the *Donum*.⁴⁵⁸ It was not the only political push factor impacting migration from Ulster to America. Presbyterian marriages were deemed illegal, and members of the Presbyterian Church lost jobs through the passage and enforcement of the Test Act (1703). “The Presbyterian Synod at first determined to stand by the defendants who resisted the Act, but they were soon dissuaded—and by financial arguments. The *Regium Donum* ... was suspended. Presbyterian businessmen, fearful of a revival of animosities in Ulster if too great an issue were made of the Act, threatened to withhold their contributions to the Church. It seemed wise, therefore, to make the necessary submission and hope for lenient administration of the Act, despite its indignities.”⁴⁵⁹

There is disagreement over the impact of the Test Act on dissenting Protestants. As Bishop King wrote to Jonathon Swift in April 1708, “I do not know any officer that

governor of Tennessee (1827-29). After living for a time in Indian Territory, he went to Texas where he led the Texas army of independence from Mexico. He was the first President of the short-lived Republic of Texas (1836-38; 1841-44). The University of Texas was established during Houston’s political career in Texas. When Texas became a state in 1845, Houston was elected to the United States Senate (1846-59). He later served for two years as governor (1859-1861). Like his East Tennessee counterparts, he resisted secession from the Union in 1861 and was forced out of office. He died on his farm in Huntsville, Texas, in 1863. See Marquis James, *The Raven* (Dunwoody, 1929). See also Donald Day and Harry Herbert Ullom, eds., *The Autobiography of Sam Houston* (Norman, 1947).

⁴⁵⁸ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 167.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 167. Anne, under pressure from her Anglican-dominated court, began a campaign of political repression against Ulster’s dissenting Christians. The Test Act of 1703, which was primarily aimed at the civil workforce, gave strength to the enforcement of the already established illegal status of Presbyterian marriages.

has on account of the Test parted with his command and I do not believe there will.”⁴⁶⁰

In the words of Primate Hugh Boulter, “I have been assured that if the test were taken off there are not twenty persons amongst them qualified for substance to be justices of the peace.”⁴⁶¹ In his sermon in 1943 to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first Irish Presbytery, the Rev. R. L. Marshall remarked that in his home church (First Derry) there is a simple plaque hanging on the wall that recognises twenty-four local Presbyterians who lost their positions of employment in the city’s corporation because of their refusal to “prejudice their consciences by obedience to the iniquitous Test Act of 1703. It is only one that might have been erected.”⁴⁶² There were, however, 24 acts of indemnity between 1719 and 1778 that allowed Presbyterians the opportunity to hold public office and serve in the militia. According to Bardon, the Test Act remained in the statute book, but it was never enforced after the great migrations to America began in 1718. On the other hand, S. J. Connolly adds some perspective on the impact of the Test Act by noting that the indemnities did not give continuous exemption, adding that they did not extend to positions within municipal corporations.⁴⁶³

In 1719, the passage of the Toleration Act gave Irish Presbyterians official recognition.⁴⁶⁴ Presbyterians throughout the rest of the eighteenth century could vote while Catholics were denied that right.⁴⁶⁵ Alas, however, the policies of the government, including trade restrictions against the lucrative Ulster linen industry, combined with rising rents for renewed leaseholders, famine, and disease afflicting

⁴⁶⁰ Bishop William King in Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, 173.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. 174.

⁴⁶² R. L. Marshall, ‘The Commemoration Sermon’, In Tercentenary Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Three Hundred Years of Presbyterianism: Sermon and Addresses* (Belfast, 1943), 7-9.

⁴⁶³ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland* (Oxford, 1992), 166.

⁴⁶⁴ Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, 173.

⁴⁶⁵ David Hayton, ‘Presbyterians and the Confessional State: the Sacramental Test Act as an Issue in Irish Politics’, *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland* (1997), vol. 26, 12.

livestock initiated the migration of Ulster-Scots to America, effectively ending the Plantation movement begun by James I some one hundred years earlier.⁴⁶⁶

While Protestants of English and Scottish descent intermingled and even intermarried, communities in seventeenth century Ulster were often segregated into Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian areas with each respectively consisting of Irish, English, and Scottish residents. As Ian Whyte points out, English and Scottish migration to Ireland was more appealing than moving to other parts of Great Britain because of the opportunity to settle among others from their home communities. There was less culture shock.⁴⁶⁷ However, the harmony between English settlers who adhered to Anglicanism and Scottish Presbyterians was apparently ephemeral. David Hayton points out that by the 1690s Bishops William King of Derry and Tobias Pulein of Dromore, acting on behalf of the established Church, waged a “paper war” against Dissenting divines Joseph Boyse and John McBride over issues of liturgy and the validity of Presbyterian orders. The established Church’s case was carried on by the vindictive writings of the vicar of Belfast, William Tisdall. Beyond those participants, even level-headed high churchmen were alarmed at the gains of the Scots and Irish Presbyterians. Their concern was greatest in Ulster where their Church of Ireland congregations were sparse and their resources stretched thin.⁴⁶⁸ Today those Protestant areas, not to mention Roman Catholic communities, have distinctive identities and speech ways that reveal which colonial group was dominant.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*.

⁴⁶⁷ Ian Whyte, *Migration and Society*, 105.

⁴⁶⁸ Hayton, ‘Presbyterians and the Confessional State’, 16.

Summary

Those resilient spatial patterns with ethnic overtones are products of the Plantation of Ulster, and that initiative was a policy of the Stewart Dynasty and the Cromwellian Protectorate. As a political, social and demographic phenomenon, it took on a life of its own and subsequent governments have played substantive roles in abusing and massaging ethnic relations. This fact does not dismiss the need to evaluate the effectiveness of the Plantation as a policy because it is frequently declared by scholars that the Ulster Plantation was a success.⁴⁷⁰ The Jacobean Plantation was designed to create religious and social confrontation. The schemers, however, did not envision a scenario in which that conflict would become institutionalised.

With respect to the formation of a trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community, the ethno-religious policies of the government certainly reinforced the strength of social and institutional ties between Irish and Scottish Presbyterian communities. Those ties were also maintained through the well-established western sea routes. As the next chapter demonstrates, social networks of Puritan-Presbyterian divines were stretched across the Irish Sea.

⁴⁶⁹ Michael V. Barry, 'Historical Introduction to the Dialects of Ulster'. *A Concise Ulster Dictionary*, C. I. Macafee, ed. (Oxford, 1996), ix-xii.

⁴⁷⁰ Whyte, *Migration and Society*, 111; Bardon, *History of Ulster*, 122-23.

CHAPTER FIVE

SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE TRANS-IRISH SEA
PRESBYTERIAN COMMUNITYIntroduction

The Plantation produced trans-Channel social groups that facilitated subsequent migration among Presbyterians from the Scottish Lowlands.⁴⁷¹ It was the first time the geotheological elements of a Protestant religion became an important factor in defining the identity and the character of an Ulster-Scots community and its ecclesiastical ethos.⁴⁷² The ethos of this community was shaped by a shift amongst seventeenth century Scottish divines away from the sixteenth-century notion of the covenant of grace, effectively a unilateral, if conditional, promise of salvation which lay at the heart of the moderate Calvinism of the *Scottish Confession of Faith* of 1560, to a more contractual covenant of works that placed greater emphasis on righteous behaviour.⁴⁷³ Although piety, James B. Torrance argues, is a spontaneous response to grace, many Scottish divines and English Puritans stressed the works component of the plan of salvation to such an extent that it made the social meaning of eternal redemption dependent on piety and works, which were in their minds discernible in the visible

⁴⁷¹ For a discussion on migration, see John R. Weeks, *Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues* (Belmont, 2002), 262-63.

⁴⁷² It is important to note that the religious ethos of this community was not only anti-Erastian, except in regard to receiving the *Regium Donum*, and anti-Episcopalian, it was also anti-Arminian, which was seen as a Catholicizing theology of salvation. See Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism C. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1990); James Walker, *Theology and Theologians of Scotland, 1560-1750*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1982).

⁴⁷³ James B. Torrance provides valuable information on this ethos. See lecture notes on 'Covenant or Contract: A study on the Theological Background of Worship in Seventeenth Century Scotland', delivered at New College, University of Edinburgh (c. 1969), Archives of the Parish of Strathearn Aberdalgie, Scotland.

church.⁴⁷⁴ This meant that piety and good works would be implemented in the spaces of networks of religious life and would not be limited to the confines of a church structure. Piety and commitment to vocational calling among Calvinists, according to Max Weber, contributed to the rise of western capitalism.⁴⁷⁵ The parallels between English and Scottish Puritanism in the seventeenth century are striking and are not the result of coincidence.

Through social contacts and his own imagined community of divines, Robert Rollock (c. 1555-1599) served as an important link between Scottish theologians and other divines in England and on the continent. Rollock was mentored by James Melville (1556-1614) and his uncle Andrew Melville.⁴⁷⁶ Rollock was also instructed by Thomas Buchanan, the nephew of George Buchanan (the tutor of James VI), who was instructed at St. Andrews by John Major (1470-1550), an early promoter of Anglo-Scottish friendship, popular sovereignty, more democratisation between of church and state and an advocate of church reform.⁴⁷⁷ Robert Rollock was doctrinally important in the imagined community of English and Scottish divines because it was through his efforts that the concept of the covenant of works, as part of the federal theology of the English Puritans, was introduced into Scotland in 1596, a move which neither Calvin nor Knox would have supported.⁴⁷⁸ J. B. Torrance observes that this innovation “soon became the absolute criterion of orthodoxy and was equated with Calvinism”.⁴⁷⁹ This doctrinal shift diminished the role of grace and God’s role through Christ in bringing salvation to humanity. In the place of grace, Rollock and his colleagues, both English

⁴⁷⁴ In this instance, the “invisible church” consists of those called by God. On the other hand, the visible church includes the physical presence of the elect (those chosen by God) and reprobates (those not chosen).

⁴⁷⁵ Max Weber, *Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1958). See Chapter Three for a more thorough discussion of this topic.

⁴⁷⁶ Unless otherwise noted, social connections are put together from Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 13-44.

⁴⁷⁷ John Major, in *Disputationes de Potestate Papae ET Concilii* (1519), argues that political power emerges from the people and is not vested in kings.

⁴⁷⁸ James B. Torrance, *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today* (Edinburgh, 1982), 40-53.

and Scottish, inserted works as evidences of internal election, which in effect made salvation conditional upon the works of the individual.⁴⁸⁰ Legalism (or moralism) stressed Christian responsibility to such an extent that obedience became a 'requirement', a 'demand', and a constitutive element of justifying faith. Such legalism undermined Christian assurance and joy, leading to an unevangelical self-centred piety that was markedly introspective and generated anxiety about one's 'qualifying' righteousness. The diffusion of this interpretation of the relationship between God and humans among Scottish ministers was a significant change in the ethos of the Presbyterian community. With its emphasis on appropriate behaviours/sanctification as evidence of the assurance of salvation, the notion of a bi-lateral contract between the individual and God had social and political ramifications. For instance, the ethos culminated in the Calvinistic orthodoxy of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1643-48) that was adopted by the Scottish Kirk, although ministers from the south-west, most notably David Dickson (1585-1662) and Samuel Rutherford, regarded even its Calvinism as too light.⁴⁸¹ In *The Sum of Saving Knowledge*, Dickson and his regional compatriot James Durham described their notion of covenant of works. Their understanding of the plan of redemption (salvation) was rather moralistic and was indeed semi-Pelagian, as it seemed to grant scope to qualifying human merit in salvation.⁴⁸² Seventeenth-century Scottish theology, with its dual emphasis on pious

⁴⁷⁹ This innovation was misidentified with Calvinism. See Torrance, *The Westminster Confession*, 48.

⁴⁸⁰ T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid. Torrance regards both Dickson and Durham as high Calvinists, which suggests that Christ's atoning death applies only to the elect and that the doctrine of irresistible grace reduces the need for evangelism. Under such a situation, the elect are under greater psychological and social pressure to behave piously.

⁴⁸² David Dickson and James Durham, *The Sum of Saving Knowledge* (Edinburgh, 1871). See Thomas F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology from John Knox to John McLeod Campbell* (Edinburgh, 1996), 103. Semi-Pelagianism is a somewhat diluted version of the doctrine of natural salvation espoused by Pelagius (b. c. 354) and opposed by Aurelius Augustus (354-430). Pelagius argued that salvation was attainable through wilfully following God's commands and that grace was not necessary for salvation. For a thorough discussion on Pelagius in the context of the debate over free will and salvation, see R. C. Sproul, *Willing to Believe: The Controversy over Free Will* (Grand Rapids, 1997), 33-45.

behaviour and realised sanctification among the elect, was a rigid theology that made disruptive actions with political repercussions likely.⁴⁸³

The forces behind the change in the ethos are debatable. For instance, John Buchan and A. G. Smith argue that this shift was caused more by the Scottish reformers themselves, including Knox, through their adherence to Old Testament legalism (righteous behaviour) and less through contacts with English Puritans.⁴⁸⁴ Certainly, the characteristically Reformed emphasis on the unity of the Old and New Testaments, with a corresponding diminution of the contrast between Law and Gospel, made the transition to covenantal moralism easier. Consequently, in the process of salvation, the onus shifted from the free grace of God to human compliance. In contrast, the explanation involving interaction with English Puritans is posited by Torrance and Mullan.⁴⁸⁵ Nevertheless, a shift in the ethos did occur, and there is little doubt that Andrew Melville (1545-1622) and his pupil Robert Rollock (c. 1555-1599) nurtured a community of divines that embraced it. Through print media and travel to the Continent as well as England, Scottish ministers formed extensive social networks, admitting into their community of Puritan-Presbyterians both real and imagined members.

The intellectual training of the core of the Scottish Presbyterians seems to have centred in Glasgow, and to a lesser extent Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities. Upon graduating and receiving ordination, the individuals concerned took their Puritan ethos with them to the hinterlands of the south-west and to Ulster where their fiery messages on damnation, a theology of deterrence, were mitigated by reassuring sermons offering guidance on how to receive the cooling waters of redemption.⁴⁸⁶ As

⁴⁸³ For an in depth discussion on the sociological aspects of this religious community, see Chapter Three.

⁴⁸⁴ John Buchan and A. G. Smith, *The Kirk in Scotland, 1560-1929* (Edinburgh, 1930).

⁴⁸⁵ Torrance, *Westminster Confession*, 40-53; Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism 1590-1638*.

⁴⁸⁶ Dickson and Durham, *Sum Saving*.

subsequent sections of this chapter show, the location leaders in the migratory process involving networks were educated at those institutions. Along with their social networks, they took their rigid ethos with them. Under the unevenly applied Erastian and old, moderate Calvinist policies of the monarchy, many members of the community of Puritan-Presbyterians were pushed back and forth across the Irish Sea, reinforcing the trans-Channel nature of the geopious culture area.⁴⁸⁷

Puritan and Presbyterian Community of Imagination

The Scottish Puritans who constructed communities of imagination were highly literate people led by divines who regarded themselves spiritually as also part of the true Catholic Church, the invisible body of Christ. Puritans, whether Scottish or English, were instrumental in shaping the thoughts of each other as well as the members of their respective congregations. The community of imagination construct is appropriate in this situation because members of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia considered themselves to be part of a larger community which included non-interacting English, Irish, colonial American and European Calvinists. Two Scottish ministers left detailed accounts of Church life, including statements supporting *their construction of imagined communities* and others with whom they physically interacted, during the first 35 or so years of Ulster settlement. Both were educated at the University of Glasgow by professors whose mentors were socially and intellectually traceable to Andrew Melville, the chief architect of Scottish Presbyterianism.⁴⁸⁸ The

⁴⁸⁷ This notion is developed further in subsequent chapters. In the present chapter, the social structure of the community leaders is described.

⁴⁸⁸ Remark concerning Melville as the founder of Scottish Presbyterianism is taken from Gordon Donaldson and Robert S. Morpeth, *Who's Who in Scottish History* (Wales, 1996), 93; the concept of a community of imagination was introduced by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

two divines were Robert Blair (1593-1666), already discussed on several occasions, and John Livingstone (1600-1672).⁴⁸⁹

Robert Boyd (1578-1627), a son of James Boyd the Archbishop of Glasgow, was Blair's mentor, and he was instructed by Robert Rollock. Boyd was a friend and colleague of Robert Bruce (c.1559-1631) and was also a blood relative of John Livingstone. His family was related to the Earl of Arran, and his father was the bishop of Glasgow. Boyd studied theology under Robert Rollock⁴⁹⁰ and was made Principal of Glasgow University in 1615 a year after Blair finished his formal studies. Blair then tutored Livingstone. In addition to Livingstone, Blair mentored at least 150 others in philosophy as they pursued studies in theology at the University.⁴⁹¹ In recounting his days with Blair at Glasgow, Livingstone wrote that he "was then under the oversight of the precious Mr. Robert Blair, who, for two years, was my Regent in that college".⁴⁹² Livingstone's sentiments about his former mentor and colleague reflect Mullan's perspective on the function of the close-knit, Puritan-minded, trans-Channel community headed by Scottish ministers:

The fraternity of Scottish divinity embraced a group of men bound by numerous ties of blood, doctrine, and emotion. They were often related to others of the circle, and married from within it; they studied together; they influenced each other's thinking and fashioned themselves after shining lights in their midst; they suffered together; they wrote letters to one another, describing their joys and especially their sorrows, and generally tended to each other's emotional and spiritual needs, not least of all on their death beds. Laymen and women were not excluded from this select group, but the clerical aspect warrants a special view since its members were those who defined the religious community and its terms of membership.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ Though both men wrote autobiographies that provide valuable insights into the events that surrounded them, excellent biographical information on them can be found in Nigel M. Cameron, et al eds. *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (Downers Grove, 1993).

⁴⁹⁰ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 23.

⁴⁹¹ John Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor* (Belfast, 1996), 2.

⁴⁹² John Livingstone, *A Brief Historical Relation of the life of Mr. John Livingstone*, T. Houston, ed. (Edinburgh, 1848), 66.

⁴⁹³ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 13.

As Mullan points out, Melville's intelligentsia had significant emotive influence over its younger members. For example, Robert Blair, while serving in Ulster, wrote this note to Robert Boyd, his mentor and colleague who remained in Scotland: "I perceive more and more what great difference there is between evil grounded fits of civil friendship and that other whilk is in the Lord which cannot be interrupted either by space of time or distance of place."⁴⁹⁴ Ulster's John Livingstone also had great respect for Robert Boyd and his close colleague Robert Bruce. He wrote this assessment of Bruce: "in my opinion never a man spake with greater power since the apostles' days."⁴⁹⁵

Trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian divines held English Puritans in high regard and considered themselves to be their spiritual brothers and sisters. Although there were English ministers serving in both the Church of Ireland and Irish Presbyterian churches, this chapter shows that their geographic residential areas were segregated from each other. It seems likely that the Scots' sentiments toward their English Puritan counterparts were the products of their imagined communities that they developed through the consumption of reading materials. While those people from disparate locations may not have physically met, their ideas certainly diffused into each others' spaces. A number of English ministers with Puritan beliefs who laboured in Ireland were educated at Cambridge University. Like most of its educational counterparts in Scotland, Cambridge University in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a centre of low-church Puritanism and Presbyterianism, and the writings of its professors were

⁴⁹⁴ *Life of Robert Boyd*, Quoted from reprint in Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 13. Part of this quote is used as the title of this work because the study is concerned with a community, full of spatial movements and hence apparent instability, that is nonetheless not-interrupted by "space of time or distance of space".

⁴⁹⁵ W. K. Tweedie, *Select Biographies* (Edinburgh, 1845-7), I, 140. In his autobiography, Livingstone is quite clear on who he felt were his spiritual role models. They included both men and women. Among them were Puritan-Presbyterians such as Robert Bruce, Lady Banton, Lady Culross, Robert Boyd, Robert Blair, Patrick Simpson, Robert Scott, the Countess of Wigton, Lady Lillias Graham, John Dick of Anstruther, John Ker of Prestonpans, James Greg of New-milns, Josias Welsh, Robert Rollock, the

read by a number of Scottish divines. Cambridge was also the principal institution from which many bishops and ministers in the Church of Ireland were drawn. As James Moffatt points out, “It is historically accurate to say that English Puritanism during the reign of Elizabeth was a movement inside the Church of England which sought to re-establish that Church on a Presbyterian basis”.⁴⁹⁶ However, as Ian Hazlett points out, there were Episcopalian Puritans as well.⁴⁹⁷ With many Puritans leading Irish Protestantism before the appointments of Lord Deputy Wentworth and Archbishop Laud in 1632, it is not too difficult to understand why bishops such as Echlin, Leslie, and Knox in the Church of Ireland employed Puritan Scots with Presbyterian convictions.

James I employed the Puritan Arthur Chichester as Lord Deputy of Ireland (see also the previous Chapter). Chichester was tutored by Cambridge professor of divinity Dr. Thomas Cartwright, who was a leading Presbyterian protagonist in England.⁴⁹⁸ Before his Cambridge appointment, Cartwright served as a chaplain in Ireland where he developed many of his opinions on Reformed worship.⁴⁹⁹ At Cambridge, he influenced a number of ministers who later made their careers in Ireland, including in Ulster where English Puritans were modestly represented among the Church of Ireland’s Presbyterian-oriented parish ministers. As John Livingstone wrote about the origins and collegiality that characterised the ministerial leadership of the Antrim Meetings, “Among all these ministers, there was never any jar nor jealousy, nor among the professors, the greater part of them Scots, and a good number of gracious English, all

Countess of Eglintoun and Loudon and William Wallace. See Livingstone, *Life of Mr. Livingstone*, 64-5, 74-5.

⁴⁹⁶ James Moffatt, *The Presbyterian Churches* (London, 1928), 39. See Chapters One and Four for discussions on the differences between Episcopalian and Presbyterian polities with respect to spatial patterns and varying orientations toward Erastianism.

⁴⁹⁷ Ian Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (London, 2003), 105.

⁴⁹⁸ Robert Blair, *Life of Mr. Robert Blair: Containing His Autobiography, from 1593-1636*, T. M’Crie, ed. Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1848), 57-8.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

whose contention was to prefer others to themselves ... I do not think there were any more lively, experienced Christians than were these at the time, yea, and of persons of good outward condition in the world".⁵⁰⁰

Blair and other Scots ministers such as David Dickson were influenced by the literary works of English Puritanism. Through his brother William who served as minister at Dumbarton, Blair came under the influence of the English minister Ezekiel Culverwell, the resolutely Puritan author of *Treatise of Faith*.⁵⁰¹ Culverwell, whose sisters married Cambridge Puritan divines William Whitaker and Laurence Chaderton, had a covenanted relationship with fellow English Puritan Richard Rogers, the author of an important work entitled *Seven Treatise*, which by 1630 had gone through eight editions.⁵⁰² In his book, Rogers stressed the importance of godly fellowship in Christian living. He and Culverwell practised this notion in their personal lives, and they invited others from Wethersfield to join their body of believers that they called a "covenanted society."⁵⁰³ Blair, in reflecting on Thomas Culverwell's writings, wrote "I was thereby much satisfied and confirmed by his uptaking of the nature and notion of faith".⁵⁰⁴ In terms of communities of imagination, David Dickson was quick to acknowledge the work of others, "especiallie from His (God's) Church in England".⁵⁰⁵

Scottish lay social thinkers were also affected by the thoughts of English Puritans. Archibald Johnston of Wariston, who along with Alexander Henderson of Leuchars co-authored the National Covenant of 1638, left a record of his reading list. He was an attorney and somewhat of a social philosopher and was frequently in contact

⁵⁰⁰ John Livingstone, *Life of John Livingstone: Memorable Characteristics*, Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1845), vol. i., 143. However, the two English ministers mentioned by Livingstone were only a quarter of the eight whose English origins can be confirmed among the 188 divines who served in Ireland as Presbyterians. This topic is discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

⁵⁰¹ Ezekiel Culverwell, *Treatise of Faith* (1623).

⁵⁰² Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises* (1603).

⁵⁰³ Richard Rogers, 'The Diary of Richard Rogers', in *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, M. M. Knappen, ed. (Chicago, 1933).

⁵⁰⁴ Blair, *Life of Blair*, 32.

with leaders of the Covenanting Party. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly in England and served as Lord Advocate of the Covenanting administration. During the Protectorate he served under Cromwell as Lord Clerk Register.⁵⁰⁶ His diary identifies a number of works of English piety. Among the English Puritan authors he listed are the martyrs Henry Burton and William Prynne.⁵⁰⁷

The geographic nexus for continental, English, Irish and Scottish Puritanism was not confined to Ulster, Dublin, Edinburgh, or Cambridge. The nexus originated in Geneva, where Andrew Melville met and developed a friendship with Thomas Cartwright.⁵⁰⁸ Gordon Donaldson writes that “Cartwright and Melville were as eager for ‘conformity’ between the realms as their opponents, but conformity on their basis, the Presbyterian-Puritan basis”.⁵⁰⁹ That community, writes James D. Tracy, was deliberately nurtured by earnest divines “who worked hard to build a Christian community among their members, and they clearly had some degree of success”.⁵¹⁰ From a trans-Irish Sea perspective, the tangible social networks of the Scots were the most important components of the community of Puritans who diffused westward their version of the Christian faith. The next section explains the structure of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia.

Social Networks in the Scottish Ecclesiastical Intelligentsia

The inspirational founder of the network of Scottish theologians that transcended both time and space, including the Irish Sea and the English border, was Andrew Melville, a gifted social organisation builder who held tremendous sway in the

⁵⁰⁵ David Dickson, *A Short Explanation of the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews* (Aberdeen, 1635), 3v-4r.

⁵⁰⁶ Donaldson and Morpeth, *Who's Who*, 125-6.

⁵⁰⁷ Archibald Johnston of Wariston, *Diary, 1632-1639*, in G. M. Paul, ed. (Edinburgh, 1911).

⁵⁰⁸ Hazlett, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, 105. See also Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation through 16 Centuries* (London, 1960), 74.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

education of Scottish divines. Melville was born near Montrose at Baldovy. Although he was orphaned, his older brother Richard provided for his education. Though a considerable scholar and linguist, he was not a prolific writer, and he had never served as a parish minister, although he was, technically at least, minister of Govan at Glasgow. As Donaldson writes, “His remarkable influence over a kind of ecclesiastical intelligentsia was exercised by personal contacts and through his work as a university teacher and organiser, which made him the dominant figure in the education of Scottish divines.”⁵¹¹ Melville was well-travelled and had spent several years in France and Geneva where he came under the influence of Theodore Beza, Calvin’s successor and Principal of the Genevan Academy. He was loved and respected by many of his colleagues and most of his students, although a few of the original reformers were unimpressed with his overt Presbyterianism.⁵¹²

Melville whole-heartedly believed in and espoused the concept of two kingdoms, which, when one considers its political implications, meant theocracy. The most important kingdom, which is sovereign over all things, is headed by Christ. The other kingdom is led by the magistrate and is subservient to Christ’s kingdom. Because Melville believed that the monarchy should listen and respond to the wise council of the Kirk, he behaved with an air of disrespect when in the presence of James. While visiting the court at Falkland Palace, Melville grasped the king by his sleeve and lectured him, calling him “but God’s sillie vassal”. He sternly admonished the king to understand his role in God’s universe: “Sir, as divers times before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus and His kingdom the Kirk, whose

⁵¹⁰ James D. Tracy, *Europe’s Reformations, 1450-1650* (Lanham, 1999), 270.

⁵¹¹ Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 149.

⁵¹² Cameron, et al eds. *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*; John Durkan and James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977); See also Donaldson and Morpeth, *Who’s Who*, 93-5.

subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, not head, nor lord but a member".⁵¹³ His attitude toward the king and his overt disrespect for Anglican surplices, which he regarded as Romish rags, led James to banish him from Scotland. After imprisonment in London for some years, he lived his remaining years in exile as a professor at Sedan (1611-1622).⁵¹⁴ Regardless of his political shortcomings with the king, Melville's interpersonal and organisation skills initiated the formation of a Puritan brotherhood centred on his pupils and colleagues, who in turn, nurtured the continuation of that sense of community among their congregations and with each other.

Robert Blair, like Andrew Melville was a superlative social networker and community builder. He was born and raised on the shores of the firth of Clyde in the burgh of Irvine. His father died when he was young. His mother and he were impressed with the ministry of Irvine's David Dickson, but the first man to catch his attention was a deposed English minister who was staying and preaching in Irvine as he waited for transportation⁵¹⁵ to cross over to Ireland.⁵¹⁶ From his reflections as he recorded them in his autobiography, it is easy to see that young Robert Blair was impressionable and that people of strong conviction served as his role models. Most, if not all, of the men who inspired him were deeply immersed in dissenting, anti-prelatic activities that seemed to have characterised religious discourse in the south-west of Scotland. Nonetheless, his views and his conduct throughout his life suggest that he was a sincere adherent to the region's ethos as articulated by its spiritual and intellectual leaders. In like manner, he was a dedicated mentor to others such as James

⁵¹³ Andrew Melville, in Andrew Herron, *Kirk by Divine Right* (Edinburgh, 1985), 30.

⁵¹⁴ James Melville, *Memoirs*, Gordon Donaldson, ed. (Edinburgh, 1969).

⁵¹⁵ See Chapter Two for a discussion on transportation across the Irish Sea.

⁵¹⁶ Blair, *Life of Blair*, 5. David Dickson, too, had troubles with Episcopal courts especially the one headed by Archbishop Law of Glasgow and was temporarily banished from Irvine to Turriff for his non-

Hamilton, whom he recruited into the Ulster ministry. He also seems to have recruited Robert Cunningham, his Scottish brother-in-law, who received ordination at Holywood and served in Ulster.⁵¹⁷ Blair's involvement with certain ministers who resisted the Erastian implications of episcopacy caused him some political problems. His whirlwind visits in 1622 to see Robert Boyd, Robert Bruce and David Dickson, all opponents of the king's pro-prelatic policies, caused John Cameron, his (pro-Crown and revisionist of Calvinism) supervisor and Robert Boyd's replacement as Principal of Glasgow University, to view him with suspicion, which in turn contributed to Blair's decision to resign his post as regent, making himself available to relocate to Bangor.⁵¹⁸

Robert Blair's daughter by his first wife Beatrix Hamilton married William Row, the son of the historian John Row.⁵¹⁹ His son-in-law wrote a very important historical supplement to Blair's unfinished autobiography. Aside from his autobiography, however, little of what he wrote has survived. While Blair was neither a great writer nor apparently an original thinker, he was a member of a group of elites who were everything he was not. The archetypical covenanter Samuel Rutherford held him in very high esteem as a divine of the right persuasion.⁵²⁰ Blair's social and intellectual networks thus have quite a Presbyterian and Puritan pedigree.

In addition to Robert Boyd, Rollock was also the instructor of John Row, a son of one of the leading Scottish reformers.⁵²¹ Row's father was a colleague of John Knox and was one of the "six Johns" who composed the *Scots Confession* of 1560. Row was likewise a social networker and freely interacted at communions with ardent

support of the Perth Articles. Dickson also served as a professor at both Glasgow and Edinburgh. See Blair, *Life of Blair*, 5n.

⁵¹⁷ James McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church* (Belfast, 1951), 6-8. See also D. J. McCartney, *Nor Principalities Nor Powers: A History (1621-1991) of 1st Presbyterian Church Carrickfergus* (Carrickfergus, 1991), 30.

⁵¹⁸ Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor*, 5.

⁵¹⁹ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 148.

⁵²⁰ Samuel Rutherford, 'Letter to James Lindsay, 7 September 1637' in *Rutherford Letters* (London, 1894).

Presbyterian divines like Robert Bruce. He was a noted minister, and he invited Irish ministers to his services after they were deposed by Laud and Wentworth.⁵²² Another of Robert Rollock's students was Charles Ferme (Fairholme) (d. 1617). Ferme taught John Adamson who became the Principal of the University of Edinburgh (1630-47). Ferme was also an instructor of Edward Bryce or Brice (1569-1636) who was one of the first, if not the first, Presbyterian-minded Scottish ministers to make Antrim his home in 1613.⁵²³ Brice, who was deposed from the ministry at Drymen in Stirlingshire for his opposition to the appointment of Spottiswood (Archbishop of Glasgow) as the permanent moderator of the Synod of Clydesdale, was recruited to Broadisland (Ballycarry) by William Edmonston, a former parishioner who had become a planter in Ireland.⁵²⁴ Charles Ferme instructed David Calderwood (1575-1650), who was exiled for a time to Holland because of his views against episcopacy. While in exile, he wrote an important defence of Presbyterianism.⁵²⁵ Calderwood also wrote an extensive, eight-volume history of the Church of Scotland.⁵²⁶ In addition to his influential writing, he helped shape the earliest views of another dissenting preacher and writer who was a friend to many Presbyterian Ulster divines. Calderwood ministered to a young Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661), who became a leading proponent of Presbyterianism and the National Covenant,⁵²⁷ served as a delegate to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and authored many extant sermons and letters as well as a number of books.⁵²⁸

Samuel Rutherford was born in Roxburghshire and spent most of his ministerial career in the Galloway village of Anwoth about twelve miles from Kirkcudbright where

⁵²¹ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 19.

⁵²² Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 20.

⁵²³ Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I*, 269; *Jubilee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1890* (Belfast, 1890), 41; McConnell, *Fasti*, 5.

⁵²⁴ McConnell, *Fasti*, 5. See also D. J. McCartney, *Nor Principalities Nor Powers: A History (1621-1991) of 1st Presbyterian Church, Carrickfergus* (Carrickfergus, 1991), 21-22.

⁵²⁵ David Calderwood, *Altare Damascenum* (Amsterdam, 1619).

⁵²⁶ David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-9).

⁵²⁷ See Chapters Four and Seven for a discussion the National Covenant.

John Welsh, the son-in-law of John Knox and father of Ulster's Josias Welsh, had successfully served as parish minister before moving on to Ayr. Rutherford had a great deal of respect for John Welsh, calling him a "heavenly Prophetical and Apostolick Man of God".⁵²⁹ In a letter written during his exile in Aberdeen, Rutherford told James Lindsay about his respect for some of his colleagues who were serving the people in the south-west of Scotland.⁵³⁰ "I say, first," wrote Rutherford, "there are with you more worthy and learned than I am, Messrs. Dickson, Blair, and Hamilton, who can more fully satisfy you".⁵³¹ The Hamilton in this instance refers to James Hamilton. Hamilton was Blair's ministerial recruit and had served for a time in Ireland.⁵³² Rutherford also served as regent at the University of Edinburgh, his alma mater, and later as professor at St. Andrews. He served as a *delegate on behalf of the Kirk* to the Westminster Assembly and preached before the English Parliament in 1643 and 1645. In 1644 he published *The Due Right of Presbytery*, and in his *Lex Rex*, he argued for the people's right to depose their king.⁵³³ When the Engagers⁵³⁴ split from the Covenanter Party, Rutherford aligned himself with the more extreme element.⁵³⁵ Like Blair, Rutherford was also influenced by Robert Boyd and Robert Bruce,⁵³⁶ being a friend and an admirer of David Dickson.⁵³⁷

As already mentioned, David Dickson was highly influential in the theological development of a young Robert Blair. Dickson was Blair's childhood minister in

⁵²⁸ Donaldson and Morpeth, *Who's Who*, 133-34.

⁵²⁹ Robert Fleming, *The Fulfilling of the Scripture* (London, 1693), 353.

⁵³⁰ Rutherford was ordered into exile by Thomas Sydserff, the high-church Bishop of Galloway. The order was precipitated by Rutherford's anti-Arminian work entitled *Exercitationes Apologeticae* (Amsterdam, 1636).

⁵³¹ Rutherford, 'Letter to James Lindsay..

⁵³² James Hamilton was recruited into the ministry by Blair, but he had already earned his credentials (M.A.) at the University of Glasgow in 1620. See McConnell, *Fasti*, 8.

⁵³³ Samuel Rutherford, *the Due Right of Presbytery; Lex Rex* (London, 1644).

⁵³⁴ An Engager was a royalist Scot who, when faced with Cromwell's New Model Army, offered Charles I military support in exchange for the king's promise to make England Presbyterian for a trial period of three years. See John Macleod, *Dynasty: The Stewarts 1560-1807* (London, 1999), 208-9.

⁵³⁵ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 38-39; Donaldson and Morpeth, *Who's Who*, 133-134.

Irvine, and they maintained a collegial and supportive relationship throughout their professional lives. Like Rutherford, Dickson admired John Welsh who ministered at nearby Ayr.⁵³⁸ Dickson entertained Livingstone and other Ulster divines at Irvine and administered communion to them. After the National Covenant, Dickson became Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University and later in Edinburgh. Dickson was an evangelical preacher, who, as a member of a trans-Irish Sea community of Scottish divines, mirrored his Irish counterparts' passion for revival. It is important to note that concurrent with the highly emotional revival meetings in the Six Mile Water Valley of Antrim were the revivals springing up across the rural landscape of Ayrshire. According to James Kirkton, who was an apologist for an Episcopalian polity in Scotland, Dickson instigated these meetings.⁵³⁹

Social ties between Robert Blair and David Dickson are well documented, but Dickson was also highly respected by John Livingstone. While preaching in Wigtonshire at the request of the Earl and Countess of Wigton, Livingstone interacted with Dickson as part of a formidable group of Scottish divines led by Robert Bruce, William Scot, Alexander Henderson, and John Row. Livingstone was impressed with the writings of Dickson, as well as with those of Rollock, Welsh, and Bruce.⁵⁴⁰ As a confidant, Dickson also played an important role in John Livingstone's career path. Early on, Livingstone battled his own conflicting sense of pride and despair as they related to his ability to preach sermons, and Dickson was instrumental in helping him come to grips with those debilitating emotions. Livingstone attributed them to the work of Satan, and he wrote that, while:

⁵³⁶ Ibid. 39.

⁵³⁷ Rutherford, *Letter to Lindsay*.

⁵³⁸ James Young, *Life of John Welsh* (Edinburgh, 1866), 10.

⁵³⁹ James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1817), 18.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. 37.

Preaching in Irvine, I was so deserted, that the points I had meditated and written, and had them fully in my memory, I was not for my heart able to get them pronounced. So it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings, and hide pride from man. This so discouraged me, that I was upon resolution for some time not to preach, at least not in Irvine; but Mr. David Dickson would not suffer me to go from thence till I preached the next Sabbath—to get (as he expressed it) amends of the devil; and so I stayed and preached with some tolerable freedom.⁵⁴¹

In the wake of the National Covenant (1638) which gave increased power to Presbyterians, Livingstone was presented with a choice to make with respect to selecting a charge in Scotland. Like Melville and Blair, Livingstone was also a good social networker, so he formed an informal committee of six divines to help him make a decision on which parish to choose. Among the six ministers with whom he consulted were Dickson, Blair, Rutherford, Cant, and Henderson, as well as his father. He chose to settle at Stranraer and stayed there until 1648.⁵⁴²

In addition to Blair, Livingstone, and Hamilton, a number of Ulster ministers in the seventeenth century had a familial or strong social link to the founding Presbyterian divines and leading covenanters and covenanting martyrs. Scottish-born and moderate Episcopalian Bishop Andrew Knox of Raphoe, nephew of John Knox, ordained his kinsman, Josias Welsh, who was a Presbyterian, and installed him as minister at Templepatrick.⁵⁴³ Josias Welsh, John Knox's grandson through his daughter Elizabeth, was an important friend and colleague of Blair and Livingstone.⁵⁴⁴ Welsh's father John was an eminent minister of Ayr, and both he and his father disliked the Perth Articles (1618).⁵⁴⁵ Michael Bruce, who succeeded John Livingstone as minister at Killinchy

⁵⁴¹ Livingstone, *Life of Mr. Livingstone*, 74.

⁵⁴² Tweedie, *Select Biographies*, i, 160-1.

⁵⁴³ William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical, Illustrative of the Principles of the Early Settlers* (New York, 1846), 98.

⁵⁴⁴ *Jubilee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1890*, 41.

⁵⁴⁵ The Five Articles of Perth called for (1) kneeling during communion (2) private baptism, (3) private communion for the sick or infirm, (4) confirmation by a bishop and (5) observance of holy days. The requirement to kneel at communion suggested veneration of the elements, a Catholic doctrine. This created quite a reaction among Protestants who feared a reversion to Catholicism. Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation Through 16 Centuries* (London, 1960), 81-2. For Welsh's opinion of the

(1657-89), was the great grandson of the Rev. Robert Bruce. A number of sermons and a book by Robert Bruce are extant.⁵⁴⁶ Bruce was recommended for the Killinchy charge in 1657 by John Livingstone, who wrote a letter on his behalf. The letter was sent to Captain James Moore of Ballybregagh.⁵⁴⁷ Bruce, upon finishing his studies in Edinburgh in 1654, brought a number of young men with him to Ulster. Among those he introduced into the ministry in Ireland was Andrew MacCormick, who “was bred a tailor in the country”.⁵⁴⁸ MacCormick was deposed for non-conformity from his charge at Magherally in 1661 and fled to Scotland. He was a participant in the Covenanters’ march on Edinburgh and was killed at the Battle of Rullion Green, Pentland Hills, on 28 November 1666.⁵⁴⁹

The next section shows how and through what means members of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia went to Ireland. Their settlement in Ulster also strengthened institutional, intellectual and social ties with Scotland generally and the south-west specifically. Through those contacts and reverse migration as at least 62 ministers resettled in Scotland, including Andrew MacCormick and a number of other divines who had served in the Church of Ireland with Presbyterian sympathies, the religious landscape of the south-west of Scotland, by the late seventeenth century, resembled Ulster more than it did the Lothians and Fife.

Scottish Ecclesiastical Intelligentsia Expands to Ireland

Unmindful of the social networks and theological complexities of life among the south-west’s rural lairds and peasants who thirstily drank of the milk of Puritan

Perth Articles, see also James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, W. D. Killen, ed., New Edition (Belfast, 1867), Vol., I, 112.

⁵⁴⁶ Robert Bruce, *The Mystery of the Lord’s Supper*, in T. F. Torrance ed. (London, 1959).

⁵⁴⁷ McConnell, *Fasti*, 7.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid. 46.; Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, ii 291; Patrick Adair, *True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* in W. D. Killen, ed. (Belfast, 1866), 283.

dogma, James VI and I believed he had a good understanding of the social dynamics in “his ancient kingdom Scotland”, for he thought that the physically closest gentry to Ireland would help recruit the right settlers.⁵⁵⁰ Unknown to James I, who died in 1625, however, this region became a hotbed of Covenanter protest throughout much of the later half of the seventeenth century, and the settlers from there would be viewed by the Irish government as more troublesome than the Catholic natives.⁵⁵¹ His son Charles I knew even less about the country of his birth, and his lack of knowledge of Scottish culture and society was seemingly matched by his lack of concern for the people’s religion. He and Archbishop Laud believed that, as they blindly marched toward imposing episcopacy on a people who were at best split on the issue, they were building upon the Five Articles of Perth, which was a bane to Scots Presbyterians. If Charles I cared to know the depth to which Calvinism and Presbyterianism were embraced, he would have spent time in the south-west, especially in Irvine on Monday for market day. There he would have heard, writes Simon Schama, “the full trumpet blast of preachers like Robert Bair and David Dickson thundering against the iniquitous destruction of the godly Church by such as Archbishop Laud and his corrupt and tyrannical lackeys, the bishops”.⁵⁵²

Early in the Plantation, two lairds from Ayrshire introduced members of this Scottish social structure into Ireland.⁵⁵³ In 1603 Hugh Montgomery learned that Con O’Neil, an Irish chieftain with large land holdings in Counties Down and Antrim, was in prison.⁵⁵⁴ Montgomery conspired with O’Neil for his escape. The covert arrangement called for the transference of his estate to the Ayrshire laird in exchange

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ James G. Leyburn *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), 92.

⁵⁵¹ J. C. Beckett, *Protestant Dissent in Ireland, 1687-1780* (London, 1948), 86.

⁵⁵² Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603-1776* (London, 2001), 89.

⁵⁵³ See Chapter Four.

for his help in securing his early, illegal release. King James, however, would not ratify the reassignment of lands. Undaunted, Montgomery called upon the help of an Ayrshire neighbour James Hamilton who had great influence with the king. Hamilton was successful in securing lands for both he and Montgomery, although each received only a third of O'Neil's lands, who, incidentally, was knighted by the king as compensation for his loss.⁵⁵⁵ Montgomery and Hamilton actively recruited ministers to their lands in Ireland. Once these recruits were settled in their ministerial duties, financial support was provided to them by the lairds. According to the *Hamilton Manuscripts*, Sir James Hamilton (Lord Clandeboye), who like many members of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia was educated at St. Andrews under the Principalship of Andrew Melville, made a personal effort "to bring very learned and pious ministers out of Scotland, and planted all of the parishes of his estate with such."⁵⁵⁶ Lord Clandeboye recruited Robert Blair to Bangor through the personal efforts of his Scottish kinsman John Hamilton of Kirktonholm.⁵⁵⁷ In a similar manner, Sir Hugh Clotworthy brought several ministers over to Ireland.⁵⁵⁸

The king also had thoughts about the close proximity of the south-west of Scotland to Ulster in regard to recruiting ministers to Ulster. In a letter to Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, James nominated Bishop Andrew Knox (educated at Melvillian Glasgow University) for the see of Raphoe in Donegal to commence 12 August 1610. According to the king's letter, his nomination of Knox was based on the fact that he hails from a nearby place (the Scottish Isles) with a close

⁵⁵⁴ On 12 May 1635, Robert Blair married Katherine Montgomery, Hugh Montgomery's daughter. See Blair, *Life of Blair*, 104.

⁵⁵⁵ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 87-88.

⁵⁵⁶ It can be argued that a cultured Scot in the seventeenth century was conversant in theology and educated gentry were no exception. See *The Hamilton Manuscripts*, T. K. Lowry, ed. (Belfast, 1867), 34f.

⁵⁵⁷ Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor*, 5-6.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

relationship with Ulster. Andrew Knox was Bishop of the Isles and former minister at Paisley. By 1622, the Renfrewshire-born Bishop of Raphoe had recruited a number of ministers, at least seven of whom came with him.⁵⁵⁹ The Bishop of Raphoe may well have been guilty of nepotism with family members who shared his heritage to John Knox, for the three ministers named Knox in Raphoe leave little room to speculate about who was responsible for their recruitment.⁵⁶⁰

The recruitment of ministers from the south-west of Scotland, where the adoption of the covenant of works was most intense, brought some hyperbolic, emotion-charged sermonisers to Ulster. Evidence shows that at least certain elements within the Lowland Scots population were captivated by the Puritan message preached in Ulster. The Six Mile Water Revival, which ran from 1625 to the early 1630s, demonstrated that Scottish migration to Ulster was, after the death of James I, sometimes accomplished through the intricacies of the cross-Channel religious community and its geopious orientations. As a place of sometimes buoyant and evangelical Christianity, Ulster, at times, pulled some migrants without any other significant push factor. In addition to the belief that the Scottish nation was God's second chosen people, the fervour of their faith, as it found outlet in the Ulster wilderness, seems to have contributed to some immigrants' desire for membership in the religious community life flourishing there (see Map 2). As reported in an Irish Presbyterian Church document,

Several of the ministers of the Church of Scotland who accompanied these emigrants to Ireland were pre-eminently distinguished for piety and devotedness. As the result of their Apostolic labours for years, a remarkable revival of religion took place. The Valley of the Sixmilewater was the centre of the movement, but its influence extended over the surrounding counties. The prominent characteristic was an insatiable thirst for the preaching of the Gospel. As the preacher proceeded multitudes were powerfully

⁵⁵⁹ J. M. Barkley, *Francis Makemie: Father of American Presbyterianism* (Belfast, 1981), 7.

⁵⁶⁰ Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 268.

moved, and audibly appealed for forgiveness. Whole nights were spent in prayer by great congregations, the circles affected widened and widened, the showers of blessings fell more copiously; numbers from day to day professed to have been turned to the Lord in penitence and faith, and it has been estimated that seldom has the Christian Church in any land obtained so large an addition to her membership in so short a time. Attracted by the reports of the abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Church in Ulster and the consequent high tone of spiritual life in her congregations, many came from Scotland that they might unite in her religious services.⁵⁶¹

Perceval-Maxwell acknowledges the revival and its ability to draw congregations of 700 and 1,500 people to a single service, but he restricts the geographic radius from which the participants were drawn to a mere 20 miles.⁵⁶² He effectively discusses the Calvinism of the Scottish settlers, but the broader context of migration, community, ideas and beliefs, as potent driving forces in directing singular and collective human behaviour, remain absent from his analysis. With respect to push and pull factors (migration dynamics), Perceval-Maxwell does not stray too far from assigning economic interests as principle reasons for moving to Ireland, including in his discussions about the migrations of bishops and ministers. His view is not supported by Robert Blair, who wrote in his autobiography that these monthly meetings, sometimes called the Antrim Lectures, also attracted Separatist ministers from as far away as London, who, “hearing tell that there was a people zealous for the Lord in the North of Ireland, came to Antrim, where our monthly meetings were, and there set up their dwelling, thinking to fish in these waters”.⁵⁶³ Blair regarded their unsuccessful attempt to attract followers away from the Antrim Meetings as one of several signs that God had established a protective fence around their work. The towns of Antrim,

⁵⁶¹ *Jubilee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1890*, 41. These reflections, which were written 275 years later, may reflect some romanticizing of the Revival. For modern studies on the Revival, see Marilyn Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (Oxford, 1987); John McKee, ‘Revival, Revivalism and Calvinism with Special Reference to Ireland’, in W. Donald Patton (ed), *Essays in Church History in Honour of R. Finlay Holmes* (Belfast, 2002), 87-100. Baillie, *Six Mile Water Revival*.

⁵⁶² Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 271.

⁵⁶³ Blair, *The Life of Blair*, 83.

Templepatrick, Ballynure, Ballyclare and Doagh were the most affected by the revival in the Ulster portion of the Irish Sea culture area while the Scottish parishes of Shotts and Stewarton witnessed similar revivals.⁵⁶⁴

Blair acknowledged in his autobiography that “At this time the Lord was pleased to protect our ministry, by raising up friends to us, and giving us favour in the eyes of all the people about us. Yea, the Bishop of Down himself used to glory of the ministry in his dioceses of Down and Connor”.⁵⁶⁵ Unfortunately for Blair, Dunbar, Livingston and Welsh, they could not stop the efforts of Wentworth from deposing them when it seemed that their meetings produced unorthodox manifestations, which Blair denounced and regarded as coming from Satan. Nevertheless, congregations were empowered with knowledge gained through their ministers’ lessons, and their meetings continued, guided by lay leaders, albeit covertly for nearly a half dozen years until the establishment of the first Presbytery in 1642.

Even after the inception of a legal Presbytery, revival meetings continued in Ulster, and within 70 years attendance at Presbyterian revival meetings doubled as did the distance travelled by some who worshipped in them.⁵⁶⁶ A recurrent theme stressed by ministers in those meetings was that their Church extended beyond the single parish. The parish was part of a wider Presbyterian body, including congregations in Scotland and North America.⁵⁶⁷ Modern scholars regard this psychological construct as a community of the imagination.⁵⁶⁸ The growth in the community as well as the cohesiveness of its members, whose beliefs in the sovereignty of God elevated the

⁵⁶⁴ Bailie, *Six Mile Water*, 1. See also W. J. Couper, *Scottish Revivals* (Dundee, 1976) 26-39.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 82.

⁵⁶⁶ Bishop William King, *Reeves Copy Book of Visitations*, 30 Aug. 1700, Armagh Public Library, KH II 6.

⁵⁶⁷ In 1683, Ulster’s Laggan Presbytery planted the Presbyterian Church in Maryland. See J. M. Barkley, *Francis Makemie: Father of American Presbyterianism* (Belfast, 1981).

⁵⁶⁸ R. Gillespie, ‘Dissenters and Nonconformists, 1661-1700’, in Kevin Herlihy, *Irish Dissenting Tradition, 1650-1750* (Dublin, 1995), 11-28.

sacred above the profane and divines over secular leaders of the state, had political undercurrents that threatened the existing order in both Scotland and Ireland.⁵⁶⁹

As just briefly mentioned, the Church of Ireland, under the Erastian regimes of Thomas Wentworth acting on behalf of Charles I, deposed (removed) a number of Ulster divines who led the Six Mile Water. Many of them returned to Scotland, where they became participants in the movement that led to the National Covenant in February 1638. Specifically, John Livingstone, Robert Blair, James Hamilton of Ballywalter, the nephew of the first Lord Clandeboy, Sir Robert Adair, and a teacher-turned minister John McLelland of Newtonards moved back to Scotland. They attended the General Assembly in November and December of that year.⁵⁷⁰ Their attendance at the Assembly was noticed by Charles I and Wentworth. As support for the National Covenant grew in Ulster, the Lord Deputy was induced to take stock of the situation. He and the king were running out of options. “At Charles’ instigation there was framed what was to become known as the Black Oath. Under the measure all Scots in Ulster over sixteen years, male and female, were required to renounce the National Covenant”.⁵⁷¹

While the ousted ministers took refuge in Scotland, their former congregations in Ireland lived relatively unaffected, although the passage of the Black Oath temporarily drove their meetings into private quarters. The work of the ministers had created a self-directing religious community. The Six Mile Water Revival had featured monthly meetings of ministers and concerned members. As W. D. Baillie points out, “this is where the importance of the Antrim Lecture Meeting comes to light. It helped

⁵⁶⁹ This point is a central theme of subsequent chapters, especially Chapter Seven.

⁵⁷⁰ McCartney, *Principalities*, 38.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid. See also Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor*, 22-23, who notes that Blair was in attendance at the meeting because the Assembly voted to have him translated from Ayr to St. Andrews. See also David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1981).

to create a studious and self-sufficient people, who, when their leaders were finally silenced by the prelatic authorities, were able to meet in private homes (private, micro-spaces) for study groups and maintain their Presbyterian principles until a better day should dawn".⁵⁷² When the first Irish Presbytery was formed on 10 June 1642, congregations from the eastern part of Ulster inundated its officials with applications for membership. Requests to join with the Presbytery were received from Antrim, Ballymena, Ballywalter, Bangor, Belfast, Cairncastle, Carrickfergus, Comber, Dervock, Donaghadee, Holywood, Killyleagh, Larne, Newtownards, Portaferry, and Templepatrick.⁵⁷³

The newly formed Presbytery did not have enough ministers to meet the demand from its congregations, so a committee was put together and sent to the General Assembly meeting of the Kirk in St. Andrews during July 1642 to ask for help in filling pulpits. Two lay members who had hosted Antrim Lectures in their homes during the early days of the Six Mile Water Revival, John Gordon and Hugh Campbell, went to St. Andrews to attend the meeting and to deliver their Presbytery's pleas for help.⁵⁷⁴ The fact that those two men had been worshipers in Ireland for seventeen years is evidence of the strength of community among the Irish Presbyterians, especially when it is recalled that they and their fellow lay members went without a minister for over five years. The first two Scots to answer the call for help were former Ulster ministers Robert Blair and his recruit James Hamilton.⁵⁷⁵ Blair remained in Antrim until December, during which time he preached against the teachings of two Baptist

⁵⁷² Baillie, *Six Mile Water*, 16.

⁵⁷³ Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor*, 23; McCartney, *Principalities*, 53-54.

⁵⁷⁴ A. F. S. Pearson, 'The Origins of Irish Presbyterianism', Carey Lecture, Irish Presbyterian Historical Society (Belfast, 1947), 14.

⁵⁷⁵ Lockington, *Robert Blair of Bangor*, 23.

ministers who had settled in the County.⁵⁷⁶ As mentioned previously, John Livingstone also answered the call and stayed for six weeks at Carrickfergus.⁵⁷⁷

In 1644, the Kirk sent four ministers to assist the Irish Presbytery with its shortage of ministers while they presented the people of Ireland with the Solemn League and Covenant. At Carrickfergus on 4 April 1644, John Weir, one of the four, preached to a crowd of over 2,000. Weir wrote this comment that was delivered to the Kirk's General Assembly: "Two thousand in all, including the army and the people about, were entered into the Covenant, which took place here on the 4th of April and several days following".⁵⁷⁸ The remaining members of the group of four who accompanied Weir on that mission trip were from the south-west of Scotland. They included James Hamilton of Dumfries, Hugh Henderson of Dalry and William Adair of Ayr.⁵⁷⁹ Like Livingstone, the ministers that volunteered to serve in Ulster were allowed to stay on a temporary basis because they concurrently held charges in Scotland.

Scottish preachers included such as George Dunbar, Blair, Livingstone, Rutherford, Welsh, Gillespie, James Hamilton, and Alexander Henderson, and others of less renown such as John and James Nisbet and Perthshire's William Reid, who, like John Major, believed that civil rule emanates from the people and that a system of church councils (i.e., Kirk sessions, presbyteries, and synods) is its ecclesiastical equal. It is highly likely that the covenanter strife existing in the south-west after the Stewart Restoration was in part a function of that aspect of their ethos.⁵⁸⁰ In addition to the above-mentioned ministers, at least 24 Scots ministers who served in the Irish

⁵⁷⁶ The Baptist ministers saw Ulster as a place where dissenting religious views, as long as they belonged to loyal Protestants, could be expressed. See Chapter Six for a discussion on diversity among Protestants, especially by the end of the Plantation. See also Adair, *True Narrative*, 98.

⁵⁷⁷ McCartney, *Principalities*, 53.

⁵⁷⁸ John Weir, 'Letter to the General Assembly, April 1644', in McCartney, *Principalities*, 55.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 54.

Presbytery made at least one migration back to Scotland during their careers, while another 25 returned to Scotland as a result of overt political forces resulting from their depositions for refusing to renounce the Covenant or conform to episcopacy.⁵⁸¹ Among those divines were ministers Andrew MacCormick, John Law⁵⁸² and Thomas Whyllie,⁵⁸³ who took an active part in Scottish covenanter strife. It seems that this trans-Irish Sea culture of non-conformity was encouraged by the uneven application of monarchical power and facilitated by western sea-routes.

In Ulster and eventually through reverse diffusion to south-western Scotland, many came to the conviction that power and influence in the church should greatly diminish beyond that of the Kirk Session, making their Irish polity very close to English congregationalism, or Brownism as it was called then.⁵⁸⁴ This inclination in polity was diametrically opposed to the Erastian views of the monarchy and the religious culture of much of the rest of Scotland. On the surface, it seems to be in conflict with James B. Torrance's notion that the *Westminster Confession* was viewed as too mild by leading ministers in the region, most notably Dickson and Rutherford. In Torrance's view, the *Westminster Confession* called for a modified Erastian system based on a state church with a Presbyterian polity, which is close to what developed in the Scottish Kirk after 1690. The real issue for Rutherford and Dickson and a number of other ministers in the south-west of Scotland and Ulster, though, was indeed the

⁵⁸⁰ This idea is developed further in the next two chapters.

⁵⁸¹ See Chapter Seven and the Appendices.

⁵⁸² Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1915), v, 136.

⁵⁸³ McConnell, *Fasti*, 84.

⁵⁸⁴ This shift in polity can be seen in the context of a political theory continuum. If centralised power and Erastianism are compatible, representative democracy and Presbyterianism are similarly matched. Direct democracy and congregationalism are likewise parallel ideas on governance. In an interview in November 2003, Colin Williamson, the secretary of the Irish ministers' fraternal society within the Kirk, expressed an interpretation on this difference in polity by noting that the Kirk is a national church and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland is only a denomination. See also Baillie, *Six Mile Water Revival*, 21. See also A. I. C. Heron, *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today: Papers Prepared for the Church*

mildness of the *Confession's* Calvinist doctrines in regard to church-state relations. It is difficult to read Rutherford's *Lex Rex* and believe that he would have supported any form of Erastianism, although his support of theocracy is another matter.⁵⁸⁵ It is likely that Rutherford and Dickson saw the *Westminster Confession* as a means to set a moral agenda for the magistrate.⁵⁸⁶

Nonetheless, the contrast amongst the regions of Scotland was no more pronounced than between the areas in and around Aberdeen, which was the Episcopal centre of the nation, and the south-west of the country. The contrast was equally great between Ulster and Aberdeenshire. The next section casts some light on this observation by showing the country and institutions of origin, which reveals a regional culture influence on the ministers who served in Irish Presbyterian churches between 1642 and 1690.

Origins of Ministers 1642-1690

Few attempts have been made to quantify the impact of Scots and particular institutions with their regional flavour on the establishment of Irish Presbyterianism. This section provides such an evaluation. The discussion must begin with national ties before the establishment of the Synod of Ulster, for, despite the existence of an imagined community of English and Scottish Puritan divines, social networks and real geographies in Ulster were heavily influenced by the national origins of the ministers. As the existence of dialect regions in Ulster delineate English and Scottish cultural influences in the north of Ireland, it is clear that the migrants from both nations were

of Scotland Panel on Doctrine (Edinburgh, 1982). See Chapter Four for a discussion on the politics of religion inherent in the Plantation scheme.

⁵⁸⁵ Rutherford, *the Due Right of Presbytery*. The logic behind this statement rests with Rutherford's conviction that Christ's kingdom is sovereign over that which is governed by the magistrate.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

likewise attracted to areas offering known cultures as well as institutional and social ties.⁵⁸⁷

During the reign of James I, Scottish ministers and perhaps some bishops in Ulster were for the most part tolerant of Presbyterians. This was encouraged by the willingness of the Church of Ireland to employ them, provided the recruits were not too reticent about compromising their convictions by accepting ordination from bishops in the Church of Ireland who generously provided them with modified ordination rituals so as not to offend their notions of polity.⁵⁸⁸ Many of the English bishops in the established Church of Ireland were Puritans, so they shared the low-church style and Calvinist theology held by their Scots colleagues while tolerating, if not secretly enjoying, their polity practices. However, comparatively few English bishops in Ireland actually recruited, or at least were successful in recruiting, Scots ministers. Of the 65 ministers of Scottish birth who served in Ulster during the reign of James I, some 76 percent served under Scottish bishops.⁵⁸⁹ This high percentage perhaps shows Scottish social and community links as well as a sense of Scottish nationalism. Only a few English Puritans served as ministers under Scottish bishops; thus, there were restricted opportunities for the diffusion of English Puritan ideas into the community of Ulster-Scots through interpersonal contact. It would seem, then, that most of the intellectual intermingling of English and Scottish Puritans in Ulster occurred in the context of imagined communities created by theological writings or distant social contacts, hence, the claims made in an earlier section of this chapter.

Although there were two notable Englishmen with Presbyterian leanings who served in Ulster under the auspices of the Church of Ireland prior to the creation of the

⁵⁸⁷ Michael V. Barry, 'Historical introduction to the dialects of Ulster'. *A Concise Ulster Dictionary*, C. I. Macafee, ed. (Oxford, 1996), ix-xii. See also Ian D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550-1830* (London, 2000), 105.

⁵⁸⁸ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 79.

Irish Presbyterian Church, (i.e., John Ridge and Henry Colwart), only six can be identified as English-born and/or educated among the Irish Presbyterian divines between 1642 and 1690.⁵⁹⁰ The numbers of Scots ministers who served between the years 1642 to 1690 show their country's dominance in the church structure which provided part of the social infrastructure for intensifying migration between 1690 and the close of the Plantation era around 1715.⁵⁹¹ Of the 188 ministers who served in Irish Presbyterian churches between the years 1642 and 1690, 125 (67 percent) can be positively connected to Scottish birthplaces. Another 30 (16 percent) were born in Ireland, and six (3 percent) were born in England. Of the 27 (14 percent) ministers whose birthplaces cannot be confirmed, sixteen (9 percent) were nonetheless educated in Scottish universities. Since a number of Irish-born ministers were also educated in Scotland, the total number of ministers who served in Irish Presbyterian churches with confirmed Scottish connections (birth and/or educations) is no less than 162 (86 percent).⁵⁹² It is not possible to make a conclusive link with respect to education or place of birth for only ten (5 percent) ministers. However, according to the data on family names made available by George Black, most of the surnames (25/27 or 93 percent) of ministers who held charges during this time frame and whose birthplaces are not known belong to paternal families that were represented in Scotland before or during the seventeenth century.⁵⁹³

These data of course suggest a strong relationship between Scottish universities and Irish Presbyterian ministers, with over two-thirds of them coming from Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities (see Chart 1). Specifically, the University of Glasgow

⁵⁸⁹ Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 268.

⁵⁹⁰ McConnell, *Fasti*.

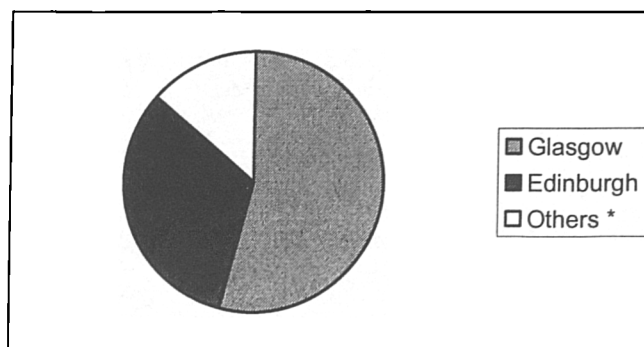
⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Ibid. See also Appendices 2, 3, and 4 for data on IP ministers.

⁵⁹³ George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946). Raymond Gillespie also uses Black's book. See Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* (Cork, 1985), 32-4.

trained 79 (42 percent) of the ministers, and Edinburgh educated 47 (25 percent) of those who served in Ireland as Presbyterians. There was a precipitous drop to nine ministers (5 percent) graduating from the University of Aberdeen. Only seven (3 percent) finished their studies at St. Andrews. Three ministers were educated in Scotland, but it is not known at which university they earned their credentials. These data show that at least 145 (77 percent) of the ministers were educated in Scottish universities.⁵⁹⁴

Chart 1: Scottish Universities Educating Ulster Ministers



If a trans-Channel Presbyterian community existed in the seventeenth century, it is logical that a reverse flow of ministers to Scotland would be measurable. As it turns out, such movements were common. Data extracted from the *Fasti* for the Irish Presbyterian Church make it possible to determine subsequent migrations or the lack thereof for the denomination's first 188 ministers. Thirty-eight percent of the ministers (n = 73) were internationally mobile after filling a charge in Ireland. Of the 73 who migrated, 62 (85 percent) moved to Scotland, six (8 percent) relocated to America, four (6 percent) moved to England, and one (1 percent) migrated to Holland. It is also possible to determine if the ministers returned to Ireland. In this case, 24 ministers,

⁵⁹⁴ McConnell, *Fasti*. See also Appendices 2, 3, and 4.

including at least three known circuit-riding conventiclers, returned to Ireland.⁵⁹⁵ Of the 24 ministers who made migrations to Scotland and back to Ireland, making at least one full circuit, political factors were involved in fifteen (63 percent) cases. Obvious political push and pull factors were involved in the one-time move to Scotland for another 24 ministers, making political push and pull factors the most important determinant in 39 cases of migrations in which Scotland was either a point of destination or temporary sojourn (hold-over).

These data indicate that in 63 percent of the migrations involving Scotland, there was at least one major political force that precipitated the movements. Regarding the 39 political migrants, the fears, hopes or goals of the Glorious Revolution of 1689 caused the most movement, with 14 cases, while failure to take the Republican Engagement (1649-50)⁵⁹⁶ produced nine migrants. Although a much larger percentage of the divines were deposed for non-conformity, migrations were precipitated in only nine of those cases. Implications concerning personal involvement in Blood's Plot of 1663⁵⁹⁷ pushed another three to move. Ministers who left to take an active part in the Scottish Protester movement (1650-51)⁵⁹⁸ accounted for two relocations, and the remaining two ministers were pulled by the Scottish Covenanter movement (1682-1686).⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ Circuit-riding conventiclers were ministers who conducted illegal field meetings in various remote places in the south-west of Scotland and Ulster (at least up to 1672 at which time Charles II moderated his policy against dissenting Protestants in Ireland).

⁵⁹⁶ When Cromwell's forces took control of Ireland, ministers were required to take the Republican engagement which required their submission to the new government.

⁵⁹⁷ In 1663, Colonel Thomas Blood developed a plot that required Presbyters and others to take Dublin Castle in the name of defending the Covenant. See McConnell, *Fasti*.

⁵⁹⁸ After the defeat of Scottish forces under Hamilton at Preston in 1648, anti-engagers took control of parliament. They passed the Act of Classes, which excluded all engagers from every public office. Within a week of the passage of the Act, Charles I was executed. In 1650, Charles II was crowned at Scone, and on 3 September of that year he suffered a major defeat at Dunbar. Those Scots who wanted to allow former engagers into the military, which conceivably would have strengthened their position against Cromwell, were called Resolutioners. Those who opposed the idea were Protesters or Remonstrants. See J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Oxford, 1973), 231-2.

⁵⁹⁹ See Appendix 5

The movement of Presbyterian ministers to Scotland in 1689 could have occurred because they saw an opportunity to live on sacred earth (a topic discussed in the next chapter) and work under the auspices of a Presbyterian Kirk, as provided by William's Glorious Revolution. On the other hand, they may have been terrified by the prospect of being subjected to Roman Catholic rule under James VII and II. Based on known sources, it is difficult to determine the motives and perceptions that influenced those migrants. Those who fled because of their failure to take the Republican Engagement as well as swear the abjuration oath in 1661-62, both of which would have forced them to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, perhaps did so because they regarded their oaths as sacred and unbreakable.⁶⁰⁰ Of the 23 non-political relocations, calls to other ministries were involved in 12 moves and retirements caused another eight.⁶⁰¹ At least three (former Irish Presbyterian ministers, in addition to Robert Blair) served in the Kirk's General Assembly.

These numbers suggest that the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia influenced the creation of the trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community. Political push or pull factors stemming from dissenting religious positions were arguably more often the cause of migrations than of all the other reasons combined. This relationship suggests that the ethos of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia, which facilitated schismatic behaviours when set against real and imagined Erastian religious forces, contributed much to the fluid movement of ministers between Scotland and Ulster.⁶⁰²

English ministers, like their Scottish counterparts, sometimes returned to the country of their birth. Edward Veal, an Oxford graduate (B.A.), resettled in England. After serving in Dublin, he returned to England as a result of a call from Sir William

⁶⁰⁰ Edward Vallance, 'an Holy and Sacramentall Paction': Federal Theology and the Solemn League and Covenant in England', *English Historical Review* (February, 2001).

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² This topic is further explored in Chapter Seven.

Waller of Middlesex for whom he served as chaplain.⁶⁰³ Thomas Harrison was born in England in 1619, but he grew up in New England. He laboured intermittently as the chaplain to the governor of Virginia, served as a minister in East London, and later held a charge as a minister in Dublin. He was deposed for non-conformity in 1665, like many of his Scottish counterparts, and left for England where he officiated at Chester for a time. He returned to Dublin in 1670 and organised a new congregation on Wine Tavern Street.⁶⁰⁴ One English divine served in Connaught and another in Westmeath. It is interesting to note that of the six English Presbyterian ministers who served in the Irish Presbyterian churches, only two laboured in Ulster. William Keyes worked in Belfast, and Thomas Cobham served in Holywood.⁶⁰⁵

Summary

The Scots and Ulster-born Scots who served as Presbyterian divines in Ireland during the years 1642 to 1690 held a virtual monopoly on ministries.⁶⁰⁶ Further it seems that the relocation leaders who set in motion their migration were socially and doctrinally linked to Andrew Melville and his theological colleagues. With only two English ministers labouring in Ulster between the years 1642 to 1690, which is only 1 percent of the total, their presence in statistical terms is insignificant when assuming that 5 percent or more could have been English-born simply by random chance. In other words, a percentage of English ministers of less than 5 percent of the total means that their absence from the ranks of the Presbyterian divines would not have happened

⁶⁰³ McConnell, *Fasti*, 50. For a more thorough examination of Irish Presbyterianism out-with the North Channel culture area see also R. L. Greaves, *God's Other Children: Protestant Nonconformists and the Emergence of Denominational Churches in Ireland, 1660-1700* (Stanford, 1997); Clarke Huston Irwin, *A History of Presbyterianism in Dublin and the South and West of Ireland* (London, 1890).

⁶⁰⁴ McConnell, *Fasti*, 39.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 44, 59.

⁶⁰⁶ This statement is based on the known Scottish birth places of the divines as well as the origins of family names of Irish-born ministers. See Black, *Surnames of Scotland*.

if the distribution were simply controlled by random factors. In practical terms, it shows the strength of the Scottish ecclesiastical community in Irish Presbyterianism.

While it is beyond the time frame of this study which ends at 1690, the issue of Presbyterian migration from Scotland in the 1690s is worth probing briefly. As the trans-Channel region's ethos abhorred the Anglican Episcopalian polity and sought a theocratic world controlled by the strictures of strong Calvinism emanating from a devout people, it is likely that the moderate Erastianism of the Kirk after the Presbyterian settlement of 1690 offered them little solace. As the next chapter shows, the community of Scots divines and their congregations were convinced that they were the inheritors of the children of Israel. As such they saw themselves as playing a significant part in the creation of sacred history. In the minds of many, Scotland and its people were chosen to be God's elect.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁷ S. A. Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic vision of the early Covenanters, *Scottish Historical Review* (1964),

CHAPTER SIX

THEOLOGY AND DISSENSION IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND AND ULSTER

Introduction

The National Covenant of 1638 was as much a political manifesto as it was a statement of faith.⁶⁰⁸ Although it references 'true religion' as articulated in earlier confessions, in reality it offered little to define it anew. Instead it provided a litany of complaints that were generally anti-popish. The catalyst for the movement, or the 'traditional' cause that ignited the powder keg of ill-will against the obstinate king, occurred when Charles I instituted a new Prayer book known as Laud's Liturgy. When it was opened and about to be followed for the first time at St. Giles Kirk in Edinburgh, Jenny Geddes and her cohorts, who were most likely part of a concerted and well-timed resistance effort, erupted into a seemingly spontaneous and venomous protest.⁶⁰⁹ The liturgical book was named after the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, who later

Vol. XLIII No. 135, 1-24.

⁶⁰⁸ Alexander Henderson and Archibald Johnston of Wariston, *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland: Or the National Covenant with Designation of such acts of Parliament as are Expedient for Justifying the Union after Mentioned* (The Assembly at Edinburgh, 30 August, 1639). Parliament then ratified the document as: *Charles I. Parl. 2. ACT: ACT anent the Ratification of the COVENANT, and of the Assembly's Supplication, Act of Council, and Act of Assembly concerning the Covenant* at Edinburgh 11 June 1640.

⁶⁰⁹ According to tradition, Jenny Geddes etched her protest on the ears of the dean conducting the service by asking; "Dost thou say mass at my lug (ear)"? See John Macleod, *Dynasty: The Stewarts 1560-1807* (London, 1999), 181. The protestation at St. Giles was the occasion but not the cause of the revolt. The events at St. Giles appealed to popular feelings against popery, English interference in Scottish affairs, and arbitrary rule. See Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation through 16 Centuries* (London, 1960), 83.

claimed he authored it in defence of the king and his policies. That was a claim that Charles bravely but foolishly denied.⁶¹⁰

What the National Covenant did present theologically borrowed from the Negative Confession or King's Confession that James VI had signed in 1580. That document drew on the theological sinew of the Scottish Reformation and the *Scots Confession* of 1560 that resulted from it.⁶¹¹ As the National Covenant shows, seventeenth-century Scottish divines and their colleagues who settled in Ulster fed increasingly on the strict interpretation of doctrines while accepting rigid bi-lateral covenants, between the nation and God, that were, as political circumstances changed, easily broken to the dismay of those who held them to be sacred and binding. To demonstrate this point as it relates to the political consequences of ecclesiastical dissent (such as the deposition of ministers), this chapter shows that the South-western Scotland and Ulster was, when compared to other regions of Scotland, uniquely schismatic or sectarian. That discussion is informed by an analysis of Scottish and English confessions of the Reformed faith, as well as of other thinking expressed by seventeenth-century divines. With respect to relationships between schismatic actions and how those actions and beliefs influenced the formation of the trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community, it is argued that it was their beliefs and steadfastness to their oaths that created situations in which political and social conflict, as well as theological schisms, could occur, with spatial relocation for many being the consequence.⁶¹²

⁶¹⁰ J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London, 1973), 215-17.

⁶¹¹ The key issue is that the National Covenant was engrossed in statutory law. The geotheological attributes of the document are discussed in Chapter Seven.

⁶¹² See Appendix 4.

Reformation as Schismatic Action with Political, Social and Geographic Implications

The ecclesiastical dissensions that marked the later half of the seventeenth century were certainly not unique in the history of Reformation Scotland. While some participants arguably saw the Reformation and its lingering effects as positive change, others were no doubt disappointed by the persistence of social and political tensions inherent in any event designed to reform traditions and the distribution of power in social relationships. The Scottish Reformation was a schismatic action against the “auld alliance with France” and the Pope. In comparing the Scottish Reformation to those of other countries, including England, David Stevenson writes that “Among the latter was the Reformed Church of Scotland, born not by royal decree but through armed rebellion (though no shots were fired) against (catholic) royal authority”.⁶¹³ It was ignited by the return to Scotland of John Knox, the former understudy of the martyred George Wishart. After serving time in French confinement for his part in the seizing of the home of Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrews, who was murdered by Protestant usurpers, Knox had spent time as a minister in England but was forced into exile at Geneva as a result of the ascendancy of the staunch Roman Catholic Mary Tudor. Knox spent much of his time in exile absorbing the teachings of John Calvin and his colleagues who were establishing the Genevan Academy that would later become the University of Geneva.⁶¹⁴

Armed with Old Testament, covenantal legalism and the Calvinist expression of Protestantism, Knox came home on 2 May 1559. Nine days later his fiery oratory against idolatry and the evils of popery during a sermon at St. John’s Kirk in Perth set off a riot that led to the overthrow of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. Though the reformation of the Kirk had begun, it was not complete. The settlement of polity

⁶¹³ David Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 6.

issues that plagued the Kirk throughout much of the Plantation era was not finally made until 1690, when Presbyterianism became the official form of church governance in Scotland. However, its establishment did not stop thousands of Scots families from migrating to Ulster. Nor did the Presbyterian settlement stop dissension within the Kirk. Over the next century-and-a-half schism upon schism struck the Church of Scotland. The Kirk's offspring in Ulster likewise split time and time again. In this section, the doctrinal roots of those schisms are examined because they produced a unique spatial pattern of ecclesiastical dissension in south-western Scotland and Ulster.

As we will see in Chapter Seven, a Presbyterian kirk, as was conceived by the members of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment, was Christ's manifested body in the sanctified lands occupied by Scots, and, to them, they were destined to play a clear geotheological part in sacred history. Such an ambitious, lofty objective required an equally soaring statement of faith to guide the Scots, who would in turn guide the kirks of other nations into a closer and abiding relationship with their creator and redeemer. After pondering the fabric of the true religion, John Knox and five other "Johns" took only four days to write and edit the *Scots Confession*. It was approved in 1560 by the Scottish Parliament as containing "doctrine grounded upon the infallible word of God."⁶¹⁵ Knox was keen to identify Scotland with the true visible church as exemplified by Calvin's Geneva, which he referred to as "the most perfect school of life that was ever on earth since the days of the apostles".⁶¹⁶

The Scots Confession was the Kirk's statement of faith until it was replaced by the *Westminster Confession of Faith* in 1647, but its acceptance among parishioners was not slow. The Scottish Parliament, acting alone in the absence of a godly prince as

⁶¹⁴ James D. Tracy, *Europe's Reformations: 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1999).

⁶¹⁵ Presbyterian Church, USA, *the Book of Confessions* (Louisville, 1994), 10. See also W. Ian P Hazlett, 'The Scots Confession', *Archive for Reformation History*, Vol. 78(1987), 287-320.

it did during the monarchical crisis of 1560, approved the Westminster document. *The Scots Confession* had nonetheless served as the basis for doctrines for nearly ninety years, laying the foundation for a national, anti-tyrannical religious ethos that established deep, pervasive roots in the Lowland culture. Its doctrines provided the theological anchor for the National Covenant. It survived the polity strife that characterised the relationship between Andrew Melville and James VI, and it was used by John Craig as the statement of faith on which he based the drafting of the King's Confession that was signed by James VI in 1580.⁶¹⁷

The *Scots Confession* embraced the concept of unilateral covenants (*diatheke*); whereas its replacement the *Westminster Confession* was based more on the *quid pro quo* premise of English contract law, which James B. Torrance calls Federal Calvinism. In terms of polity, it reflected a compromise between the various orientations of those who attended the Assembly. Included in the Assembly were ministers with Erastian views such as Dr. John Lightfoot, divines from the Melvillian Presbyterian (two kingdoms) camp, and Separatists (Congregationalists). The perspectives on polity among these divines could well be plotted on continuums from theocratic to Erastian and autocratic to democratic. Moreover, the *Westminster Confession* was a statement of faith based on moderate Calvinism, yet the bi-lateral aspects of its doctrinal points, along with its clear position on predestination, still made it a stronger Calvinist statement of faith than the *Scots Confession*.

Torrance argues that the polity articulated in the Westminster document is a modified Erastian model with a state church based on a Presbyterian structure.⁶¹⁸ However, it will be demonstrated later in this section that the part of the *Confession*

⁶¹⁶ John Knox, quoted in John T. McNeil, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York, 1967), 178.

⁶¹⁷ This document did not have equivalent legal status with the National because it was not approved by Parliament.

discussing the civil magistrate and religion shows the framers of the document to have been less Erastian in mind, and more guided by a subtle distinction that requires the true Christian to be obedient to a sinful magistrate.⁶¹⁹ Furthermore, it is evident that Scottish divines such as Samuel Rutherford and David Calderwood were certainly not inclined to Erastianism. To draw that kind of power structure from the *Westminster Confession* is hence an error. It will be further shown that the *Scots Confession* and the *Westminster Confession* both suggest a two-kingdom, Melvillian relationship between Church and State. Torrance is correct, on the other hand, in his discussion of the predestinarian Doctrine of Decrees that characterises the *Westminster* catechisms.⁶²⁰ The two kingdoms, Melvillian notion of polity is, upon close examination, a call for theocracy wherein the magistrate is working on behalf of Christ's kingdom, the Kirk. As such, the magistrate is subordinate to the church in all spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs. This is an important distinction to make because it frames a very different vision of social order to that which was held by the Stewarts, who saw the church as a tool for creating social stability and political uniformity, and the office of the crown as being divinely appointed with a kind of papist authority over all secular and ecclesiastical matters. The role and authority of the crown was consistent with the kings of Israel and Judah. Confrontation of a political nature was bound to occur, and that conflict resulted in spatial separation for many of those who held visions of the Knoxian notion of Scotland as a "perfect school of Christ".

The Doctrine of Decrees placed pressure on the individual to demonstrate obedience to God's commandments in social and public settings as a visible sign of internal election and sanctification. In Federal Calvinism, according to Torrance, the "practical concern means that the emphasis moves away from what God has done for us

⁶¹⁸ Torrance, *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today*, 41

and for mankind in Christ to what we are to do to know we are among the elect and in the covenant with Christ”.⁶²¹ In effect, this doctrine stressed the “Man-Law-Sin-Repentance-Grace” model of salvation that characterises the Old Testament plan of redemption.⁶²² While both statements of faith show the futility of a life without Christ, and also the destructive force embodied in sin, the *Westminster Confession* has a softer emotional tone. Unlike the comparatively strong theological statements in the *Westminster Confession*, the *Scots Confession* employs terms and expressions that only suggest the doctrine of limited atonement such as “God’s chosen ones” and “This Kirk invisible, known only to God, who alone knows whom he has chosen”, yet it also promises that God will give “power to as many as believe in him to be the sons of God”.⁶²³ The *Scots Confession* comes much closer to the Lutheran concept of unmerited salvation by grace through faith than does the *Westminster Confession*.

Modern Scottish theologians sometimes de-emphasise the doctrine of predestination suggested in the *Scots Confession*. For instance, Torrance argues that the origin of the doctrine of limited atonement rests with Theodore Beza. In discussing the weakness of the doctrine of decrees used in the *Westminster Confession*, Torrance writes: “It leads logically to the Bezan and post-Reformation doctrine of limited atonement”.⁶²⁴ Torrance’s assigning the origins of the doctrine of limited atonement and double predestination to Beza is not supported by Calvin’s own pen, for he described it as a decree in *The Institutes*:

Predestination we call the eternal decree of God by which He determined in himself what would have to become of every individual of mankind, for they are not all created with a similar destiny, but eternal life is foreordained for some and eternal damnation

⁶¹⁹ ‘Westminster Confession of Faith’, *Book of Confessions*, XXIII.

⁶²⁰ Torrance, *Westminster Confession*. 45-50.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

⁶²² *Ibid.* 49.

⁶²³ *Scots Confession*, III, XVI, VIII.

⁶²⁴ Torrance, *Westminster Confession*, 47.

for others. Every person, therefore, being created for one or the other of these two ends, we say is predestined to life or to death.⁶²⁵

Calvin's use of the decree is stressed by James D. Tracy, who notes that:

In 1550 Calvin debated before the city council of Geneva an ex-friar who maintained that while God does indeed predestine for salvation all who are saved, He offers his grace to all men ... Calvin responded that it made no sense to say that God decrees the salvation of those who are saved but not the damnation of those who are damned. God offers his grace only to those whom he chooses, and if man has no free will to participate in his own salvation, neither has he the free will to turn aside from God's decree. God displays his infinite mercy by saving those sinners He chooses to save and His infinite justice by condemning to Hell those sinners He chooses to condemn.⁶²⁶

Calvin clearly described a doctrine of limited atonement and double predestination, but he did not originate it, for it was espoused earlier in the fourteenth century by Gregory of Rimini, Father General of the Augustinian Friars and a leading theologian of his time.⁶²⁷ This is an important realisation because it would seem that Knox and his fellow reformers who admired Calvin were familiar with the doctrines of limited atonement and double predestination, but, for unknown reasons, they softened them in the *Scots Confession*. However, predestination is implied in the Scottish statement of faith.⁶²⁸

Just as the *Second Helvetic Confession* aimed to heal sacramental conflict between Lutherans and the Swiss-German Reformed Church, the *Westminster Confession of Faith* was written with the Solemn League and Covenant (1643) in mind. It was intended to bring the polity of the Anglican Church in line with that of the Kirk

⁶²⁵ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, translated into English by Ford Lewis Battles, John T. McNeil, ed. (Philadelphia, 1960), vol. 2, 926.

⁶²⁶ James D. Tracy. 'Doctrine: The German and Swiss Reformation, 1526-1555', in *Europe's Reformations: 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1999), 95

⁶²⁷ The inability to turn aside from God's decrees is attached to the doctrine of irresistible grace. See Ibid. 314.

⁶²⁸ For a further discussion on the *Scots Confession*, see Ian Hazlett, *The Scots confession 1560: Context, Complexion and Critique*, in Ernst Koch, *Handschriftliche Überlieferungen aus der Reformationszeit in der Stadtbibliothek Dessau*, ARG 78 (Berlin, 1987), S. 321.

in exchange for Scottish support against Charles I.⁶²⁹ However, Cromwell's Protectorate, guided by the Lord Protector's vision of an independent, congregational polity, along with a limited role for both the parliament and monarch, dismissed the divines in 1649. England, which had convened and dominated the Assembly of Divines, never used the Westminster Standards in the Anglican Church.⁶³⁰ Nonetheless, the soft Calvinist doctrines espoused in the old Scottish statement were stiffened in the *Westminster Confession*.

In addition to varying levels of adherence to Calvinist doctrines in the two statements of faith, however, there is the symbolic verbiage used with respect to the magistrate in the *Scots Confession*. This distinguishes it from its contemporary Reformed counterparts and its successors (the *Heidelberg and Second Helvetic Confessions*, and *The Westminster Confession of Faith*).⁶³¹ The *Scots Confession* uses many polarizing words and phrases in reference to the Kirk's beliefs and those of people holding other views or expressing contrary behaviours. For example, such phrases include the 'Kirk militant'; 'reprobate' and 'unfaithful'; 'lost in oblivion'; 'fear and torment';⁶³² 'horrible harlot', 'condemnation',⁶³³ and 'doctrine of devils'.⁶³⁴ By using symbolic expressions such as those, perhaps the authors of the *Scots Confession*

⁶²⁹ This action was not universally accepted in Scotland. It was actions such as this that drove James Graham, the Marquis of Montrose, from the ranks of the leading Covenanters. In his absence, leadership went to Montrose's rival Archibald Campbell, the Marquis of Argyll. See Edward J. Cowan, *Montrose: For Covenant and King* (Glasgow, 1977).

⁶³⁰ Five Scottish clergymen were present for discussions, but they could not vote. The English Parliament did approve the document with the addition of scripture proofs. However, the ascension of Oliver Cromwell stopped its adoption in England. Pride's Purge of 1648 forcibly removed Presbyterians from parliament in 1648. The next year, Cromwell's Puritan parliament executed Charles I. See *Book of Confessions*, 122.

⁶³¹ While the Calvinism of the *Scots Confession* is softer than its replacement, inter-actionist sociologists such as George Herbert Meade and Harold Garfinkel point out that words and communication carry with them assumptions and shared understandings. The choice of words used in the *Scots Confession* show the nation's concern for godly management of the magistrate's affairs in relation to the Kirk's frequently failed mission; see Anthony Giddens, *Sociology 4th ed.* (Cambridge, 2001), 87-8.

⁶³² *Scots Confession*, Chapter XVII.

⁶³³ *Ibid*, Chapter XVIII.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid*. Chapter XX.

assumed they could encourage a corrective response to a sense of guilt.⁶³⁵ On the other hand, the *Westminster Confession* simply told the people of Scotland that God's laws were to be followed and in specific ways. Failure to do so placed one in opposition to the true Church of Christ, and those sins would have consequences that would be used by God to draw His children closer to Him. As written by the Westminster divines:

The most wise, righteous, and gracious God, doth often-times leave for a season His own children to manifold temptations and the corruption of their own hearts, to chastise them for their former sins, or to discover unto them the hidden strength of corruption and deceitfulness of their hearts, that they be humble; and to raise them to a more close and constant dependence for their support upon himself, and to make them more watchful against all future occasions of sin and for sundry other just and holy ends.⁶³⁶

This innovation mimicked the structure of English contract law ("if then, what then?" scenarios). The Westminster document on faith clearly laid the theological groundwork for both Puritanical behaviours (based on biblical legalism, efficacious righteousness, and realised sanctification) and schisms over interpretations of the true faith.⁶³⁷

The Puritans' influence is evident in its emphasis on the manifestations of God's grace in the lives of the regenerate. In fact, it shows the futility of good works without God's grace. Thus:

Works done by unregenerate men, although, for the matter of them, they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and others; yet, because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith; nor are done in the right manner ... they are therefore sinfull, and cannot please God ... yet, their neglect is more sinfull, and displeasing to God.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ Such symbols have also been used by Arminians as a means to create a sense of guilt among people. People who feel guilty, according to the Arminian notion of "free will", would exercise it to abandon their sinful ways.

⁶³⁶ 'Of Creation', *Westminster Confession of Faith*, IV.

⁶³⁷ John Buchan and A. G. Smith, *The Kirk in Scotland, 1560-1929* (Edinburgh, 1930).

⁶³⁸ 'Of Good Works', *Westminster Confession of Faith* (London, 1647), VII.

As Gordon Marshall points out, such beliefs imposed psychological pressure on the individual to be assured of his/her state of salvation.⁶³⁹ David Dickson and the Presbyterian divine James Durham (1622-1658) provided guidance to the Scottish parishioner of ways to be assured of election. The divines insisted that diligence to works reveals evidence of internal election and justification. According to them, “the way to be sure both of our effectual calling, and election, is to make sure work of our faith in new obedience constantly: *for if ye do these things, (saith he), ye shall never fall*, understanding by these things, what he had said of sound faith, and what he said of the bringing out of the fruits of faith”.⁶⁴⁰

The *Westminster Confession* was drafted with little official input from Scottish Divines, although they were certainly involved in the informal discussions on doctrines and the need for a Presbyterian polity. The primary theologians who represented the Kirk at Westminster also led in the creation of the movement that gave rise to the Covenanting cause associated with the National Covenant. They were also inspirational leaders of the divines associated with the south-west of Scotland. They were younger men steeped in the strictness of the Melvillian, Presbyterian tradition.⁶⁴¹ Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661), mentioned in the previous chapter who had served as minister at Anwoth by the Solway since 1627, was accompanied by a probationary minister named George Gillespie (1613-1648) who wrote *Dispute concerning the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*⁶⁴² in 1637. They were joined by the scholarly and statesman-like minister of Leuchars, Alexander

⁶³⁹ Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707* (Edinburgh, 1980), 88.

⁶⁴⁰ David Dickson and James Durham, *The Sum of Saving Knowledge* (Edinburgh, 1871), 28.

⁶⁴¹ The Scottish divines who attended the Assembly were George Gillespie, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Lord Loudoun, and Robert Baillie. See Chapter Five for more biographical information on these men.

⁶⁴² George Gillespie, *Dispute concerning the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland* (1637).

Henderson (1583-1646), who had co-authored the National Covenant a few years earlier.⁶⁴³ Rutherford in *Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication* wrote “that there is nothing so small in either doctrinals or policy, so as man may alter, omit, or leave off these smallest positive things that God hath commanded.”⁶⁴⁴ Gillespie had already vehemently condemned episcopacy in favour of Presbyterianism, and warned of God’s wrath against Scotland as a result of that “corruption” in the Kirk. He wrote romantically that:

The Church of Scotland was blessed with more glorious and perfect reformation than any of our neighbour churches. The doctrine, discipline, regiment, and policy established here by ecclesiastical and civil laws, and sworn and subscribed unto by the king’s majesty ... But now, alas! Even this church, which was once so great a praise in the earth, is deeply corrupted, and has ‘turned aside quickly out of the way’ (Ex. 32:8). So that this is the Lord’s controversy against Scotland: ‘I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed; how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me’ (Jer. 2:21).⁶⁴⁵

Rutherford, Gillespie, and Henderson endorsed the adoption of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, and it was approved by the Scottish parliament in 1647. Its importance in Scottish religious thought and application to practice in pastoral theology increased over the next decades and was becoming widely accepted when the Presbyterian settlement was made in 1690. Its statements, especially on polity, led to many confrontations with Cromwell and with the house of Stewart after the Restoration in 1660. As Stevenson points out, “religion was too powerful a force for religious autonomy to be acceptable to the state”.⁶⁴⁶ This was especially true when the *Westminster Confession* seemed to support the commonly held notion amongst Presbyterian that “It was the state’s duty to help the church when asked, and it was the

⁶⁴³ Burleigh, *Church History*, 215.

⁶⁴⁴ Samuel Rutherford, *the Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication* (1646); see also Buchan and Smith, *The Kirk in Scotland*, 21.

⁶⁴⁵ Gillespie, *Dispute Concerning the English Popish*, 269.

⁶⁴⁶ Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 7.

church's duty to show civil powers (including kings) how to perform their duties in godly ways".⁶⁴⁷ This doctrine, which depended upon the sword of the magistrate to ensure proper social conduct in public spaces as well as defence against external foes, descended directly from the *Scots Confession*, which in turn was brought from Geneva to Scotland by Knox where he learned it from Calvin, who wrote: "For the Church has not the right of the sword to punish or restrain, has no power to coerce, no prison, nor other punishment which the magistrate is wont to inflict".⁶⁴⁸ The Scottish divines who supported Presbyterianism also embraced the *Westminster Confession*. They, like their reforming predecessors in Scotland, believed that the magistrate should comply with the Kirk.

The political and social implications of the *Westminster Confession* were in strong opposition to the Erastian impulses of the Stewarts, who wanted an Episcopal polity. As would be expected when two opposing visions of social and political power meet in a small country experiencing tremendous change, including demographic transition, conflict was frequent, especially in the south-west and Ireland where those pressures were intensely felt. Indeed, despite the triumph of Presbyterianism in 1690, many ministers and congregations in the region were unhappy with the lack of national will to achieve the vision of Scotland as a sacred place, "a perfect school of Christ".⁶⁴⁹

Like the south-west or Ulster, the Border country was a region of Presbyterian activism. The western Border country was also a region where Puritan and Presbyterian ministers like David Calderwood stirred anti-prelatic dogma that inspired Rutherford, who as a child sat transfixed in his Roxburghshire pew absorbing the words

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ John Calvin, quoted in Alistair McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), 216. This was also a medieval Catholic doctrine.

⁶⁴⁹ See Burleigh, *Church History*, 262-3 for a perspective on the society folk.

and ideas of the fiery preacher.⁶⁵⁰ David Stevenson points out with respect to the National Covenanting movement of 1638-39 that the Border country was among the most zealous regions in Scotland like parts of Lanarkshire, Argyll, the Lothians, Fife, and the rest of the Lowlands.⁶⁵¹

The parishes where Dickson, Livingstone and Rutherford preached were located to the west of the border country along the Irish Sea at Irvine, Stranraer, and Anwoth, respectively. Parishioners in this region also listened to the impassioned sermons of Robert Blair, John Welsh, Richard Cameron, James Renwick, James Nisbet, and James Hamilton, to name a few, as they espoused the virtues of doctrinaire Puritan-Presbyterianism while denouncing the evils of papacy and the threat of Erastianism through Episcopal orders.⁶⁵² “George Gillespie condemned Arminianism for its relationship to Erastianism which promoted magisterial sovereignty over the church and the exercise of religion”.⁶⁵³

As is shown in Chapter Seven, Scottish church leaders in south-western Scotland and Ulster were not only imbued with preferences for a Presbyterian polity, they were also convinced of Scotland’s geotheological importance. Returning to Scotland for some Ulster Scots ministers serving in the Synod of Ulster was regarded as an opportunity provided to them by an omniscient, graceful God. The Rev. John Anderson, for instance, consented to preach in Antrim in 1671 provided he would be released “to return to Scotland ‘when it pleased God to open a door’”.⁶⁵⁴ In February 1688, he was “called to his former people” and served in the General Assembly after

⁶⁵⁰ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 38.

⁶⁵¹ Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 2.

⁶⁵² Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 79.

⁶⁵³ Ibid 262. Arminianism refers to a theological doctrine named for Jacobus Arminius who argued against the predestination interpretation of strict Calvinism. Specifically, Arminius took issue with the incompatibility between predestination and human free will. Humans could thus reject God’s offer of salvation. See Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism* (Oxford, 1987).

⁶⁵⁴ Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland*

the 1690 Presbyterian settlement.⁶⁵⁵ Blair was convinced that God enabled him and his colleagues to return to Scotland to fulfil an important role in sacred history.⁶⁵⁶ Informed by a geopious world view and committed to a participatory polity, the Puritan-Presbyterian minister serving in south-western Scotland and Ulster was prone to react schismatically to opposing world views. The next sections explore the doctrines and spatial patterns of ministers who were deposed at the Restoration. These analyses provide empirical evidence for the argument that institutional and social ties along with the sea and landscapes associated with the Irish Sea and its northern coastal lands enabled the development of a distinctive community Protestants to become established in the culture area.

Schismatic Developments in South-western Scotland and Ulster

The consequences of steadfastness among trans-Irish Sea Presbyterians in the late-seventeenth century is perhaps best explained by Thomas Hobbes who wrote that Presbyterianism “was liable to hive into sects”.⁶⁵⁷ As a region far from the political power centre of Scotland, the rugged lands of the south-west with its seaward orientation were ideally prone to harbour religious views that ran contrary to a monarchy bent on uniformity through episcopacy. Even when established as the official polity of the Kirk in 1690, there were dissenting voices in the region. The first schism occurred in the south-west of Scotland among some of the followers (Cameronians) of the martyrs Richard Cameron (1648-1680) and Donald Cargill (1619-

from the Reformation (Edinburgh, 1915), ii., 400, 789-90; James McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church 1613-1840* (Belfast, 1951), 57-8.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁶ William Row, quoted in *Life of Mr. Robert Blair: Containing his Autobiography, from 1593 to 1636*, ed. T. M'Crie, *Life of Mr. Robert Blair* (Edinburgh, 1848), 146.

⁶⁵⁷ Buchan and Smith, *Kirk in Scotland*, 53. Thomas Hobbes, who had served as tutor to Charles I, was an advocate of the headship of the king over both secular and ecclesiastical affairs. Hobbes referred to the king as “supreme pastor”. See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill* (London, 1651).

1681). John Macmillan (1670-1753), a conventicler and a leader among the Cameronians, led the way in organizing the region's societies (conventicles) into a presbytery that grew into the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland in 1743. Ebenezer Erskine wrote that "there is a difference to be made between the established Church of Scotland and the Church of Christ in Scotland."⁶⁵⁸ The Reformed Presbyterian Church diffused from south-western Scotland to Ulster, and, with the help of Scottish divines who made regular trips to Ulster, the Reformed Presbytery was formed in Ireland in 1763. The Irish church body grew into a Synod by 1811. Nowhere in Scotland was anti-Erastian sentiment (except in regard to the *Regium Donum*) felt with as much passion as in south-western Scotland and Ulster. In speaking of the Ulster Presbyterians, John Dunlop, an Ulster Presbyterian minister and author, noted that it is important to recognise that Presbyterians have a strong tendency to split over breaches in principle. As he writes, hinting at the inevitable geography of schism:

The Presbyterian people who live in Ireland have connections with the Presbyterianism of Scotland and the rest of the world. There is a well-established tendency to divide rather than to accommodate conflicting diversity when a perceived betrayal of principle is involved. Anyone who thinks that these people from this tradition are going to be domesticated and turned into easy-going people who will agree to anything, does not appreciate that the traditions which inform their lives have been with them for some hundreds of years.⁶⁵⁹

Michael Fry writes that "It is a peculiar trait of presbytery that, when established, no religion could be more regular and loyal; but, disestablished or dissenting, it may turn radical to the point of sedition".⁶⁶⁰

In a retrospective examination of its affairs as it reunited with the Free Church of Scotland, the Kirk in 1929 accepted three general reasons for the schisms that rocked

⁶⁵⁸ Buchan and Smith, *Kirk in Scotland*, 54.

⁶⁵⁹ John Dunlop, *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the Conflict in Ireland* (Belfast, 1995), 28-9.

⁶⁶⁰ Fry, *Scottish Empire*, 13.

its solidarity, including the Disruption of 1843.⁶⁶¹ These reasons are relevant to the Plantation movement because they are intertwined with the mindset that spread throughout south-western Scotland and Ulster. First, Ninian Winzet (a Catholic apologist), in his conflict with Knox, believed he showed how the reformers wedded together biblical passages to validate their creed instead of pulling a creed from the scriptures. The range of interpretations that could be drawn from the Bible, therefore, represents a primary reason for schisms. George Gillespie expressed his belief that true Christian liberty would lead to a unified Church, and that true Christian liberty would be assured by God if His written Word was the foundation of Church doctrine. He wrote this plea to his colleagues:

Hath not God promised to give us one heart and one way...? Hath not the mediator prayed that all his may be one? Brethren, it is not impossible, pray for it, (and) press hard toward the mark of accommodation. How much better it that you be one with the other Reformed churches, though somewhat strained and bound up, then be divided through at full liberty and elbowroom?⁶⁶²

Gillespie's plea, which was primarily directed at Baptists and Separatists, centred on his belief that divisions and contentions hinder the preaching and learning of Christ which come from His Word, the scriptures. Moreover, he believed that the body of Christ, the Church, could not be divided unless it divided Christ. James Durham believed that schismatic beliefs and behaviours were a great evil, and as he neared his death his concern over schisms was great. In dealing with his anguish over tensions within the Kirk, he wrote *The Dying Man's Testament to the Church of Scotland; or, A Treatise Concerning Scandal*. "Sure there is no evil doth more suddenly and inevitably overturn the church than this", he stated, that it "makes her fight against herself, and eat

⁶⁶¹ The three reasons are discussed and expanded upon in this section. The author adds a fourth reason. Buchan and Smith, *Kirk in Scotland*, 54.

⁶⁶² George Gillespie, *Wholesome Severity Reconciled with Christian Liberty or, the True Resolution of the Present Controversie Concerning Liberty of Conscience* (London, 1644), 39-40.

her own flesh, and tear her own bowels: for, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand".⁶⁶³ Since Christ is the sovereign ruler of the world, it is impossible truly to divide him. Like most of the Divines at Westminster, Gillespie wanted to advance God's kingdom on earth, and any dissension from their interpretation of scripture and polity was counter-productive. The potential for conflict within Protestantism was necessarily great, especially when it is recognised that the Baptists and Separatists tended to be micro-theocrats (small insulated communities of believers), Episcopalians leaned toward Erastianism, and Gillespie and his Presbyterian compatriots were arguably macro or universal theocrats. There are possible geographic implications for these orientations. The belief that Christ could not truly be divided meant that congregations, including those that were autonomous and Baptist, must follow the true religion in order to bring God's favour upon the state, the land and people. The goal of the theocrats (both micro and macro) was to promote a Christ-centred society wherein the magistrate would follow the guidance of church officials who, through the scriptures, were in a better position to know God's sovereign will. In opposition to Congregationalists, Gillespie believed that an over-arching (macro) church structure would best ensure that congregations followed the true religion. In his way of thinking, which was shared by Robert Blair, diverse communities among Baptists were developing abhorrent expressions of the faith. Moreover, the state and the nation's land would be blessed by God through his rewarding their good works in both public (visible) and private spaces. A sinful magistrate in charge of Erastian episcopacy could not, in the minds of Gillespie and his colleagues, know God's will without guidance from the Kirk. God's blessings would not flow upon the land under such a polity.

⁶⁶³ James Durham, *the Dying Man's Testament to the Church of Scotland; or, A Treatise Concerning Scandal* (Edinburgh, 1659), 311.

This led to a situation in which disagreements with one's obstinate neighbour could lead to charges of heresy. It is a short distance from this view to the idea that, if a person's neighbour is operating outside the will of God, then God is not his/her master. And, the only other alternative is that, if God is not his/her master, then Satan is his/her ruler. The belief that God would only allow one true interpretation of the scriptures was at the root of Christian liberty during the seventeenth century. What this meant in practical terms is that the civil magistrate could not dictate doctrine to the Church, but they also could not allow for diversity in scriptural interpretation.⁶⁶⁴

A second closely related reason for schisms rested with the conception of the church as universal. This idea was carried over from the medieval church. The major difference, however, was that the post-Reformation church was to be based on Calvinism.⁶⁶⁵ In *The Scots Confession* it is stated that "this Kirk is catholic (not Roman Catholic), that is, universal, because it contains the chosen of all ages, of all realms, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jews or be they of the Gentiles, who have communion and society with God the Father, and with his Son, Christ Jesus, through the sanctification of his Holy Spirit."⁶⁶⁶ *The Scots Confession* also stressed the responsibility of the civil magistrate to ensure the viability of the universal Kirk.⁶⁶⁷ This doctrine was not lost in the National Covenant, which clearly reminded the magistrate of both the acts of parliament and the king's signature that approved it:

Like as many Acts of Parliament are conceived for maintenance of God's true and Christian religion, and the purity thereof, in doctrine and sacraments of the true church of God, the liberty and freedom thereof, in her national, synodal assemblies, presbyteries, sessions, policy, discipline, and jurisdiction thereof; as that purity of

⁶⁶⁴ Edwin Nisbet Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage: The Covenanters' Struggle for Unity in Truth* (Ross-Shire, 2000), 41.

⁶⁶⁵ Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 3.

⁶⁶⁶ *The Scots Confession*, Chapter XVI.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid*, Chapter XXIV.

religion, and liberty of the church was used, professed, exercised, preached, and confessed, according to the reformation of religion in this realm.⁶⁶⁸

This doctrine was not displaced by their English counterparts who met in the Westminster Assembly. Those divines, with the advice of the Kirk's Rutherford and Gillespie, added it to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. The Westminster Confession admonished the magistrate to protect the purity of the Church without assuming any role in the administration of the rights of the clergy:

The Civill Magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven: yet, he hath authoritie, and it is his dutie, to take order, that Unitie and Peace be preserved in the Church, that the Truth of God be kept pure and intire, that all Blasphemies and Heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in Worship and Discipline prevented, or reformed; and all the Ordinance of God duely settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them, be according to the mind of God.⁶⁶⁹

This doctrine was applied in most Scottish parishes, but, because of the doctrine of the universal church, its use resulted in at least two major problems for the Kirk. It required a prohibition against the diversity in religion which was just shown, and it also made manifest the need for coercion. Knox and his successors, believing the Kirk to be the embodiment of divine will, saw themselves as the protector of the true religion. As the frequency of reported witch trials seems to indicate, the adoption of the *Westminster Confession*, which reflected the ethos of the times, reinforced the use of coercion throughout England, Ireland and Scotland.⁶⁷⁰ The task of making people abide by the divine will as interpreted by the Kirk was daunting. To be effective, it was necessary to

⁶⁶⁸ Archibald Johnston and Alexander Henderson, *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland: or The National Covenant with a Designation of Such Acts of Parliament as are Expedient for Justifying the Union after Mentioned* (Edinburgh, 1640).

⁶⁶⁹ 'Of the Civill Magistrate', *Westminster Confession*, Chapter XXV, III.

⁶⁷⁰ A. G. Reid, *Annals of Auchterarder and Memorials of Strathearn* (Perth, 1989), 211-252. Michael Lynch writes that after the Stewart Restoration in 1660, there began an era which begat "one of the

use the powers of the civil magistrate to enforce discipline on the masses.⁶⁷¹ The power of the magistrate to compel all to comply with divine law was enhanced by the fear that God's displeasure over the lack of lawful conduct from the elect would cause God to dispense his wrath on the community or even the nation.⁶⁷² The doctrine also applied to Roman Catholicism and any other forms of ecclesiastical diversity, including with respect to sects and those Arminian doctrines that Rutherford strongly opposed.⁶⁷³

Coercion in the Church was not a novelty. In speaking to the schismatic fourth-century Donatists of North Africa, Augustine advocated coercion as a means to "compel them to come in."⁶⁷⁴ In the minds of the leaders of the Kirk, ecclesiastical diversity was no better than moral apathy. The result of this opinion, whether held by Episcopalians or Presbyterians, was a pervasive desire to make the visible church resemble the invisible church which they believed was known only to God. As a result, the most secular aspects of life received supervision from the Kirk session, clearly blurring the boundaries between the 'two kingdoms'. This oversight was insisted upon by those who sought evidence of election and sanctification in the lives of both themselves and others because of their belief that such a favoured condition by God would manifest tangible signs.⁶⁷⁵

The collusion of church and state was a third reason for schism and separation. The ethos of the Scottish Kirk insisted upon coercive control of both the elect and the

largest witch crazes in Scottish history". See Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 2001), 297.

⁶⁷¹ Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002).

⁶⁷² This provides a consequence of sin in the "if then, what then" nature of English contract law. The consequence of waywardness of the elect could have macro social and political ramifications.

⁶⁷³ Samuel Rutherford, *Exercitationes Apologeticae* (Amsterdam, 1636). The Scots divines who participated in the Assembly as advisors were Calvinists. Rutherford was among the more vocal opponents of the new doctrine of Arminianism, and his views, reflected in *Exercitationes Apologeticae*, caused him political problems with Bishop Thomas Sydserff of Galloway.

⁶⁷⁴ Buchan and Smith, *Kirk in Scotland*, 25. Donatism was an early fourth-century movement, primarily led by the Berber Christian Donatus in North Africa, which refused to recognise church officers who turned aside from the faith during the persecutions of Diocletian (303 to 305).

⁶⁷⁵ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1958).

unregenerate (they audaciously assumed that they would know who was of the invisible church), thereby obscuring the relationship between the Kirk and the state. This notion has its roots in how the Emperor Constantine had used his power to call councils to control heresies in the Church. The earliest reformers, however, had accepted the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian which defined the respective rights of church and state. That principle collapsed as the Old Testament increasingly guided their thoughts toward a paradigm in which political power was seen as a gift from God. Knox conceived the Kirk as having unlimited power, subject of course to scripture, which meant that conflict with the crown was bound to occur. The basis for this situation in the Kirk perhaps rested with Knox's emphasis on the supremacy of scripture and his belief in Scotland's geothological significance. "Though Knox adhered to the basic principles of the Reformed tradition, he was a man of the Old Testament ... He strove for a corporate return of Scottish religion to the ideal of spiritual Israel."⁶⁷⁶ Drawing from Deuteronomy 12:32, Knox insisted that every aspect of worship should be taken from scripture; further, he believed it was the responsibility of the civil authority to abolish any forms of religion that were contrary to the true faith.⁶⁷⁷ According to *The Scots Confession*,

we state that the preservation and purification of religion is particularly the duty of kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates. They are not only appointed for civil government (by divine order) but also to maintain the true religion and to suppress all idolatry and superstition ... We further state that so long as princes and rulers vigilantly fulfil their office, anyone who denies them aid, counsel, or service, denies it to God, who by his lieutenant craves it of them.⁶⁷⁸

The *Westminster Standards*, as already discussed, continued this line of thought.

However, it states that, unlike the *Scots Confession*, the magistrate's infidelity and

⁶⁷⁶ Richard Kyle, quoted in Donald K. McKim, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Reformed Faith* (Edinburgh, 1992), 209.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

indifference in religion does not relieve the true Christian citizen from being subject to the magistrate's authority.⁶⁷⁹ The authors of *The Scots Confession* warned that Christ is the head of His Kirk, the just law giver. Those civil leaders, who do not act vigilantly, to be determined by the ecclesiastical authorities, invited social dissent. "To which honours and offices, if man or angels presume to intrude themselves, we utterly detest and abhor them, as blasphemous to our sovereign and supreme Governor, Christ Jesus".⁶⁸⁰ Depending on which document two people chose to consult, one person could come away with a different opinion than the other on issues of political dissension. At any rate, the Kirk reformers in the sixteenth century provided their colleagues and parishioners with a doctrinal precedence for civil disobedience in the name of conscience and purity; but, through collusion with the state as articulated in the *Westminster Standards*, the Kirk in the later half of the seventeenth century could bring the weight of the state down upon all citizens except the monarch.⁶⁸¹

This subtle difference in the two statements of faith supports Torrance's thesis that the *Westminster Confession* called for a modified Erastianism exercised through an established Presbyterian Kirk, a distinction that perhaps Rutherford and Gillespie missed. Perchance they believed the Kirk would greatly influence the adoption and enforcement of laws designed to regulate sinful behaviour, and that the institution of government, as opposed to the individual magistrate who would likely fall into one of Satan's snares, would dispassionately abide by the bilateral conditions of the *Westminster Confession*, which clearly stipulates that the government is to work to

⁶⁷⁸ *Scots Confession*, Chapter XXIV.

⁶⁷⁹ 'Westminster Confession of Faith', *Book of Confessions*, XXIII.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid*, XI.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid*. XXIII.

insure purity and unity in religion and to provide the Kirk with assistance in bringing about social order.⁶⁸²

When Knox's successor Andrew Melville declared to King James VI in October 1596 that Scotland had two kings and two kingdoms, it seemed a reasonable statement about spiritual independence.⁶⁸³ However, Melville also informed the King that he, the earthly monarch, was only a member of the Kirk, which is the embodiment of Christ's kingdom on earth.⁶⁸⁴ Melville's points were intended to validate the right of the Kirk to interfere in secular policy, a practice that Knox had taken quite seriously and harshly in trying to guide the policies of Mary, Queen of Scots.⁶⁸⁵ To Melville and his followers Rutherford, Blair, Bruce, Livingstone, Gillespie and Henderson, all was well when the magistrate followed their views on civil policy. As the hierarchical order of church-state their relationships rested on varying interpretations of the *Westminster Confession*, this made it relatively easy for schisms to develop. The subtle differences in interpretation when applied to society and social order meant completely different visions of control based on the potentially capricious nature of Erastian morality or the increasingly hard-line goals of theocrats.

However, a fourth reason escaped the attention of the Kirk in 1929, and since it was related to the psychological and social response (evidence of sanctification revealed in public spaces) to the doctrine of justification by faith, it centred on the practical everyday social understanding and application of that doctrine. Torrance describes the Lutheran view of salvation as being based upon the doctrine of a

⁶⁸² Ibid. XXV, III.

⁶⁸³ The issue of ecclesiastical power was at the heart of the problems that befell Archbishop Thomas Beckett (c 1118-1170) and Henry II (1133-1189).

⁶⁸⁴ Thomas M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, new ed. (Edinburgh, 1899), 181.

⁶⁸⁵ Antonia Fraser, *Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1969), 342.

unilateral covenant between God and the believer.⁶⁸⁶ The Westminster divines, as discussed earlier, saw a need for external or behavioural evidence of internal grace and election because of their concern for the “if then?, what then” legalism scenarios that developed in their statement of faith. When examining this shift, Torrance contends that the salvation doctrine also shifted from the “covenant and grace” basis espoused by Luther to the “contract and merit” premise that characterised Old Testament beliefs about redemption. Among the masses of people, this shift made godly conduct a social and personal premium because sinful behaviour was subject to punishment by the local session acting through the civil magistrate. The Rev. Robert Rollock, who Torrance regards as the first Scottish minister to embrace the bi-lateral covenant of English law and thus the salvation doctrine of contract and merit, pointed out that:

good workes are not causes of our justification, of life: they are but the fruites of justification. A man doeth not good workes to be justified; but is justified to bring out good workes: they have their own use: they are only comfortable to them who worke them, and to confirm their calling, justification, and life: but also those who stand by, and looke to them ... they are edified by their onlooking.⁶⁸⁷

Whereas in the *Scots Confession* grace and salvation are provided to the elect on a unilateral, Lutheran basis with the expectation that there would a response, Scottish theologians in the seventeenth century saw it necessary to demonstrate godly behaviours as a reflection of internal election, giving rise to the need to demonstrate evidence of salvation in public places. As the church was the gate-keeper of heaven, it was incumbent upon the elders in a parish to provide guidance and direction on appropriate behaviours.

⁶⁸⁶ James B. Torrance, ‘Covenant or Contract: A Study of the Theological Background of Worship in Seventeenth Century Scotland’, *Lecture Notes*, New College, University of Edinburgh. Notes are on file in the archives of the Stewartry of Strathearn at the Manse, Aberdalgie, Perthshire, UK.

⁶⁸⁷ Robert Rollock, *Five and Twenty Lectures* (Edinburgh, 1616), 98.

Through this theological shift and its implications on policing social behaviour, the power in the south-west, as elsewhere, was altered. Rutherford and Dickson were regional leaders. They only mildly supported the *Westminster Confession* because they felt the document was theologically too weak and perhaps too strong on Erastianism, but they certainly felt that the church had a role to play in providing direction on appropriate conduct.⁶⁸⁸ Through their strong sermons and writings made during the ascendancy of Presbyterian rule in the wake of the National Covenant of 1638, their views were widely accepted in the south-west. It followed that Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries, which were composed of men who in many instances held positions of civil authority, took on a leading police role.⁶⁸⁹ By their positions of secular authority as well as through the apparatus of the Presbytery, communication between parishes effectively enforced a code of conduct that aided the visible church's efforts to personify the invisible body of Christ.⁶⁹⁰ Some members of the nobility were not immune from sanctions emanating from Kirk sessions.⁶⁹¹ Arguably this situation placed much of the everyday enforcement of morality on the conscience of the local magistrate, who was often an elder in the established church and a member of the gentry. However, the Engager⁶⁹² movement of 1648, which was led by the gentry, instigated a popular protest in the west as thousands of mostly humble folk gathered in defiance to decry the Engagers as betrayers of the Covenants.⁶⁹³ As Chapter Three demonstrates, the power structure in the south-west of Scotland was significantly

⁶⁸⁸ Torrance, *Westminster Confession*, 40.

⁶⁸⁹ Michael F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: Godly Discipline and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (New York, 1996). See also Geoffrey Parker, 'The Kirk ... and the Taming of Scotland' in *Empire, War, and Faith in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002), 253-87.

⁶⁹⁰ Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 11.

⁶⁹¹ Lynch, *Scotland*, 250.

⁶⁹² The Engager movement was a dialogue among some Scots and Charles I to keep him as monarch.

⁶⁹³ Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 62-3. As will be seen later in this chapter, most of the ministers in Galloway lost their charges for failing to conform to Episcopacy at the Restoration. In Chapter Three it is shown that changes in land tenancy created a surplus of displaced labourers in the region. Given those two

changed by the Restoration because of the feuing of farm land, and because of the deposition of charismatic ministers committed to the covenants.

Theocratic Expectations, Repression and Exile

From the time of the Scottish Reformation, Puritan-Presbyterian divines, along with many Episcopalians, took note of their presumed high place in sacred history. In doing so, Scotland took on geoteleological significance, a topic covered in the next chapter, as a leader in the universal Reformed Kirk. The clear beliefs of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia set the stage for political actions and monarchical reaction that led to their great disappointment, followed by a rationalisation that there was indeed Biblical precedence for taking refuge outside of Scotland.⁶⁹⁴ The founders of the Reformation in Scotland had themselves sought refuge in religious sanctuaries, most notably in Emden, Geneva, Frankfurt, Copenhagen and England. They believed that sojourns of this nature were a part of the unfolding drama of providence and that they themselves were connected to biblical icons as leaders in the true church. Refuge such as the wilderness (i.e., the Egyptian desert or the decimated lands of Ulster) allowed the true followers of Christ to avoid a wrong-headed monarch's staff and rod as they were let loose to control his/her nation. As written in the *Scots Confession*:

For he called Abraham from his father's country, instructed him, and multiplied his seed; he marvelously preserved him, and more marvelously delivered his seed from the bondage and tyranny of Pharaoh; to them he gave his laws, constitutions, and ceremonies; to them he gave the land of Canaan; after he had given them judges, and afterward saw, he gave David to be king, to whom he gave his promise that of the fruit of his loins should one sit forever upon his royal throne. To this same people from time to time he sent prophets, to recall them to the right way of their God, from which sometimes they sometimes strayed by adultery ... for righteousness he was compelled to give them into the hands of their enemies, as had previously been threatened by the

facts, it is arguable that the nobility simply lost its ability to manipulate local residents through economic and/or spiritual means.

⁶⁹⁴ By the late seventeenth century, the Covenanters no longer represented the Melvillian intelligentsia, although they certainly believed that they were representing the true religion.

mouth of Moses, so that the holy city was destroyed, the temple burned with fire, and the whole land desolate for seventy years, yet in mercy he restored them again to Jerusalem, where the city and temple were rebuilt, and they endured against all temptations and assaults of Satan till the messiah came according the promise.⁶⁹⁵

In helping to overturn Laud's liturgy, the returning Scots ministers from Ireland were empowered by the unfolding political events. Their empowerment strengthened their visions of fulfilling sacred history. Scottish church leaders acting through the Presbyterian Party nearly achieved a theocracy in Scotland in the wake of the signing of the National Covenant in 1638. Their expectations were high, but were short lived because their theocratic rigidity manifested itself in harsh ways. Ministers were among the leaders of the forces against royalists that astounded moderate observers when they cried "Jesus and no quarter." Their defeats at Dunbar (1650) and subsequent disaster at Worcester (1651) forced Charles II, the-would-be puppet monarch of the Covenanters and their leaders, the Campbells of Argyll, into a depressing nine-year exile. The Presbyterian Party was pushed from the fore of Scottish political power. With the fleeing young monarch went memories of his bad experiences, specifically at the hands of the Marquis of Argyll and his compatriots. Among his tortuous memories were the many lectures he was forced to hear denouncing his family.⁶⁹⁶

To the astonishment of the Marquis of Argyll and those of his party that worked with Oliver Cromwell and General George Monk, the Protectorate ended within ten years. They were also shocked when they discovered that General Monk was a key activist in facilitating the Restoration of the House of Stewart in 1660. Charles II returned to Britain with pomp and ceremony, and the Marquis of Argyll, once leader of the Covenanters, found his offer of fealty to the returning king ignored. Charles broke what unity remained among his former masters by appointing James Sharp from their

⁶⁹⁵ 'Preservation of the Kirk', *Scots Confession*, V.

ranks as Archbishop of St Andrews. Also that same year, he executed Argyll for his earlier “treasonous conduct”. To Charles II, the word Covenanter had a sinister meaning. He tried unsuccessfully to eradicate completely the institutionalisation of its anti-Erastian sentiments, but the spirit of the National Covenant remained, although by now a lost cause, especially among the Presbyterians in the south-western Lowlands.⁶⁹⁷ For Presbyterian-minded Scots, the years from 1638 to 1690 were times of great expectations followed by depths of sorrow and bitter disappointment over the passing away of their dreams for a Scottish theocracy.⁶⁹⁸

Charles II tried with limited success to dispense indulgences to dissenting preachers, as he hoped such offers to those ministers willing to renounce the Covenants would bring about peaceful unity in his northern kingdom. He also paid the *Regium Donum* to dissenting Protestants in Ireland. Despite his efforts, the last three years of his reign (1682-85) were the most troublesome, and the 1680s have even been called the “killing times.”⁶⁹⁹ Leyburn writes that the killing times after 1679, which was the year that the hard line Covenanters suffered a major defeat at Bothwell Brig, produced migrations of dejected Lowland Scots.

Dogmatic and impassioned sermons that emphasised apostolic and apocalyptic visions laced with nationalistic sentiments that sacralised Scotland, its people and their institutions, impacted upon their perceptions of reality. Regardless of the historicity of the fates of so-called Presbyterian martyrs, in the folk memory of the trans-Irish Sea Presbyterian community, those men and women were gallant heroes who sometimes made the ultimate sacrifice in the name of what they believed to be religious freedom

⁶⁹⁶ MacLeod, *Dynasty*, 224-225.

⁶⁹⁷ This resistance was mainly in the south-west of Scotland. See Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 66.

⁶⁹⁸ This was especially true because the restored monarch was an Episcopalian and the heir was a Roman Catholic.

⁶⁹⁹ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1998); James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962).

for themselves, although it did not mean freedom for others of differing beliefs. Those sentiments were certainly used as propaganda tools for community and religious leaders, who were breaking free of the time-honoured model of community power which was being wrested from the hands of the nobility. “If the reformed church ... did anything to break down the old social ties which had dominated Scotland in the past”, wrote Gordon Donaldson, “it was done in this period (1660 to 1700), and not either at the Reformation or at the time of the National Covenant. The leadership of the nobility was displaced to some extent by the leadership of ministers, but mainly perhaps by the leadership of the area”.⁷⁰⁰ Local leaders typically served on legal parish sessions, in illegal conventicles, or perhaps, in the cases of some, in both simultaneously.⁷⁰¹

With an ethnocentric interpretation of the Christian religion and a geopious regard for the home of the Scottish nation, the world of the Scot lay anywhere that the hand of the omnipresent God, through his earthly vassals, led. Just as Abraham led his people from Ur in Mesopotamia in search of the *Gemeinschaft* of Canaan, “the land flowing with milk and honey,” or as Moses led his people from Egypt, so some Scots could suffer a time in Ireland. The overt confidence or national conceit, as it is called by Donaldson, held that Scotland was a blessed kingdom, but such a view was shaken by the political events of the second half of the seventeenth century, causing a rippling diffusion of those geopious sentiments across the Irish Sea.

During times of unusual persecution or adverse environmental conditions brought on by overpopulation and crop failures, apostolic messages from the region’s pulpits reassured worried people of their place in God’s providence. Such messages

⁷⁰⁰ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 367.

⁷⁰¹ It must be recalled that, to those who regarded the National Covenant as a perpetually binding oath, sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament and king, they were acting within the law of land. They saw the

must have been eagerly received, prompting some to seek refuge in Ireland or perhaps to return to Scotland when providence, as it was believed by Blair and Livingstone, made the opportunity available. As S. A. Burrell writes about the use of apocalyptic sermons among the clergy of seventeenth-century Scotland:

The prevalence of this ... helps also to explain the motives that lay behind those half-forgotten efforts to bring about a truly reformed ecumene ... The blessed truth of the Evangel was not given to every people but only to those with a special mission and charged with leading the way toward Christ's universal kingdom which would be founded upon his universal church. As a result, the loyalties of religious rebels were sometimes directed toward a foreign power, unless and until such time as the religion of the state coincided with their own.⁷⁰²

With the nobility and its conservative orientation to preserving the status quo challenged in the south-western Lowlands, religious leaders of the masses of poor farmers and labourers depended on the use of symbols and imagery gleaned from apostolic and prophetic messages to propagate and maintain their positions of power. However, in greater Scotland, what served as a unifying symbol for some in the south-west was seen by others outside the region as disuniting, centrifugal forces.

Schismatic Regionalisation in Scotland and Ireland

As discussed in Chapter Five, south-western Scotland and Ulster was heavily influenced by the beliefs of the Puritan-Presbyterian followers of Andrew Melville. Even before the Restoration in 1660, the west of Scotland was highly volatile with respect to religion and politics. In 1648, while many in the east and north of Scotland were quite willing to engage with Charles I, the west remained committed to the principles of the Covenants. Several thousand westerners, mostly people of low-birth

actions of the restored monarchy as immoral and those who supported its policies as immoral and illegal agents.

⁷⁰² S. A. Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters, *Scottish Historical Review* (1964), Vol. XLIII No. 135. 1-24, 6.

and without the leadership of the nobility, gathered in defiance of the Engagers but were dispersed after a skirmish at Mauchline Moor.⁷⁰³ In 1666, a rising of Galloway Covenanters culminated in a march on Edinburgh, and, like their effort in 1648, it was attempted without the help of the nobility. It ended with their dismal defeat at Rullion Green on 26 November.⁷⁰⁴ Charles II alternated between the use of the military to suppress the dissenting groups and more lenient, conciliatory efforts such as indulgences to deposed ministers.

Alexander Peden was born in Ayrshire, educated at the University of Glasgow and served as minister at New Luce in Galloway from 1658 until his deposition in 1660.⁷⁰⁵ He was among the most influential and schismatic ministers deposed during the Restoration. Peden made numerous relocations across the North Channel of the Irish Sea. The Covenanter James Nisbet certainly regarded him as one who was sent to Scotland by the sovereign will of God.⁷⁰⁶ Peden, although concerned about moral conduct among the elect, believed that Scotland and Ireland would soon see blood flowing over Scotland's covenanted land for its apostasy.⁷⁰⁷ Peden eventually settled into life as a recluse in a cave near the place of his birth, and he died there in 1686. Shortly afterward in 1690, Presbyterianism was made the official polity of the Church of Scotland. While dissenting groups of Covenant supporters such as the Society

⁷⁰³ Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 62. See also Ian Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660-1688* (London, 1976).

⁷⁰⁴ David Ross, *Chronology of Scottish History* (New Lanark, 2002), 65.

⁷⁰⁵ Concerning the biography of Alexander Peden, see Robert Simpson, *Traditions of the Covenanters* (Edinburgh, c. 1900). See also Alexander Smellie, *Men of the Covenant: The Story of the Scottish Church in the Years of the Persecution* (Edinburgh, 1975).

⁷⁰⁶ James Nisbet, *The Private Life of the Persecuted*, William Oliphant, ed. (Edinburgh, 1827), vii. Nisbet also describes interacting with Alexander Peden, who made numerous crossings to Ireland.

⁷⁰⁷ Alexander Peden, *The Lord's Trumpet Sounding an Alarm Against Scotland, by Warning of a Bloody Sword* (Edinburgh reprinted 1739).

People remained somewhat active and tolerated in the south-west of Scotland, their appeal was greatly diminished amongst a people tired of religious conflict.⁷⁰⁸

Nonetheless, the deposition of ministers at the Restoration can be viewed as empirical evidence that Puritan-Presbyterianism made an indelible mark on south-western Scotland and Ulster. It is perhaps logical to assume that when the restored monarchy deposed dissenting ministers throughout Scotland, England, Ireland and Wales in 1660, regional patterns would reveal a similar rate of deposition for Ireland and the south-west of Scotland. Gordon Donaldson's analysis of dissenting, non-conforming ministers in Scotland can be used as a partial basis for reconstructing the Scottish and Irish religious landscape with respect to dissention in 1660-61. Due to his focus, Donaldson failed to look eastward or attempt an explanation of regional peculiarities in Scotland (see Table 1). Instead he compared Scotland's aggregate ministerial non-conformity to that of England, which, he points out, was 2,000 or "about a fifth of the total number of ministers in that country".⁷⁰⁹ On the other hand, the monarchy, as Donaldson reports, deposed 270 or some 25 percent of Scotland's ministers.

His analysis apparently only considers the difference of 5 percent (a fifth minus a quarter) between the non-conformity rates for England and Scotland because he concludes that Scotland was not unique in the way it dealt with ecclesiastical non-conformity. While he admits that the desire for a unified church was sufficiently strong enough in Scotland to curb ecclesiastical secession among those who held Presbyterian sentiments, Donaldson concludes that "Arithmetic hardly supports the assumption that

⁷⁰⁸ The Society People were alternatively called the Cameronians in recognition of Richard Cameron. See Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 70-71. See also Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*. By 1743, they established a Reformed Presbytery. Aided by Scottish ministers and reflecting a limited yet continued orientation toward religious dissension in the culture area, a Reformed Presbytery was formed in Ireland in 1763.

⁷⁰⁹ Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 366.

there was a peculiarly strong antipathy to episcopacy in Scotland”.⁷¹⁰ His wrapping up that Scotland harboured no noticeably strong antipathy to episcopacy nonetheless begs a deeper, regional analysis that includes data from Ireland and the Synod of Ulster. A regional rank order for the percentages of deprived ministers during the Stewart restoration shows a closer relationship between Galloway and Ireland than it does between Galloway and Scotland north of the Tay. A comparison of data from the south-west of Scotland and Ireland with England, which itself may have had regionally variable non-conformity rates, shows that Donaldson’s conclusion, although it may be correct in a national comparison between England and Scotland, is insufficient in showing the true spatial pattern that depositions formed across the landscape. Table I shows that regions away from the south-west of Scotland were less likely to have ministers demonstrably inclined to Presbyterianism. In other words, ministers in south-western Scotland and Ulster were much more likely to be deposed for non-conformity than their colleagues in the eastern and northern areas of the country.

Table I. Regional Rank Order of Deposed Ministers⁷¹¹

Region	Percent of Ministers Deposed ⁷¹²
Synod of Ulster	89
Galloway	86
Glasgow and Ayr	62
Dumfries	50-55
Fife	33
Lothians and the Borders	<33
North of Tay	<10

⁷¹⁰ Ibid. 366.

⁷¹¹ Ibid. 365-66; After a review of the data on Scottish depositions in Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1915), the author concurs with the numbers used by Donaldson. Data on Ulster ministers were generated by the author from McConnell, *Fasti*. See Appendices 1 and 2.

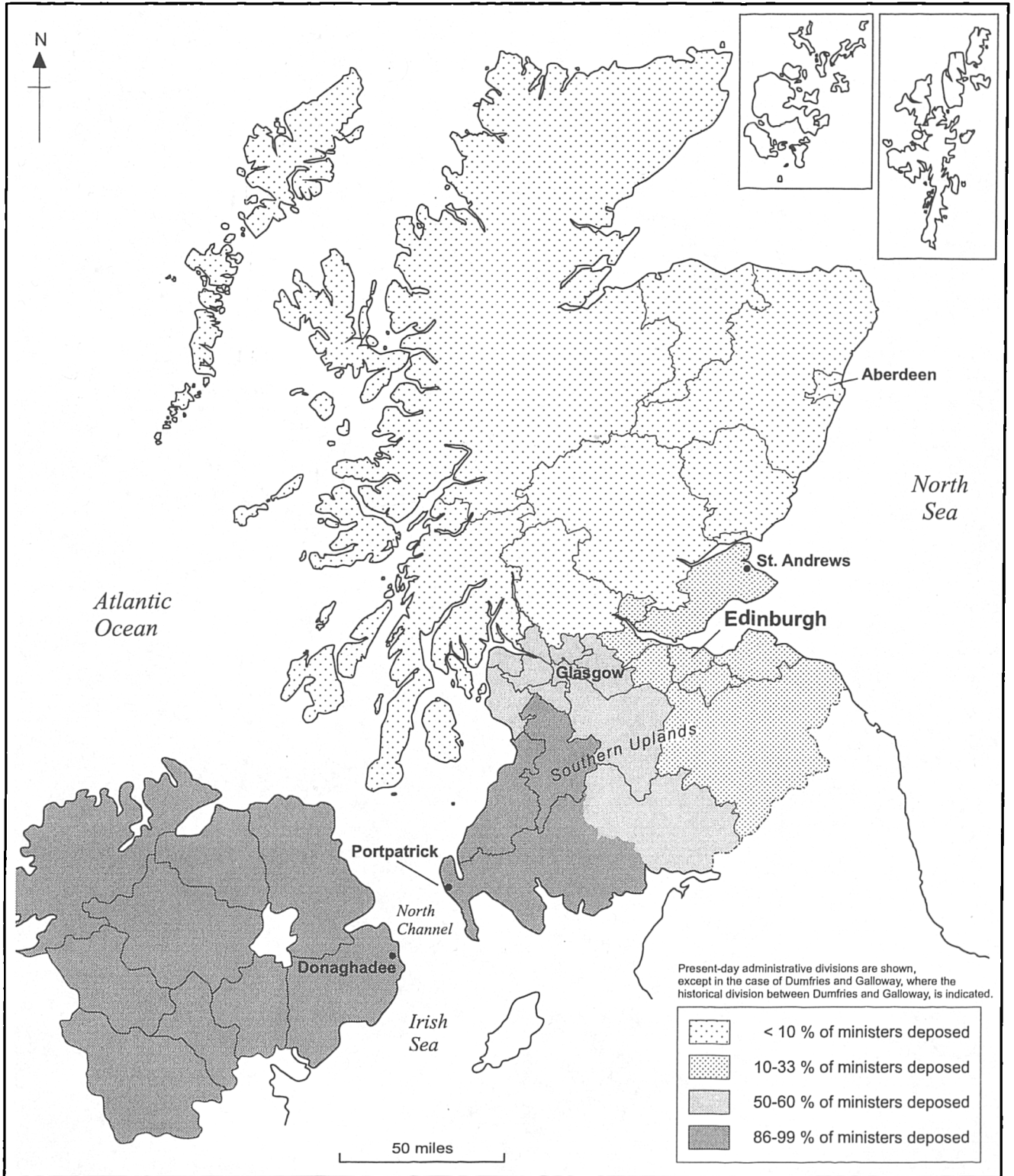
⁷¹² Galloway (32/37)(100) = 86%; Synod of Ulster (64/72)(100) = 89%; Glasgow and Ayr (75 /121)(100) = 62%. Galloway and Glasgow and Ayr for 107 or 40 percent (107/270) of the ministers deposed in Scotland.

Based on Donaldson's logic, which assumed that England provided a benchmark (rate of deposition stated as "a fifth") and that Scotland showed no strong antipathy toward episcopacy, regions in Scotland would have had the same proportion of deposed ministers. By applying this logic to the data, Scotland should have had only 216 (a fifth) of the country's ministerial staff deposed. The actual number of deprived ministers in Scotland, however, was 54 higher (25 percent more). The same analysis, when applied to Ireland, produces an expected deposition of only fourteen ministers; but the actual number of 64 is over four times greater. Glasgow and Ayr would have deposed only 24 divines and Galloway only seven. Like the Synod of Ulster, Galloway deprived more than four times as many, and Glasgow and Ayr deposed over three times as many divines as Donaldson's logic would lead one to expect. Stating the differences in terms of regional categorisations makes Donaldson's conclusion seem weak and incomplete (see Map 3).

This conclusion is strengthened by the results of two chi-square tests.⁷¹³ Calculating a chi-square statistic for Glasgow and Ayr with respect to Galloway ($\chi^2 = 7.894$), it is clear that the rates of depositions (categorised as deposed and non-deposed) are different ($\chi^2(1, N = 158) = 6.64, p < 0.01$). On the other hand, a comparison between Galloway and Ulster ($\chi^2 = 0.139$) reveals that those deposition rates were generated from the same population because the two regions (Ulster and Galloway) reveal no statistically significant difference in the respective deposition rates ($\chi^2(1, N = 109) = 2.71 < 0.10$).⁷¹⁴ These analyses strongly imply that the south-west of Scotland

⁷¹³ Chi Square is a non-parametric test which can be used in comparing frequency data between two variables. In this case, it provides an objective measure on a given variable (i.e., deposition rates) with respect to two "locations" (i.e., Galloway and the Synod of Ulster). Total number of ministers is divided into deposed and non-deposed. The two Chi Square tests show that region is related to the rate of deposition among ministers. See Chris Spatz, *Basic Statistics: Tales of Distributions*, 7th ed. (Belmont, 2001), 278-96. See also J. Chapman and Charles B. Monroe, *Introduction to Statistical Problem Solving in Geography* (New York, 1999).

⁷¹⁴ Ibid.



Map 3: Deposition rates, showing approximate spatial variations in the deposition of Presbyterians, picking out the trans-channel region.

and Ulster shared a distinctive religious characteristic. This pattern provides strong support for the contention that Presbyterian mobility between south-western Scotland and Ulster during the seventeenth century created a unique cross-Channel community of dissenting Protestants.

Summary

The Melvillian Scottish Kirk leadership strongly supported doctrines that placed its members at odds with the Erastian policies of the monarch. Through strict adherence to Old Testament paradigms and the adoption of the bilateral or “if then, what then?” basis of English contract law, the Puritan-Presbyterian element in the Scottish population, heavily concentrated as it was in the south-west of the country and across in Ulster, became a rigid group, at least until 1690. Their rigidity and uncompromising adherence to both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant throughout most of the later half of the seventeenth century made them vulnerable to government sanctions, which they regarded as religious persecution. As their geotheological beliefs were tied to the children of Israel, migration or seeking refuge in other lands was a palatable option for many of them. Others, for perhaps a variety of reasons, stayed behind, and a number of the latter took part in illegal conventicles. Nonetheless, through the social interchange made possible by the routes traversing the Irish Sea, the culture area took on many of the community’s theological and polity orientations. That notion is clearly supported in the pattern of depositions that came to characterise south-western Scotland and Ulster during the early years of the Stewart Restoration.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SCOTTISH GEOTHEOLOGY IN SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND AND ULSTER

Introduction

As Mullan demonstrates, the years 1590 to 1638 were times of growth for the Puritan ethos that contributed to the signing of Scotland's National Covenant and the rise of Presbyterianism, which roughly corresponds to the period of the first episcopacy in Scotland 1610-38.⁷¹⁵ The National Covenant was certainly a pledge seething with geothological attributes.⁷¹⁶ Fuelling intense loyalty to the National Covenant, wrote Donaldson, was a "national conceit with a theological foundation".⁷¹⁷ As Chapter Five demonstrates, many of the ministers during the first episcopacy, especially those whose personal preference was for a Presbyterian polity, shared membership in an informal

⁷¹⁵ During the Kirk's first Episcopacy (1610 to 1638), its theology was firmly Calvinist. See David George Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000), 13-44. See also Walter Roland Foster, *The Church Before the Covenants: The Church of Scotland 1596-1638* (Edinburgh, 1975). Presbyterians were especially fearful of a reversion to Roman Catholicism, and the order of worship in Laud's Liturgy certainly fuelled that anxiety.

⁷¹⁶ The concept of geothology, as explained in Chapter One, refers specifically to the role of space or place in the worship of God, but since most places in seventeenth-century Britain were the homes of people with a common past and a psychological bond with each other, forming a community or perhaps a nation (i.e., Scottish, English, British, etc.), "place" was a key part of cultural identity. Practical theology in Scotland at the time was set in a context that appealed to the identity of the people and their land; however, it doubtful that the theologians of the time consciously knew this, for their writings, as discussed in this chapter, suggest that they themselves felt Scotland was especially chosen by God for work in the unfolding drama of providence. See Chapter One and John K. Wright, 'Notes on Early American Geopiety', in *Human Nature in Geography* (Cambridge, 1966). Unlike geothology, Contextual Theology is a relatively modern method by which preachers design the presentation of their understanding of God to fit into the cultural context of the congregation, especially those in non-western places such as Asia and Africa. For a discussion on contextual theology, refer to F. G. Healey, ed. 'On Doing Theology: A Contextual Possibility', in *Prospect for Theology: Essays in Honour of H. H. Farmer* (Welwyn, Herts., 1966).

⁷¹⁷ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 316. The Puritan Oliver Cromwell was a complex man who believed in providence and often compared England to the children of Israel. Like his Scottish counterparts, he believed that if the nation backslid, it would find itself once more under the binding yoke of the Stewarts and their religion directed by ungodly bishops like Archbishop William Laud. See John Macleod, *Dynasty: The Stewarts 1560-1807* (London, 1999), 198.

fraternity and often obligated themselves to each other through covenants of moral support. The strictness of their ethos as revealed in high standards of conduct encouraged them to break with institutions, groups, and even their own country for short periods of time. Along with migrating ministers who were recruited to Ulster by Scottish planters such as William Edmonston, James Hamilton (Lord) and Hugh Montgomery as well as Church of Ireland bishops such as Andrew Knox of Raphoe, their ethos diffused to Ireland more than a decade before the formation of the Army Presbytery in 1642. This was accomplished through no less than the ministerial efforts of Edward Brice, Robert Blair, John Livingstone, Josias Welsh, James Glenndinning, Henry Colwart, John Ridge, Robert Cunningham, James Hamilton and George Dunbar.⁷¹⁸ Through migration facilitated by institutional and social networks, at least 125 others followed them and served in Irish Presbyterian congregations.⁷¹⁹

While in Ulster, they cut their teeth on what they perceived was political oppression, reinforcing their sense of being persecuted for the sake of righteousness.⁷²⁰ As discussed in previous chapters, the depositions of Blair, Livingstone, Dunbar and Hamilton from the Church of Ireland caused them to relocate to Scotland in 1638 where wide-spread resistance (though not in the North and North-east) to the Erastian policies

⁷¹⁸ See Chapter Five. The Church of Ireland under Lord Deputy Arthur Chichester was especially receptive to Puritan ministers such as Ridge and Colwart. The specific reasons for their relocation to Ireland and settlement among Scots in Antrim are not well known.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid. From the description of the motives behind the initial settlement of these ministers in Robert Blair's autobiography, it seems that filling pulpits in Ulster was the only employment option they had. Blair, as this chapter shows, believed that their coming to Ulster was by God's design. Beyond the initial settlement of Presbyterian divines in Ulster, subsequent flows of ministers to Ulster can be explained by migration and network theories of migration discussed in Chapter One. See Chapter Five for a discussion on related social and institutional ties among Scottish ministers serving in Ulster. Chapter Two shows how the South-western Scotland and Ulster provided the infrastructure for the expansion of this dissenting Protestant community across the Irish Sea. Ulster's prominence in Irish Presbyterianism is significant. The ecclesiastical body referred to here was called the Army Presbytery (1642-1646) but was renamed the Presbytery of Ulster in 1646. By 1690 the organisation, which did not meet between the years 1661 and 1690, was reorganised and called the Synod of Ulster. That name was used until 1840 when mergers with churches in the south of Ireland led to the adoption of the name Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI). For an excellent work on General Munro and the establishment of the Army Presbytery, see David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1981).

of Charles I provided them with public forums from which to speak.⁷²¹ From a number of pulpits, including some in Edinburgh, they fed parishioners a steady diet of sermons that some felt were “foolish and seditious”.⁷²² A number of these divines returned to Ireland (see Chapter Five). Some even returned to Ireland for short visits. John Livingstone, despite being fully employed as a minister at Stranraer and Ancrum, returned to Ireland to conduct services in 1643, 1645, 1646, 1648, 1654 and 1656.⁷²³

To appreciate more fully the influence of Scottish Presbyterians in South-western Scotland and Ulster, it is important to examine their geotheological beliefs and doctrinal positions which set them and their theocratic world view involving church autonomy at odds with the increasingly Erastian policies of the Stewarts. Those conflicting paradigms of authority encouraged disruptive behaviours that brought political forces down on a number of their most charismatic and influential leaders. Others of less renown like Andrew MacCormick returned to Scotland after ministering in Ulster. He took part in the Covenanter march on Edinburgh in 1666 and was killed en-route at Rullion Green.⁷²⁴ Nevertheless, for some ministers whose appointment in Ulster was intended to be lengthy, if not permanent, an opportunity to return to Scotland was seen as a situation providentially prescribed to them by a sovereign God, even if the catalyst for their return was facilitated by a political policy and its implementation.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁰ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 303.

⁷²¹ With the appointment of Lord Deputy of Ireland Thomas Wentworth in 1632, the Church of Ireland increasingly insisted upon Episcopal conformity among its ministers. These ministers were deposed for their lack of support of this change in polity.

⁷²² Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 303.

⁷²³ John Livingstone, *A brief Historical Relation of the Life of Mr. John Livingstone, Minister of the Gospel, Containing Several Observations of the Divine Goodness Manifested in Him, in the Several Occurrences Thereof* (Edinburgh, 1848), 112-50.

⁷²⁴ James McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church* (Belfast, 1951), 7. James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* W. D. Killen, ed., new ed. (Belfast, 1867), 2 Volumes, ii 291; Patrick Adair, *True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* in W. D. Killen, ed. (Belfast, 1866), 283.

⁷²⁵ This notion is developed in the remaining sections of this and throughout the next chapter.

Social-Psychological Basis for Geotheology

How push and pull forces were interpreted by the Puritan-Presbyterian community, and what actions were taken in response to them, depended in large measure on the social-psychological factors of those affected by them. Certainly, their community, which was imbued with geopious and geotheological beliefs, influenced their perceptions of secular events. Commonly held ecclesiastical beliefs in the south-western corner of Scotland were important centripetal forces in binding together the area's social networks, but, as with most rigid ideas, they sometimes resulted in schismatic volatility among their most ardent adherents, as explained in the previous chapter.⁷²⁶ With its binding oaths, the National Covenant set the stage for many theological and political disagreements after the Restoration.

The trans-Irish Sea Puritan-Presbyterian community was relatively isolated from the rest of Scotland. The lack of diversity among their social networks reinforced their reliance on fundamental religious beliefs as a way to explain forces beyond their control.⁷²⁷ For the inhabitants of south-western Scotland and the north of Ireland in the seventeenth-century, there were rather limited opportunities for diverse social contacts. Social life centred on the family and regional parochial community, and the institution of religion was a powerful, directing force in their lives. Access to literacy skills was provided in the context of worship, and study was focused on biblical content.⁷²⁸

Ministers, being all university graduates, were able to read about the ideas of others who lived elsewhere in Scotland, in England, on the continent and in America. Most of the reading material they had at their disposal, however, was produced by others of the faith, and because the divines provided what formal education there was available to members of their congregations, subject-matter presented in lessons was

⁷²⁶ This subject is addressed in Chapter Six.

laced with theological content. Some ministers laboured a great deal in their role as educators. For instance, at one time in Ulster Robert Blair instructed 1,200 adult parishioners and their children. He conducted four public sessions per week. In addition, he visited with families in the community for catechisms, so he would “go out among them and spend one day every week and sometimes two”.⁷²⁹ In this respect, Blair was following the mandate set for Kirk ministers, for in 1616 the General Assembly ordered that new catechisms be written “for instructing the common sort in the articles of religion, which all families shall be compelled to have for the better information of their children and servants, and shall be obliged to give an account of in their pre-Communion examinations”.⁷³⁰ Sermons and reading material greatly expanded the congregations’ appreciation of their country’s role in prophetic and apostolic events in the creation of sacred history. Literature expanded the intellectual and spiritual reference-points, and hence the communities of imagination, of Blair and his colleagues. Through instruction and community visits, they could likewise expand the world of the lowly member in the private space of home. The ideas and social role models (such as biblical figures) presented to the parishioner were served on a platter garnished with Reformed and Covenant theology and seasoned with participatory polity ideals. As James Leyburn describes the theological imagination of the seventeenth-century Scot who saw Scotland as part of Palestine’s biblical community:

Like most Europeans, he believed that God had created the world only a few thousand years before, with each species of creature suddenly and uniquely formed and fixed, as the book of Genesis affirmed. The hand of God could be seen in personal and national calamities, for God intervened in history now, as always, to punish sin. Heaven and hell were tangible realities, whose details could be known from scripture and whose

⁷²⁷ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford, 1989).

⁷²⁸ Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002).

⁷²⁹ Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 75-6; Robert Blair, *The Life of Robert Blair, with Supplement by William Row*, T. M’Crie ed. (Edinburgh, 1848), 59. See also Thomas F. Torrance, *The School of Faith: Catechisms of the Reformed Church* (New York, 1959).

⁷³⁰ Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, vol 3, 1127.

glories or torments had been made even more vivid as the creative imagination developed them in thousands of sermons ... The Hebrews of the Old Testament had been much like the Scots in their constant warfare, their pride, their precarious life in a poor country with dangerous neighbours, their struggle against idolatry (for Baal read popery). The very images of scriptures applied as much to Scotland as to Palestine: the shepherds, flowers of the field, mighty fortresses, (and) the woman who had lost a coin. Scots were no more seafarers than the Hebrews; yet they fished, as did the men of Galilee, and they knew the danger of sudden squalls blowing down on their lochs.⁷³¹

Images of Scotland's geotheological place in sacred history reinforced a sense of nationhood among most Scots, including those who adhered to beliefs associated with Puritan-Presbyterianism.⁷³² There was a psychological reason for the people living in such a small country on the periphery of Europe to sacralise themselves and their land. "Scotland might be a small and poor nation but, mysteriously", writes David Stevenson, "she had been specially favoured by God to provide a model for others".⁷³³ Piotr Wandycz makes a similar observation with respect to small, peripheral nations.⁷³⁴ To compensate for a sense of weakness, according to Wandycz, they look for ways to glorify their national history and promote a sense of national uniqueness.⁷³⁵ In reflecting on Wandycz's observation, Mullan writes that "for Scotland, this sense was exacerbated by its northerly setting. Antiquity portrayed the north as a dangerous, unruly, even satanic place".⁷³⁶ Being in the north of Europe and on the north-west coast of Great Britain, residents of the Irish Sea coastal area arguably had an intense

⁷³¹ It must be stressed that Leyburn is comparing the seafaring orientation of the Scots to the Hebrews. His point is that they were not particularly known for travelling vast distances across oceans or seas in a manner consistent with the Phoenician, Greek, Portuguese or Spanish fleets. James G. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), 74-5.

⁷³² As Mullan points out, it is easier to discuss the community of Presbyterians than it is Episcopalians because of the scarcity of extant sources. While many Presbyterians were Puritans, it should also be noted that Presbyterianism should not be regarded monolithically as a Puritan religion. It was, according to Mullan, a religion beset by "cults of personalities" driven by the intensity of religion and by its self-perceptions as a persecuted group. See Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 13-44.

⁷³³ David Stevenson, *Covenants: The National Covenant and Scotland, the* (Edinburgh, 1988), 4.

⁷³⁴ Piotr Wandycz, *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London, 1993), 5, cited in Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 265. There is, of course, a sizable body of scholarship produced by geographers on the subject of ethno-regional identifications, states, and nations.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

⁷³⁶ Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 265.

psychological need for adopting exalted national ideas. With respect to geothology and its diffusion throughout south-western Scotland and Ulster, such coastal places have historically served as the last bastions of culture. In his observations on western coastal lands, E. G. Bowen wrote that they “function both as places of refuge and as stepping-stones of coastal diffusion”.⁷³⁷ Along with migrating ministers, Scottish geothology spread across the North Channel and into Ulster.

Scottish Geothology

For many Lowland Scots, 28 February 1638 was “the glorious marriage day of the Kingdom with God”.⁷³⁸ That day marked the beginning of the signing of the Scottish National Covenant. Members of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia, in which returning Ulster ministers who had been deposed by Lord Deputy Wentworth certainly belonged, had high expectations and standards for the Scottish nation. The National Covenant was sacred to them. It signified God’s sovereignty and election of Scotland as “the original godly nation-even before England and Rome”.⁷³⁹ It also signified Scotland’s geoteological place, which refers to the perception among seventeenth-century divines of the nation’s relationship to providential end-times scenarios in fulfilment of sacred history.⁷⁴⁰ As Archibald Johnston and Alexander Henderson wrote in the National Covenant of 1638, Scotland and its Kirk would lead all kirks in defending the true faith. And, as they explained in the National Covenant:

Each one of us under-written, protest, That, after long and due examination of our own consciences in matters of true and false religion, we are now thoroughly resolved in the truth by the word and Spirit of God: and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm, before God and the whole world, that this only is the true Christian faith and religion, pleasing God, and

⁷³⁷ E. G. Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways* (London, 1972), 19.

⁷³⁸ Archibald Johnston of Wariston quoted in Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 1.

⁷³⁹ Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603-1776* (London, 2001), 89.

⁷⁴⁰ Wright, ‘Early American Geopiety’.

bringing salvation to man, which now is, by the mercy of God, revealed to the world by the preaching of the blessed evangel; and is received, believed, and defended by many and sundry notable kirks and realms, but chiefly by the Kirk of Scotland, the King's Majesty, and three estates of this realm, as God's eternal truth, and only ground of our salvation; as more particularly is expressed in the Confession of our Faith, established and publickly confirmed by sundry acts of Parliaments, and now of a long time hath been openly professed by the King's Majesty, and whole body of this realm both in burgh and land.⁷⁴¹

The Confession of Faith that is referenced in this passage from the National Covenant is the King's Confession or the Negative Confession, as discussed with respect to schisms in the previous chapter, was subscribed to by James VI in 1580. The theological statements in the Negative Confession were taken from *The Scots Confession* of 1560.⁷⁴²

The authors of *The Scots Confession* claimed for their Kirk a special place in the history of the true Church of Christ, and they believed that future generations would look back to the example of the Scottish Kirk in the same manner that they would behold the first generation churches established by the Apostle Paul. Thomas F. Torrance wrote that "throughout the theology of the Scottish Reformation, there is the strongest sense of the continuity of the Christian Church with Israel, the Old Testament people of God".⁷⁴³ Torrance states that the reformers believed as follows: "The temple here is not tied to place or to the institutions of history. It is the blessed society, which was wondrously joined to Jesus Christ. It is the Church as community which takes the place of the Old Testament people".⁷⁴⁴ Their logic, to which Torrance points, reflects a peculiar understanding of the concept of institutionalised sacred history. It suggests that 1500 years of Church history meant little to Scotland's reforming Kirk leaders.

⁷⁴¹ Archibald Johnston and Alexander Henderson, *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland: or The National Covenant with a Designation of Such Acts of Parliament as are Expedient for Justifying the Union after Mentioned* (Edinburgh, 1640).

⁷⁴² Henderson, ed., *The Scots Confession of 1560*.

⁷⁴³ Thomas F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology from John Knox to John McLeod Campbell* (Edinburgh, 1996), 28.

The Scottish Reformers saw themselves as directly connected to the people of the Old Testament as if sacred history was suspended after the resurrection of Christ until their time. From what John Knox and his colleagues wrote in the *Scots Confession*, it is clear that the characters and events of the New Testament, especially the ministry of the Apostle Paul, served to connect the Old Testament people to the Scots reformers who would in turn pass on the Gospel for future generations to achieve the fulfilment of God's providence:

Then wherever these notes are seen and continue for any time, be the number complete or not, there, beyond any doubt, is the true Kirk of Christ, who, according to his promise, is in its midst. This is not that universal Kirk of which we have spoken before but particular, such as was in Corinth, Ephesus, Galatia, and other places where the ministry was planted by Paul and which he himself called Kirks of God. Such Kirks, we the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland confessing Christ Jesus, do claim to have in our cities, towns, and reformed districts because of the doctrine taught in our Kirks, contained in the written Word of God, that is, the Old and New Testaments, in those books which were originally reckoned canonical.⁷⁴⁵

Like the National Covenant, the foundational Reformed document in the kingdom, *The Scots Confession*, which was written some 78 years earlier, provides a vivid illustration of the ministers' sense of their place in sacred history. Furthermore, because of the widespread support for the National Covenant, the divines who made up the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia and their parishes in the south-west of the Lowlands swore oaths of loyalty to documents that stressed Scotland's role in the continuity of sacred history. As a participant in the unfolding drama of sacred history (that is salvation history) the land holding the Scottish people and their Kirk also became sacred, although Knox arguably saw Reformed Scotland as a pathetic place-a

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ *The Scots Confession*, XVIII quoted in Presbyterian Church (USA), James Andrews, *Book of Confessions* (1994), 20.

form of desacralisation consistent with some of the later remarks of Samuel Rutherford.⁷⁴⁶

The National Covenant stressed geoteleological (a theology of destiny) and geopious (emotional religious thoughts attached to place) feelings. It also marks a clear change in the tone of sentiments among ministers in Scotland and their perception of the nation's place in sacred history. It struck a resounding chord among the Presbyterian leaders. A good number of committed Episcopalians, who had similar feelings toward their land, especially those in the north-east, did not sign the Covenant. Just before the Church revolt against Laud's Liturgy at St. Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh during the summer of 1637, which was believed to be the start of a return to papacy and which led to the signing of the National Covenant a few months later, Samuel Rutherford referred to the Scottish Kirk as his "harlot church mother".⁷⁴⁷ In 1628, William Struther wrote that the Scots made up a "sinfull nation" and as a result, God had a great controversy with Scotland.⁷⁴⁸ In 1637, the staunch Presbyterian, George Gillespie wrote this about his Kirk and nation:

The Church of Scotland was blessed with more glorious and perfect reformation than any of our neighbour churches. The doctrine, discipline, regiment, and policy established here by ecclesiastical and civil laws, and sworn and subscribed unto by the king's majesty ... But now, alas! Even this church, which was once so great a praise in the earth, is deeply corrupted, and has 'turned aside quickly out of the way' (Ex. 32:8). So that this is the Lord's controversy against Scotland: 'I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed; how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me' (Jer. 2:21).⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁶ In subsequent sections, this chapter shows that desacralisation of a place was fairly common among Puritans, including those in England. It arguably made it psychologically easier to emigrate from places held in contempt by God.

⁷⁴⁷ Samuel Rutherford, 'Samuel Rutherford to Mr. J. R. 16 June 1637', *Rutherford Letters*, 3rd. ed. (London, 1675), 200.

⁷⁴⁸ William Struther, *Scotland's Warning, or a Treatise of Fasting* (Edinburgh, 1628).

⁷⁴⁹ George Gillespie, *Dispute Concerning the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland* (1637), 269. The doctrines, regiment and policies to which George Gillespie makes reference are written in the King's Confession or Negative Confession. They are used extensively in the National Covenant.

Gillespie's attitude, like that of Rutherford, reflected what Gordon Donaldson called a "national conceit with a theological foundation".⁷⁵⁰ From a geotheological perspective, it shows that these Scottish divines, like their English Puritan counterparts, were capable of desacralising the land of their birth, partly justified moving to New England because they believed that God had lost favour with England and was sending them on an errand into the wilderness.⁷⁵¹ They were also keen to resacralise it, however, which provided the justification to return. Rutherford wrote this remark in a letter some four years earlier during more optimistic times: "Scotland whom the Lord took off the dunghill and out of hell and made a fair bride to Himself ... He will embrace both (of) us, the little young sister, and the elder sister, the Church of the Jews".⁷⁵²

The National Covenant movement provided fodder for geotheological sentiments that reinforced the Scottish national conceit. After the National Covenant was signed, Rutherford aired this thought to his country and nation, "Now, O Scotland, God be thanked thy name is in the Bible".⁷⁵³ Archibald Johnston wrote that "the desire of true knowledge wrought by it (National Covenant) in the hearts of the people may approve it bee a speciall meane appointed by God for reclaiming this Nation to himself".⁷⁵⁴ The jubilant Johnston wrote in his diary: "thou haist confirmed to thyself the people of Scotland to be a people unto thee for ever (according to thy servands Wischart, Knoxs, praedictions) and thou, Lord, art becom thair God". In expressing a degree of amazement yet tempered by a touch of national humility at his country's lofty place in salvation history, Alexander Henderson wondered how and why God would

⁷⁵⁰ Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 316.

⁷⁵¹ Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge, 2002), 156-206.

⁷⁵² Rutherford, *Letters*, No. 28.

⁷⁵³ Rutherford quoted in Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 272.

choose wicked Scotland as his dwelling place over some mighty nation.⁷⁵⁵ Scotland's favoured position in providence, however, was based on merit earned in satisfying the nation's bi-lateral covenant with God. Rutherford feared that God would leave Scotland for "an inn where He will be better entertained".⁷⁵⁶

The National Covenant supported the polity that underlies the Melvillian idea of two kingdoms as well as the theology expressed in the *Scots Confession* of 1560.⁷⁵⁷ As made clear in the National Covenant by Henderson and Johnston, and by the many people who supported it, their sentiments ran against the bishopric as a control office of episcopacy. It is clear that the body which made final decisions or "determinations" with respect to ecclesiastical matters was the General Assembly and not the king's bishops:

THE article of this covenant, which was at the first subscription referred to the determination of the General Assembly, being now determined; and thereby the five articles of Perth, the government of the kirk by bishops, and the civil places and power of kirkmen, upon the reasons and grounds contained in the Acts of the General Assembly, declared to be unlawful within this kirk, we subscribe according to the determination aforesaid.⁷⁵⁸

The followers of Andrew Melville were deeply committed to the National Covenant, and to the vision that Scotland was a critical and important component in

⁷⁵⁴ Archibald Johnston of Wariston, *A Short Relation on the State of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1638).

⁷⁵⁵ Alexander Henderson, *Sermons, Prayers, and Pulpit Addresses, 1638* in R. Thomson Martin ed. (Edinburgh, 1867), 381.

⁷⁵⁶ Rutherford was unclear about the location of such an inn, but Mullan believes that he may have had New England in mind. It is also possible that he was thinking of Ireland, for in a letter to Fulk Ellis in Ireland on 7 September 1637, Rutherford wrote about the plight of God's workers in "our lovely and beloved church in Ireland" and that he believed that the Lord was only "lopping the vine-trees" and that he had no intention of "cutting them down or rooting them out". See Rutherford, *Letters*, No 44.

⁷⁵⁷ *The Scots Confession* assumes a godly prince would head the church. In the absence of one, a national assembly provided oversight of the Kirk.

⁷⁵⁸ Johnston and Henderson, *National Covenant*. Many Scots felt the Five Articles signified a return to the papacy. See Chapter Four for additional remarks.

God's plan for universal, yet limited, redemption.⁷⁵⁹ In discussing the Kirk and its place in sacred history, Johnston of Wariston observed that there was a "verrie near parallel betwixt Izrael and this church, the only two suorne nations to the Lord."⁷⁶⁰

Even the English Puritan, Thomas Brightman, was convinced that the Scottish Kirk had geoteleological significance. In connecting historical churches with the sixth church of Revelation, Philadelphia, the church on which God will write "New Jerusalem", Brightman included "the Church of Helvetia, Suevia, Geneve, France, (and) Scotland".⁷⁶¹ Johnston of Wariston, who declared that the signing of the National Covenant signified the "glorious marriage day of the kingdom with God", also proclaimed that "Scotland, like Israel, was God's chosen land, and its people, like the Israelites, were God's chosen people".⁷⁶² The anti-Erastian, geopious and geoteleological beliefs of Melville's followers are important to consider because "this is what the likes of Blair, Dickson, and Rutherford and countless other ministers (in the south-west) preached, and this is what their flock fervently believed".⁷⁶³ Rutherford's vacillating appraisal of the Kirk's ability to fulfil its role in providence also shows a readiness to desacralise the institutions of the land of his birth in the same manner as English Puritans who sought geopious passage into the wilderness of New England.⁷⁶⁴

Ideas and beliefs, like desacralisation and sacralisation of space, are important, driving forces of culture, and like frothy surf washing back and forth over sand pushed

⁷⁵⁹ Unlike Calvin and Knox, and many of the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia, including some Episcopalians, adopted the controversial Bezan and post-Reformation doctrine of 'Limited Atonement'. See James B. Torrance, *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today* (Edinburgh, 1982), 47.

⁷⁶⁰ Archibald Johnston of Wariston, *Diary 1632-1639*, G. M Paul, ed. (Edinburgh, 1911), 344; Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 299; Burrell, S. A. (1964). 'The apocalyptic vision of the early covenanters', *Scottish Historical Review*. Vol. XLIII No. 135. 1-24

⁷⁶¹ Thomas Brightman, *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, or a Revelation of the Revelation* (Leyden, 1616), 139-40, 142-5, 155.

⁷⁶² Archibald Johnston, *Diary*; Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 1; For a reference in a popular work, see also Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (London, 2001), 424

⁷⁶³ Schama, *the British Wars 1603-1776*, 92.

⁷⁶⁴ Robert Cushman, *A Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in New England, December 9, 1621*, in Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*, 124.

by the ebb and flow of the tides of the Irish Sea, the social infrastructure of the trans-Channel Presbyterian community carried those beliefs and ideas back and forth across the body of water. “Typically those persecuted (in Scotland) fled to Ireland and frequently returned to hold illegal outdoor meetings called conventicles”.⁷⁶⁵ David Stevenson notes that, as time passed into the later decades of the seventeenth-century, those who remained floating among the Covenanters were best described as “fanatics”.⁷⁶⁶ While it certainly was a lost cause, it must be recognised that while the actions of the “fanatical Covenanters” may seem impractical, even foolish, those who believed in the oaths of sacred covenants held their words to be indissoluble and perpetual.⁷⁶⁷ The National Covenant made provisions for perpetual obligations to its stipulations:

Being convinced in our minds, and confessing with our mouths, that the present and succeeding generations in this land are bound to keep the foresaid national oath and subscription inviolable ... That with our whole heart we agree, and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto and to defend the foresaid true religion, and (forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the publick government of the kirk, or civil places and power of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free Assemblies and in Parliament) to labour, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before the foresaid novations.⁷⁶⁸

In the spirit of bilateral covenants, the National Covenant made references to oaths, and also to the consequences of failing to abide by them. The framers and supporters of the document believed in the sovereignty of God, his use of human conscience in understanding truth, and God’s final judgement of human actions and Christian works:

⁷⁶⁵ Edwin Nisbet Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage and the Sermons of John Nevey: The Covenanters’ Struggle for Unity in Truth* (Fearn, Tain Ross-shire, 2000), 26.

⁷⁶⁶ Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 65.

⁷⁶⁷ Edward Vallance, “‘An Holy and Sacramentall Paction’: Federal Theology and the Solemn League and Covenant in England”, *English Historical Review*, vol. 116 (February, 2001), 50-75.

⁷⁶⁸ Johnston and Henderson, *National Covenant*.

We therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God, and his kirk, protest, and call the Searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our Confession, promise, oath, and subscription: so that we are not moved with any worldly respect, but are persuaded only in our conscience, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion imprinted in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.⁷⁶⁹

The National Covenant, which mostly points out what is not acceptable to the “true religion” as articulated in the *Scots Confession* and the *King's Confession*, was backed up by strong, militant oaths that invited martyrdom or political exile for some who fully supported the document:

And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect; we promise and swear, by the GREAT NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life.⁷⁷⁰

Scottish theologians believed it was of the utmost importance to keep covenants with God, especially as the country was seeking restoration from being a “sinfull nation”.⁷⁷¹

Many ministers before the National Covenant was signed believed like Knox before them that Scotland had experienced decay in piety and religion.⁷⁷² Robert Rollock feared that if Scotland fell from grace, God would not give her a second chance.⁷⁷³ It was imperative to keep and defend the true religion as defined in the National Covenant and its supporting documents, for, as Samuel Rutherford wrote, “The breaking of the staff is the breaking of the covenant: the staff itself is the word of God and

⁷⁶⁹ Johnston and Henderson, *National Covenant*.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ William Narne, *Christs Starre: Or, a Christian Treatise for our Direction to our Saviour, and for our Conjunction with Him* (London, 1625), 1.

⁷⁷² Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 273.

⁷⁷³ Robert Rollock, *Certain Sermons, Upon Severall Texts of Scripture* (Edinburgh, 1634), 272.

covenant”.⁷⁷⁴ Struther warned the people of Scotland that their sense of “securitie” was “odious to God” and that they must not assume that he would “dwell with obstinate and impenitent sinners, whom his soule abhorreth: & to keepe his covenant with them who proudlie breake it”.⁷⁷⁵

In the midst of the political turmoil of the 1630s that led to the signing of the National Covenant, the emerging Puritan ethos added a providential, geoteleological flavour to all events and gave validity to the belief that they and their land would be used by God in his providence. Although the events leading to the signing of the National Covenant, as well as the consequences of that event, were mostly of a political nature, the ministers working in the trans-Irish Sea community of Puritan-Presbyterians saw them as the unfolding of God’s plan. Those forces and their interpretation increased the numbers of the community’s impassioned leaders and potential martyrs as well as its absorption of Ulster into the sacred space occupied by Presbyterian Scots.

Scottish Geotheology in South-western Scotland and Ulster

Through social contacts and relocation, the sacred attributes of the Scottish nation diffused to the north of Ireland with manifestations of geopious and even geoteleological attributes. Robert Blair believed that providence was at work in bringing ministers and members of congregations alike to Ireland. He wrote that, in addition to himself and a few other godly people, “The Lord was also pleased to bring over from Scotland, Mr. Josias Welsh ... I meeting with him in Scotland and perceiving of how weak a body and of how zealous a spirit he was, exhorted him to haste over to Ireland, where he would find work enough, and, I hoped, success enough”.⁷⁷⁶ Blair

⁷⁷⁴ Rutherford, *Sermons*, 149.

⁷⁷⁵ Struther, *Scotland's Warning*, 39.

⁷⁷⁶ Blair, *Life of Blair*, 76.

also felt the same way about George Dunbar's situation, which was clearly precipitated by political events:

Also, the Lord brought over to Larn (Larne) the ancient servant of Christ, Mr. George Dunbar, who was deposed from the ministry of Ayr by the High Commission of Scotland, and by the Council was banished to Ireland. So careful was the Lord, and bountiful towards that Plantation of his in the north of Ireland, that whoever wanted, they might not want.⁷⁷⁷

Dunbar's arrival in Ireland, incidentally, was the only reliable example of a Scottish minister resettling on the island because he was banished to it.⁷⁷⁸ Nevertheless, as far as Puritan-Presbyterians were concerned, the north of Ireland, like Scotland, took on geotheological significance.

Once in Ulster and seeing the land and their roles on it as part of the divine plan, Scottish ministers were quick to recruit others into their ranks of Erastian-opposing Presbyterian leaders whose geographic region transcended both shores of the Irish Sea. Although John Livingstone was offered a charge at Killinchy, which was under the supervision of the Bishop of Down, Lord Clandeboye sent him to Bishop Andrew Knox of Raphoe for ordination.⁷⁷⁹ The Bishop of Raphoe, wrote Livingstone, "told me he knew my errand, that I came to him because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr. Josias Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices".⁷⁸⁰ Lord Clandeboye's nephew James Hamilton, who served his uncle as chamberlain, was another recruit. As Blair wrote about Hamilton's recruitment, "Mr. Cunningham and I put him to private essays of his gift, and being satisfied therewith, invited him to preach

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁷⁸ It is not accurate to argue that the English minister that impressed young Robert Blair as he awaited transportation to Ulster was banished to Ireland. He was deposed, but Blair provides no evidence that he was banished to Ireland. He probably went there of his own accord. See Blair, *Life of Blair*, 5.

⁷⁷⁹ Andrew Knox was a nephew of John Knox.

publicly at Bangor in his uncle's hearing, he knowing nothing until he saw him in the pulpit ... But having heard him publicly, he put great respects upon him that day".⁷⁸¹

Like Blair, Hamilton later moved to Scotland and became involved in the adoption of the National Covenant. Also like Blair, Hamilton was among the Scots who returned to Ireland to help establish the Army Presbytery.⁷⁸²

Those returning ministers certainly reinforced the established beliefs in the sovereignty of God and his plan for the Scottish nation. For instance, when Livingstone and Blair returned to Scotland in 1637, they were asked by David Dickson to preach from his pulpit at Irvine. However, Livingstone learned that a local man had warned Dickson not to allow the Ulster divines to preach in his pulpit for fear that the bishops would put him out of his ministry. He told Dickson that they did not want to cause him trouble. Dickson declared, according to Livingstone, "I dare not follow their opinion so far to discountenance you in your sufferings, as not to employ you as in former times, but would think rather so doing would provoke the Lord, that I might be on another account deposed, and not have so good a conscience".⁷⁸³ Dickson and Livingstone feared God's sovereign rule more than that of the magistrate.

Livingstone's return to Scotland followed a chain of events that convinced him and other Ulster Presbyterians of their role in God's plan for their nation. In February 1634, John Livingstone and William Wallace, Livingstone's boyhood teacher who had relocated to Ireland, were selected by Irish friends to visit New England to determine the suitability of resettling there.⁷⁸⁴ The two men planned to set sail from Ireland for

⁷⁸⁰ Livingstone writes that Larne's minister George Dunbar, who was deposed in July 1624 from his charge at Ayr, initiated his recruitment to Ireland. See Livingstone, *Life of Livingstone*, 77.

⁷⁸¹ Blair, *Life of Blair*, 65.

⁷⁸² McConnell, *Fasti*, 8.

⁷⁸³ David Dickson, *Life of Livingstone*, 96-7.

⁷⁸⁴ As evidence of the existence of geographies and communities of imagination among Scottish Puritan-Presbyterians, Livingstone, through communication with John Winthrop in Massachusetts, was offered land in New England. The promise of land and religious freedom in New England were the pull factors at work in this situation. See Lockington, *Blair of Bangor*, 21.

London with the intention of making an Atlantic crossing from the south of England in the spring. Wallace was two days late in joining Livingstone, during which time the weather was fair. However, upon arrival at their point of departure, Livingstone and Wallace were then delayed for a fortnight because of contrary winds. When they arrived in England, all but three ships had left for America. Again, contrary winds arose and delayed their departure for nearly two weeks. Wallace fell ill and was advised by doctors not to go to sea. Friends also advised Livingstone not to go alone, so they returned to Ireland. "When we were coming back", Livingstone wrote, "I told him I apprehended that we would get our liberty in Ireland: and accordingly when we came, we found that we four who had been deposed were restored by the Deputy's letter in May 1634".⁷⁸⁵ Despite their reinstatement lasting for only six months, Livingstone happily believed that his initial attempt to reach America was redirected by God. He wrote: "Therein I perceived, howbeit I trust the Lord did accept and approve our intentions, yet wonderfully he stopped our designs".⁷⁸⁶

In 1636, Blair and Robert Hamilton, like Livingstone, had little prospect of being reinstated in their Ulster charges. They convinced each other to attempt another trans-Atlantic resettlement.⁷⁸⁷ The ill-fated crossing nearly cost them their lives. The raging seas that caused the failure of the party, which included 140 of their Ulster followers, to reach New England on board a ship called the "Eaglewing" was interpreted by them as a sign of God's desire for them to work to achieve a Christian society in Ireland that would eventually impact Scotland as political circumstances allowed. By so naming their ship, the leaders of the group hoped to claim the promise

⁷⁸⁵ Livingstone, *Life of Livingstone*, 87. According to John Lockington, Lord Deputy Wentworth was motivated by the need to cultivate Protestant interests in the 1634 Irish Parliament. See Lockington, *Blair of Bangor*, 19.

⁷⁸⁶ Livingstone, *Life of Livingstone*, 85-7.

⁷⁸⁷ In January 1635, John Winthrop's son visited Livingstone and Blair in Ulster. Winthrop once again encouraged their immigration to New England. Lockington, *Blair of Bangor*, 21.

God made to the children of Israel in *The Book of Exodus* 19:1-7.⁷⁸⁸ The adoption of the name “Eaglewing” for the ship that would have carried them into the wilderness of North America was consistent with the English Puritan use of the words “wings” and “wilderness” in reference to seeking exile during times of oppression.⁷⁸⁹

To Robert Blair, William Row and John Livingstone, the potentially calamitous consequences awaiting them if they had continued their Atlantic crossing made returning to Ireland seem theologically clear. To the members of their community, God ordained the storms that caused them to turn back on the high seas. Being similarly convinced of God’s plan for their earthly work, many English Puritans undertook passage into the wilderness of North America. Unlike their English counterparts who had successfully desacralised England, making it easier to leave the land of their birth, the geotheological importance of Scotland, and to a lesser extent of Ulster, arguably kept deposed Presbyterian divines near their sacred land and people. As the returning Eaglewing and its passengers came in sight of the Irish coast, Blair’s son-in-law William Row wrote this account of their perception of the situation:

When they came near to Ireland, they began to consult what to do for the future. The major part inclined to set to sea again the next spring, beseeming themselves that they set to sea, the winter approaching; but Mr. Blair said, that though he was the last man that was induced to return, yet they having made a fair offer, not only of their service, but of themselves to God, to spread and propagate the gospel in America, and the Lord had accepted their offer, yea, and of themselves, he thought they had done enough to testify their willing mind to glorify God; and for himself, he for the present resolved never to make a new attempt, seeing the Lord, by such speaking providences and dispensations, had made it evident to them that it was not his will they should glorify him in America, he having work for them at home. All the company of passengers hearing Mr. Blair thus express himself, both ministers and others were of his mind.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁸ Lockington, *Blair of Bangor*, 21.

⁷⁸⁹ Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*, 143-54.

⁷⁹⁰ Row, *Life of Blair*, 145.

Like Livingstone and Row, Blair was convinced of God's providential plans for Ireland, England and Scotland. He wrote that:

As the Lord has given us a wonderful proof of his omnipotence and kindness to us in stilling the noise of the seas and the noise of their waves, so shall the Lord as evidently give us proof of his sovereignty and dominion over the unruly spirits and tempers of wicked people, in stilling and calming the tumults of the wicked people to whom we are going, and among whom we are to live a space.⁷⁹¹

Row expressed the view that God made a way for their work to continue in Scotland. Row's reflection shows their belief that political events were caused by God in accordance with his plan:

The Lord fulfilled the word of his servant that not only the wicked; yea, the prelates and their followers were much dismayed and feared at their return. But neither the prelates and conformists, nor they themselves, knew that within a year (by the end of 1638) the Lord would not only root out the prelates in Scotland, and after that out of England and Ireland, but make some of them, especially Messrs Blair, Livingstone, and Maclellan, &c., to be very instrumental in the work of the reformation.⁷⁹²

Despite relocating to Scotland where he and his colleagues contributed to the National Covenant movement, which Row called "the work of the reformation", Livingstone remained committed to ministering to Scots living on both shores of the North Channel of the Irish Sea. In 1638, Livingstone was presented with several employment opportunities in Scotland. Faced with a choice to make with respect to selecting a Scottish charge, he consulted with six divines whom he felt understood true religion. Although he was first inclined to move to Straiton, Livingstone wrote that "they all (his advisors) having heard both parties, advised me to hearken to the call of Stranraer, being a thoroughfare way within four miles of Portpatrick, and so nearer for the

⁷⁹¹ Ibid. 145-6.

⁷⁹² Ibid. 146.

advantage of our people in Ireland”.⁷⁹³ In assessing his return to Scotland, Livingstone wrote: “It pleased the Lord to bring he and his family safely to Lochryan and Stranraer”.⁷⁹⁴ To Livingstone, this experience, coming on the heels of all the other portentous events that he and his colleagues experienced, was solid confirmation of Scotland’s place in salvation history. On a trip to London three years earlier, Alexander Leighton, an English Puritan, had prophesied to Livingstone that “He was confident of the downfall of the bishops in Scotland; which came to passe within three years”.⁷⁹⁵

Livingstone clearly regarded the Scots who lived on both shores of the North Channel, including inland places such as Derry and Donegal, as residents of one community, and believed that he was called by God to minister to them. In the summer of 1656, he visited Killinchy and made a number of trips to Dublin. A church session in Dublin offered him a stipend of 200 pounds sterling per year to entice him to stay on as its minister. Livingstone recalled that “I was not loosed from Ancrum, and if I had been. I was resolved rather to settle at Killinchy, among the Scots in the north, than anywhere else”.⁷⁹⁶ Although reinstated in Scotland, he was deposed in 1662 by Charles II and went into exile. He died in Rotterdam in 1672, and⁷⁹⁷ his death in exile made a martyr out of him. As such, in the eyes of the south-west’s post-Restoration Covenanters, his example encouraged their notion of trans-Irish Sea migration for the sake of religious expression, if not theocratic impulses with political consequences.

⁷⁹³ Livingstone, *Life of Livingstone*, 103.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid 88.

⁷⁹⁶ Livingstone, *Life of Livingstone*, 139.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid. As Chapter Seven shows, some 88 percent of Ireland’s ministers were deposed at this time. A return to Ireland would not have been practical for Livingstone. Interestingly, however, Charles II initiated the *Regium Donum* in 1672, which renewed the appeal of Ireland as an inviting place for dissenting ministers. See Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001), 13.

Like Livingstone, Rutherford was convinced of God's providence in the personal lives of people as well as their communities and realms. To Rutherford, the south-west of Scotland was especially geoteleological. In a letter to William Dalgleish dated 16 June 1637, Rutherford expressed a belief that the Lord was using Galloway to "make a new kirk unto himself".⁷⁹⁸ Rutherford also believed that Scotland's role in providence would be shaped by punishment, and so, less than a month after writing to Dalgleish, he presented a letter to his parishioners at Anwoth in Galloway warning them that "heavy, sad and sore is that stroke of the Lord's wrath that is coming upon Scotland. Woe, woe, woe to this harlot-land".⁷⁹⁹ With the parishioners in Galloway fed a diet of geoteleological expositions on their place in sacred history, it is easy to understand how the later Covenanter movement found fertile soil on the eastern shores of south-western Scotland and Ulster.

With the encouragement of numerous offers of indulgences to deposed ministers, a number of the region's divines were ready to give up forcing their beliefs upon a nation that was relatively content with compromises over polity issues, for governance structure probably made little difference to the average parishioner. The merciless campaigns of the Covenanters during the Civil War, together with their threats to those social classes that traditionally held power, contributed much to the Covenanters' inability to capture a wide appeal in Scotland.⁸⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the south-west of Scotland remained a schismatic region. The geoteleological aspects of Scottish national conceit were carried no higher than when a Covenanter during this time remarked that "Scotland is the betrothed Virgin: We are espoused to Jesus Christ, and

⁷⁹⁸ Rutherford, *Letters*, No. 33.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.* No. 40.

⁸⁰⁰ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1998), 63.

joined to Him, by a marriage covenant, never to be forgotten”.⁸⁰¹ With the Sanquhar Declaration (22 June 1680) in which the Covenanting element of the population in the south-west declared itself to be the true representatives of the Presbyterian church and the covenanted country, the government, following its Erastian impulses, had little choice but to suppress the movement with more ruthlessness than was shown in prior efforts that featured numerous offers of indulgences to non-conforming divines.⁸⁰² Still, the pervasive belief that God had a special plan for Scotland was maintained. In 1683, at the height of the “killing times”,⁸⁰³ James Renwick, the young and highly controversial leader of the south-west’s Covenanters, wrote these geopious thoughts about both his country and God’s orientation toward it:

The Lord is wonderfully to be seen in every thing and assists in what he calls unto; for, in coming through the country, we had two field meetings, which made me think, that if the Lord could be tied to any place, it is to the mosses and moors of Scotland.⁸⁰⁴

Despite Renwick’s geopious perception of Scotland’s landscape, a new era of intense repression began. Partisans and innocent people alike were forced to submerge into a sea of peasantry that prevailed across Scotland’s south-western Lowlands.⁸⁰⁵ “Hard pressed by the official church, often stripped of their livings, such men had become itinerant preachers, taking refuge with their equally fierce Presbyterian Scots brethren in Ulster (where dissenting expressions of Protestantism were tolerated), across the North Channel”.⁸⁰⁶ Likewise when circumstances in Ireland became unpleasant or when circumstances in Scotland permitted, those who fled to Ireland from Scotland

⁸⁰¹ Alexander Shields, *Hind Let Loose* (1744), 742, in Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 316. While the word “covenant” is used for its sacred symbolism, in this instance it means a bi-lateral contract. In exchange for Scotland’s submission and humility before God, the sovereign Lord would abide with and bless the nation and its land.

⁸⁰² David Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988).

⁸⁰³ See Chapter Four.

⁸⁰⁴ James Renwick to Loudoun, September 1683, in Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage*, 102-3.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 66.

⁸⁰⁶ Schama, *the British Wars 1603-1776*, 89.

would reverse their sails and venture back across the Irish Sea.⁸⁰⁷ They were now outlaws everywhere and were an embarrassment to the Ulster Presbytery, since it was keen to show loyalty to the monarchy. The non-partisan resident in the region was also compelled by the government and his/her own neighbours to keep a low profile or leave.⁸⁰⁸ It is, of course, difficult to know how many people immigrated to Ireland simply to stay out of the fray.⁸⁰⁹

In the 1680s, Alexander Shields became a leading minister in the region. He held that Scotland was sacred land and its people blessed. In London during January 1685, he preached a sermon entitled *Naphtali is a Hind Let Loose*. In the sermon, “He equated those suffering in south-west Scotland to the tribe of Naphtali—born with great wrestling, blessed with God’s (favour) and beautiful Word, promised lands south and west of the Sea of Galilee, and connected to Judah at the Jordan towards the rising sun”.⁸¹⁰ The Irish Sea thus took on the sacred, geotheological qualities of the Sea of Galilee.⁸¹¹ The waterway facilitated the perpetuation of interactive social networks among dissenting Presbyterians, as well as featuring heavily in their geotheological imaging.

The fact that trans-Irish Sea social networks existed was not dismissed by some among the forces of Charles II who sought to silence conventiclers. In 1682, James Nisbet, a covenanted minister in the south-west of Scotland, was discovered by

⁸⁰⁷ McConnell, *Fasti*, 4-84; See also Chapter Five and Appendices. As shown in Chapters Five and Six, when political pressure was applied evenly throughout England, Ireland and Scotland, mobility between them was suppressed.

⁸⁰⁸ James Renwick, *The Apologetical Declaration* (1684). In addition to religious tensions in the south-west that reverberated across the North Channel, the economic impact of raising rents on land was a destabilizing factor in the region and which most likely contributed to radical Presbyterianism and the Covenanter conflict.

⁸⁰⁹ While there were no doubt many who left the south-west in search of a peaceful lifestyle in Ireland, growth in the Ulster Presbytery and the formation of dialect regions in Ulster, suggest that most who did so were not anti-Presbyterian.

⁸¹⁰ Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage*, 114. See also Chapter Two for a discussion on the use of metaphors involving the sea in sermons.

⁸¹¹ Alexander Shields, *Hind Let Loose* (1744), 742, quoted by Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 316

dragoons after they carefully crafted a deceptive ploy to find him. Upon arriving in Nisbet's home village in the south-west of Scotland, a young soldier shed his military garb, dressed as a woman, and went into the village where he asked residents for help in finding his cousin James Nisbet. The would-be woman assured people that "she" was the preacher's cousin from Ireland and that she was sent by Nisbet's Irish family and friends to offer him refuge among them. As Nisbet wrote in his memoirs, "a fair well-favoured young man, in women's clothes, like a gentle-woman, giving out that she was a cousin of our own from Ireland ... gained credit amongst our friends who knew where we were".⁸¹² Ploys such as this were necessary because of the close-knit and protective nature of the communities in the south-west where trans-Irish Sea kinship and religious ties served as cohesive glue to bind social units together.⁸¹³ It also suggests that observers of that community during the last half of the seventeenth-century understood the trans-Irish Sea nature of it, and were prepared to exploit its structure to their advantage.

According to Nisbet in *Private Life*, on 26 April 1685, "it pleased God in his good providence to send that great man Mr. Alexander Peden to the gentleman's house where I was".⁸¹⁴ The next day, Nisbet records that Peden spoke at great length about the application of biblical truths to the present time. After he finished, Peden seemed to go into a meditative state. "Then with great emotion of spirit, (he) broke silence and said with a loud voice, 'Cursed be those in the name of the Lord that speak of my being come to Scotland' (for he was but come from Ireland a few weeks before)".⁸¹⁵ As it turned out, Nisbet wrote that he learned afterward that "a wicked, malicious woman did, at the same very hour that he pronounced the curse upon her, go and inform the

⁸¹² James Nisbet, *The Private Life of the Persecuted*, William Oliphant, ed. (Edinburgh, 1827), vii. Nisbet also describes interacting with Alexander Peden, who made numerous crossings to Ireland.

⁸¹³ Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 66-7.

⁸¹⁴ Nisbet, *Private Life*, 102-03.

enemy ... where he was".⁸¹⁶ Like Nisbet, Peden was chased by dragoons from that and many other places.

While James Nisbet and Alexander Peden successfully eluded the king's justice, Nisbet's father was not as fortunate. He was executed in the Grassmarket at Edinburgh on 4 December 1685.⁸¹⁷ Prior to his execution, John Nisbet wrote a letter to the Countess of Loudoun, and after mounting the scaffold he gave a testimony in which he warned that the "Covenanted God of Scotland hath a dreadful storm of wrath provided, which he will surely pour out suddenly and unexpectedly like a thunder-bolt upon these covenanted lands, for their perfidy, treachery, and woeful apostasy".⁸¹⁸ Similarly, Alexander Peden predicated that a seven year famine would strike the land for Scotland's apostasy.⁸¹⁹ Indeed the famine of the late 1690s must have convinced some residents of the south-west that God had indeed sent his wrath on Scotland. In 1698, Andrew Fletcher estimated that there were 200,000 beggars roaming about in Scotland.⁸²⁰

The Nisbets and Peden were not alone in predicting God's wrath on a sinful Kirk and its nation during the later seventeenth-century. Even those who opposed the Covenanting movement, in the wake of the execution of Charles I, were not against calling upon Scottish geopious sentiments for their own purposes. James Sibbald, acting as sort of a prophet against the Covenanting movement, called upon Scottish geopietry in his published sermons of 1658:

⁸¹⁵ Ibid.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.

⁸¹⁷ See James Nisbet, 'A True Relation of the Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet in Hardhill', *Select Biographies*, William K. Tweedie ed. 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1845-47), 24. See also Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage*, 130.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid. Apostasy means abandoning one's religious faith, political party, or cause. See *Webster's Dictionary* (New York, 1999), 13.

⁸¹⁹ Moore, *Our Covenant Heritage*, 181.

⁸²⁰ Andrew Fletcher, quoted in David Ross, *Chronology of Scottish History* (New Lanark, 2002), 70.

Lastly, we have yet another pregnant motive to perswade us to sorrow and repentance at this time, that is, the danger of our Church and countrey. Who seeth not a fire kindled in the Wrath of God, which threatneth this Church and Land with desolation ... Oftentimes we have foretold you that God would visit for the sinnes committed in this land, and that he would be avenged on such a nation as this.⁸²¹

Unlike Scotland, however, Ireland in the late-1600s was not subject to God's wrath as warned by Puritan-Presbyterian divines. As David Stevenson wrote, "many accepted and glorified in the developing national myth of their church as the 'best reformed' of all churches, and this myth was becoming attached specifically to the Presbyterian party".⁸²² The Kirk's offspring, the Presbytery of Ulster, despite not meeting between 1661 and 1690, was alive and flourishing. From 1672 to 1714, which followed a dozen years of discrimination under the restored House of Stewart, dissenting Protestant divines in Ireland, including Presbyterians, were encouraged by their receipt of the *Regium Donum*.⁸²³ For some, the *Regium Donum*⁸²⁴ was arguably seen as a sign from God that their lives would be blessed in Ulster. As Robert Blair declared, "So careful was the Lord, and bountiful towards that Plantation of his in the north of Ireland, that whoever wanted, they might not want".⁸²⁵

In the last half of the seventeenth-century and for much of the first decade of the eighteenth, Ireland was indeed regarded by many as a blessed land for dissenting Protestants. With the influx of Covenanters, Ulster Presbyterianism, already Puritan,

⁸²¹ James Sibbald, *Diverse Select Sermons* (Aberdeen, 1658), 183. For a standard text on the Apocalyptic tradition in the covenanter movement see Katherine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979). Sibbald's remarks reveal that Scottish geopiety was not limited to one doctrinal grouping.

⁸²² Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 8.

⁸²³ Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001), 13; Jonathon Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast, 1992), 162.

⁸²⁴ See Chapter Four for a discussion on the *Regium Donum*.

⁸²⁵ Blair, *Life of Blair*, 76. The immigration of Scots-Irish Presbyterians to America, which began in earnest in 1718, certainly diffused geopiety to the American South. The American South is also a vernacular region called the Bible Belt. It is a politically powerful section of the country and in many respects it is a driving force in American foreign policy.

took on the rigidity of that theology.⁸²⁶ It must be noted, however, that many of the newcomers eventually turned to theological liberalism, enlightenment theology; Arianism, Deism, and a number of others were decidedly against subscription to the confessions of faith.⁸²⁷ Of course, many Puritan-Presbyterians continued migrating; and, during the eighteenth century, some 250,000 Ulster-Scots, mostly Puritan-Presbyterians, resettled in the colonies of North America.⁸²⁸

Summary

In the minds of Scottish Presbyterians, Scotland and its Kirk were critical participants in, even leaders of, the works of the invisible church, which they hoped to make more visible.⁸²⁹ The conviction that God had called their country to lead the reformation in the pursuit of true religion was not limited to Scots. That lofty, geoteological goal was shared by English Puritans, who like their seventeenth-century Scots counterparts, believed that greater opportunities to build “a shining city on a hill” existed. Unlike seventeenth-century Scottish Puritans, however, many English Puritans believed a Christian commonwealth was to be built in the wilderness of America. To a number of Scots divines who served in Ulster, it was God who placed them and their country in their role to lead all kirks of every realm in establishing the true Christian faith. That belief was expressed in the National Covenant and sworn to by many Lowlanders.

The underling ethos that influenced the contents of the document was preserved in both the south-west of Scotland and Ulster by the ebb and flow of political pressure

⁸²⁶ Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish History*, 132.

⁸²⁷ Leyburn, of course, was concerned about the element of the Scottish population that by 1718 began migrating to North America where they were known as the Scotch-Irish. For a discussion on that movement, see Barry Vann, *Rediscovering the South's Celtic Heritage* (Johnson City, 2004).

⁸²⁸ This was verified from data generated by the 1790 Census of the USA. See Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish*.

that pushed disaffected Puritan-Presbyterian ministers back and forth across the North Channel. Being on the fringe of Scottish political and social power, the religious leaders in the area were encouraged to embrace the Covenant's ethnocentric vision of their place in sacred history. The Puritan-Presbyterian vision of Scotland's and Ireland's geotheological significance nurtured, as described by Donaldson, a "national conceit" among the members of that community which made ecclesiastical compromise difficult, if not impossible, with Episcopalians.

Avihu Zakai points out that seventeenth-century Puritanism was a supra-ecclesiastical power and that, more importantly, it was a "strong social and political force able to disturb and divide communities with its uncompromising plea for full social and religious reformation".⁸³⁰ Zakai further explains that the Puritan failure to achieve reformation through the creation of "a godly, Christian society and the increasing strife between the "godly" and the "profane" at the local level caused, in large measure, thousands of English Puritans to emigrate to New England in order to realise in the American wilderness their vision of the holy Christian society."⁸³¹ The Scots ministers who served in Ulster were likewise eager to establish a sanctuary for themselves and Christ's kingdom; and, while the depleted environs of Ulster presented Scots with something of a wilderness, the geotheological basis of their perception of Scottish land further encouraged them to stay closer to the scared soil of home. Relocating to New England may have also meant that they would have had to become "New Englishmen" (an anathema to Scots and Irish folk).⁸³² At any rate, Zakai's description of the schismatic tendencies of Puritans, as well as of their desire to

⁸²⁹ The invisible church includes only the elect of God. It is invisible because no one knows the names of the members.

⁸³⁰ Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge, 2002), 211.

⁸³¹ Ibid.

establish “a shining city on a hill” can also be applied to Scots who settled in Ulster as well as to English pioneers in New England.

⁸³² In the American South, especially in Appalachia and far away from New England, they called themselves Irish Protestants and/or Scotch-Irish. See Vann, *Rediscovering*, 1-60.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The diffusion of Presbyterianism across the North Channel during the seventeenth-century dramatically altered the political and religious landscapes of south-western Scotland and Ulster. Under differing policies and government administrations, Ireland and Scotland alternated as places of refuge for dissenting ministers who took advantage of existing social ties and well-established transportation and communication arteries that spanned the North Channel. They introduced a new thought world into the area that placed themselves in succession to “old saints” and even Old Testament prophets in the unfolding of God’s providence.⁸³³ Their world was shaped by Puritanism and a participatory polity that was often at odds with the monarchy. To appreciate more fully Presbyterianism and its impact on south-western Scotland and Ulster, this research describes the geography of south-western Scotland and the North Channel that encouraged the development of a regional way of life oriented toward the sea. The study also reconstructs the economic, demographic and institutional ties as well as the political and theological contexts that played important roles in its diffusion.

Any research on the overall pattern and extent of seventeenth-century Scottish *lay* migrations to and from Ireland is a difficult subject to pursue because of the limited

quantity of extant records. While admitting that glaring weakness, this investigation assumed that by reconstructing the theological basis of their ministers' thought worlds, including their real and imagined communities, it would be possible to expand our current understanding of the forces that led to the migrations of a significant portion of the "ordinary" people that took part in the Plantation of Ulster. To establish this assumption on a firm foundation, it was necessary to include analyses of the geotheological belief structure, which it can reasonably be concluded must have shaped their interpretations of more immediate external forces that arguably influenced their decisions to relocate across land and sea, as well as their ideas about the Christian governance of space.

Perhaps the most significant contribution this research makes to the body of work compiled on aspects of the Plantation is in effect to adopt, extend and blend Bowen's seaways theory and its capacity to explain interconnectedness between disparate places with the geotheological ideas and nomenclature of John K. Wright (see Chapter One). Bowen's theory explains the means by which a culture area could have formed along the North Channel of the Irish Sea, and the concepts of Wright helps to reconstruct the thought world that influenced the shaping of it. With respect to cultural geography generally and religious geography specifically, this study departs from the concrete spatial or landscape focus of Zelinskian and Sauerian approaches associated with denominational geography and embraces instead the immaterial aspects of religious thought worlds that may (or indeed may not) have impacted the landscapes of south-western Scotland and Ulster. Although this orientation frames the Plantation era subject matter examined in this research, the results also provide an important link between the scholarship on the Ulster Plantation and that on colonial America. Some

⁸³³ E. G. Bowen called early Celtic divines saints. Their movements along the coast helped to create the

of the Ulster community expanded still further west into a trans-Atlantic phenomenon, impacting even the contemporary political and religious landscapes of the American South and elsewhere. The region heavily influences the country's foreign policies.⁸³⁴ Irish Protestants compose the largest ethnic group in two southern states (Arkansas and Tennessee).⁸³⁵ Along with Protestant Scottish-Americans, members of this group are also well represented in other southern states, including Georgia, Mississippi, North and South Carolina as well as Texas and Virginia.⁸³⁶

Answers to the Research Questions

Historians and geographers throughout much of the twentieth century assumed, with respect to migration and communication across space, that land unites and the sea divides.⁸³⁷ In challenging this notion and other assumptions about the diffusion of Presbyterianism into Ireland during the seventeenth century, this research asked seven questions. A summary of the answers to those questions is provided in this section.

Little agreement was found among Plantation scholars on the subject of whether the Irish Sea was a transportation artery or obstacle. In addressing this debate, Question One asked, "Was the North Channel of the Irish Sea an intervening obstacle or a facilitator of social linkages between Scotland and Ireland?" On a closely related topic, Question Two asked, "Did the physical geography of south-western Scotland influence external social and economic linkages away from Scotland and toward Ireland?" The first two questions are answered together. Those who lived along the

South-western Scotland and Ulster. See his, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in Celtic Lands* (Wales, 1969).

⁸³⁴ Barry A. Vann, *Rediscovering the South's Celtic Heritage* (Johnson City, 2004), 93-100.

⁸³⁵ United States Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 116th ed. (Washington D.C., 1996). For a discussion on the religious aspects of this population, see Vann, *South's Celtic Heritage*.

⁸³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁷ Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, 3.

shores of Scotland were certainly encouraged by the rugged topography to develop the technology and skills to exploit the resources available to them in the sea. The old logic suggests that a person living in south-western Scotland would have carried heavy goods or driven cattle and sheep across low-lying bogs and over rock strewn uplands to reach some inland market. As discussed in detail in Chapter Two, however, over-land travel in the seventeenth-century was fraught with a number of problems. Inland and away from coastal areas, the landscape in south-western Scotland features steep slopes that produce dramatic changes in local relief.⁸³⁸ Burghs were hence situated along the coast to take advantage of seaward locations where transporting bulky items such as coal, sheep, cattle and other goods to markets aboard boats made practical sense. Living near the sea also allowed residents to harvest protein-rich fish from the waters. Even during times of scarcity, Lowland Scots depended on Atlantic herring for sustenance.⁸³⁹ It is likely that most residents living along or near the sea were accustomed to being in boats. Samuel Rutherford, who ministered at Anwoth on the Solway Firth, certainly used sea-going metaphors in his letters and sermons.⁸⁴⁰

Sea travel was so common in the early days of the Plantation that, as explained, the Scottish Privy Council approved the establishment of a ferry service. By granting a charter to Hugh Montgomery in 1616, the Council hoped to control the movement of goods and people across the North Channel. Montgomery's ferries followed a short route (21 miles) between Portpatrick and Donaghadee.⁸⁴¹ A ferry could make the crossing in three to five hours.⁸⁴² As discussed in Chapter Two, Robert Blair reported that at least one planter rented local ships to bring over cattle from his lands in Scotland

⁸³⁸ Local relief is the change in elevation from one point on the land to another. For a discussion on Scottish landscapes in a British context, see Hugh R. Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁸³⁹ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1998), 144.

⁸⁴⁰ See Chapters Six and Seven.

⁸⁴¹ F. G. MacHaffie, *Portpatrick to Donaghadee: the Original Short Route* (Stranraer, 2001), 8.

to provide manure for his estate in Ulster. At least one merchant travelled from Stranraer to Portpatrick on horseback, boarded a ferry with wares in tow, crossed the sea, sold his products in Ulster and returned home the same day. The well-established sea routes that criss-crossed the North Channel make it difficult to support the contention that the Irish Sea was an intervening obstacle, even if it would then be wrong to jump to the opposite extreme of claiming that it was the land instead that comprised an impassable obstacle (since landwards communication evidently did occur, if perhaps not as easily or in such routine fashion as might be assumed).

The findings for Question Three (“What factors were associated with pushing the Presbyterians and other Scots to Ulster”?) are summarised next. Because the monarchy was instrumental in creating a cross-Channel Protestant community, Question Four, “Did the ethnic policies of the Plantation influence the formation of the trans-Channel Presbyterian community”?, is also answered here. From a review of the literature, it appears that most scholars are influenced by the comments made by sixteenth- and seventeen-century observers who perceived that coastal settlements, mostly in Ayrshire, were over-crowded.⁸⁴³ Such comments thus fuel a standard demographic explanation for out-migration, namely that overcrowding and the relative pressures on a limited resource base were definite push factors. With the exception of a few scholars, most notably Raymond Gillespie and Ian Whyte, little in-depth analyses is provided that explains over-crowded conditions in the south-west of Scotland, if they actually existed.⁸⁴⁴ They point out that the inflationary feuing of farm lands in the Lowlands as well as the “king’s peace” resulting from the pacification of the Borders created changes in the traditional agrarian economy (a shift from man-rent to money

⁸⁴² See Chapter Two.

⁸⁴³ See Chapter Three.

rent) that led to the dislocation and subsequent movements of tenant farmers. Many could not afford to pay rapidly rising rents.⁸⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the prevailing explanation is that political policies and perceived religious persecution,⁸⁴⁶ along with poor economic conditions, were the main reasons for pushing and pulling Scots across the Irish Sea.⁸⁴⁷

In Chapters Two through Four, the interwoven demographic, economic and political factors, which might initially appear the most obvious explanations in the cross-Channel movements, are considered in detail, but conclusions based solely on them are insufficient. This research extends these explanations by demonstrating that other religious and community-region-based factors influenced migration flows among Presbyterians from Scotland. Although he did not address migrations out-with Scotland, Rab Houston's study showed that internal migrations occurred amongst people who rarely relocated more than one day's travel from home.⁸⁴⁸ By studying Kirk-issued Testimonials, given to people in "good standing" in the established church, he was able to show that the Central Belt, Edinburgh and Glasgow, which were areas of robust economic growth during the 1660s, attracted significant numbers of migrants. What is important and highly relevant to this study is that there were no Testimonials issued to relocating Scots from the south-west. It was the practice that these Testimonials were necessary for admission into a new parish. Without one, the civil

⁸⁴⁴ Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History, c. 1050- c. 1750* (London, 1995). See also Ian D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550-1830* (London, 2000). Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* (Cork, 1985).

⁸⁴⁵ James G. Leyburn calls this 'rack-renting'. See James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962).

⁸⁴⁶ John R. Young describes the movement of Robert Blair and John Livingstone across the North Channel as occurring because of "religious persecution". See William Kelly and John R. Young, *Ulster and Scotland 1600-2000: History, Language, and Identity* (Dublin, 2004), 14.

⁸⁴⁷ See Chapters Two, Three, and Four for an examination of those explanations.

⁸⁴⁸ R. Houston, 'Geographical mobility in Scotland, 1652-1811: the evidence of testimonials', *Journal of Historical Geography* (1985), 11, 379-94

magistrate was obligated to keep any would-be immigrants out of the parish.⁸⁴⁹ Hence, discrimination may have occurred against displaced and dissenting Protestants wishing to find employment in high-growth areas such as Glasgow and the Central Belt, leaving them with little choice but to migrate to Ulster. This state of affairs produced an irregular pattern of rural-to-rural migration. It seems that the rest of Scotland was experiencing a more typical rural-to-urban migration flow as farm people moved into cities to find work.⁸⁵⁰

The ethnic policies of the monarch were certainly a contributing factor in creating a trans-Channel community of dissenting Protestants. Dissenting Protestants in Scotland were occasionally oppressed, especially between 1660 and 1690, but their situation was mild compared to the plight of most Gaels. Under James VI & I, the Gaels, largely still Roman Catholic, were singled out for change. James laid out his thoughts on Gaeldom in his *Basilikon Doron* (1599). It was his intention to bring “civility” to the Gaels while purging them of their perceived “barbarity”. With the lands decimated in Ulster following the Tudor wars of the 1590s and the subsequent Flight of the Earls in 1607, James was able to gain control of the lands in six Ulster counties.⁸⁵¹ His policies toward Scottish Gaeldom were transported to Ireland.⁸⁵² James believed that Gaeldom would change through socialisation, and the institution he chose to provide the socialisation was the loyal Protestant Church. In addition to recruiting landowners from the south-west of Scotland, the king ordered Sir Arthur Chichester to recruit church leaders, most notably Andrew Knox, who knew the culture

⁸⁴⁹ This topic is discussed at length in Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), 12.

⁸⁵⁰ See Chapters Two and Three.

⁸⁵¹ The lands escheated to the king were situated in the modern counties of Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Fermanagh, Derry and Tyrone. See Sean Duffy, ed. *Atlas of Irish History* (Derbyshire, 1997), 62.

⁸⁵² Young, *Ulster and Scotland*, 11.

of the south-west of Scotland.⁸⁵³ The initial Church leaders were open to offering charges to Presbyterian divines. The system of polity established by Chichester allowed for a hybrid church body that facilitated the migration of ministers who belonged to a group of Puritan-minded divines that Donaldson describes as an ecclesiastical intelligentsia.⁸⁵⁴ Chapter Five provides a deeper discussion of their social and institutional ties. The subsequent migration pattern revealed a complicated toing and froing of such ministers across the North Channel, depending on repeated shifts in state policy towards them and their beliefs and practices.

Unlike his more astute father, Charles I obstinately tried to stamp out Protestant dissent. He issued the Black Oath in May 1639 that required all Scots to abjure the National Covenant of 1638 and take oaths of loyalty to the king and the established church, causing many loyal Scots to turn against him and side with the more radical element. As Charles' political circumstances declined in Scotland and England, he enlisted the help of the Catholic Earl of Antrim to raise an army to defend his reign. In 1641, that decision gave impetus to a rising. As a result of assaults on Protestant settlers, especially against English folk, a significant portion of the Scots in Ulster either fought against the rising or fled back to Scotland.⁸⁵⁵ Oliver Cromwell also used religion as a political device. His assault against Roman Catholics was notoriously punitive and destructive, and despite his initial and nominal opposition to Presbyterianism, he did little to destroy the community in Ulster. As a result, migration of Scots Presbyterians continued during the Protectorate. Charles II initially tried to eradicate dissenting expressions of Christianity, but after a successful lobbying campaign on behalf of Irish Presbyterians by Sir Arthur Forbes, the king implemented

⁸⁵³ This was clearly seen in a letter written to Chichester in which the king tells him that the Bishop of Isles would be an excellent choice because he hails from a nearby place.

⁸⁵⁴ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 149

⁸⁵⁵ See *Registry of the Privy Council* (1661-2) for a discussion on relief for refugees.

the payment of the *Regium Donum* to dissenting divines in 1672. In Scotland, however, the king was much less interested in encouraging their form of worship. In fact, he vacillated between offering indulgences and military acts of suppression against dissenting preachers, who often resorted to holding illegal field meetings called conventicles. This served to undermine the cohesiveness of the covenanters (holdout supporters of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant), but it also served to push some more radical religious leaders such as Alexander Peden to seek refuge in Ulster. The Presbyterian settlement of 1690 agreed to by William and Mary in their Glorious Revolution then encouraged migrations of Scottish Presbyterians back to their homeland.

The Plantation of Ulster was a political-economic venture with religious conflicts a lasting consequence. Religious change through limited conflict was expected, but what was not expected was the institutionalisation of that conflict through the insertion of a dissenting Puritan-Presbyterian influence into the existing South-western Scotland and Ulster. The body of scholarship to date does not adequately explain the institutional and social networking patterns that created the community of ministers who must have impacted upon important aspects of the secular lives and thought-worlds of the residents living in south-western Scotland and Ulster. The structure and theological substance of that community are summarised by this research, and the results inform our understanding of the complexities of cross-Channel migration in the seventeenth century. This is accomplished by ‘getting inside the heads’ of some of the migrants (to access their internal motivations, hopes and fears) to see how and in what ways they perceived their lands and the external events that may have influenced their connection to place. This is an important point to stress because their theology and social networks cannot but have affected their interpretation of

secular events. Their perceptions arguably played a significant influence in making migration decisions.

However, it is hard to determine whether ministers, patrons or others in their congregations exerted the most influence in making those decisions. Perhaps and arguably so, group and individual decisions about migrating varied from situation to situation. Still, the church office bearer in trans-Irish Sea Presbyterianism was subject to localised political forces that were unique. Clearly, these forces impacted a minister's decision to stay in a charge or to move on to a new home. With that thought in mind, it is hard to know precisely what John Milton meant when he wrote that the "new presbyter is but old priest writ large".⁸⁵⁶ There were two important differences between priests and the new presbyters; first and foremost was the amount of control the congregation had in selecting and removing its pastor. "Ministers were beholden to their own parishioners for their jobs, to a degree that few old priests ever were ... And both ministers and elders who worked with them to enforce discipline suffered verbal abuse and physical assault by offended laity".⁸⁵⁷ This sentiment was expressed by David Calderwood, Samuel Rutherford's mentor, who wrote that "If anie thing was amisse in the lifes, doctrine, or anie part of the office of their pastors, everie man had libertie to shew wherin they were offendit".⁸⁵⁸ Secondly, Milton's concerns about presbyters may have been ill-founded to some extent because the ministers' charisma and knowledge of scripture gave them the aura of learning that few priests ever enjoyed. Their power to influence people rested on those two basic attributes, and not on the coercive control of an over-arching ecclesiastical body. The fear of losing one's

⁸⁵⁶ John Milton, 'On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament' in *The Works of John Milton*, F. A. Patterson, ed. (New York, 1931), 71.

⁸⁵⁷ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 361.

⁸⁵⁸ Calderwood's description of the members of the congregation expressing themselves to wayward ministers was a clear departure from the source of discipline associated with Episcopacy. In Episcopacy,

ministerial position gave the congregation a fair measure of power. However, as a *perceived* direct conduit to the will of God, persuasive ministers “attracted followers who hung on their very word and wrote accounts of their lives that can only be described as hagiographies ... many new presbyters were more like old saints than old priests”.⁸⁵⁹ Highly mobile ministers such as Alexander Peden, Robert Blair and John Livingstone, among others, were that kind of leader. Because these ministers were members of a community of believers who felt a spiritual connection to first-century church figures and the prophets of the Old Testament, it is difficult to know whether the congregation or the minister exerted the greatest amount of influence in congregational matters, especially in matters affecting decisions to relocate. Based on the writings of Blair and Livingstone, it seems that members of their congregations, most likely elders, were involved in making relocation decisions that affected large segments of their respective church communities. It makes a good deal more sense to see such movements as group decisions when we recognise that the ministers’ livelihood depended on the continued support of patrons in the congregation or parish.

As migration and institutional network theories of migration can also be applied here, questions about them must be asked. Question Five asks “Is there evidence to demonstrate social connections and geographic flows of Irish Presbyterian ministers with people and places on the eastern side of the Irish Sea?” Question Six asks: “Was the Scottish ecclesiastical intelligentsia the incubus for the Puritan ethos of the Presbyterian community that contributed to schismatic behaviours, including political dissention and geographic relocation?” Question Seven asks: “Is there evidence to demonstrate trans-Irish Sea regionalisation associated with Scottish geothology?” The answers to these questions are summarised next.

corrective discipline was dispensed by bishops, archbishops and ultimately the monarch. See David

As Chapter Five shows, the process of migration facilitated by Presbyterian ministers' social and institutional ties took place across the Irish Sea in the seventeenth-century. The Melvillian educational structure had by the end of the sixteenth century produced divines and land-owners such as Robert Blair and Sir James Hamilton. Hamilton was a student under Melville at St. Andrews.⁸⁶⁰ Scots operating as planters in Ulster such as Hamilton, Sir Hugh Clotworthy, and Sir Hugh Montgomery, who later became Robert Blair's father-in-law, formed a clique of gentry in the south-western region of Scotland. They recruited divines with Presbyterian sentiments for ministerial positions in the Church of Ireland and even directed candidates for the ministry to bishops willing to offer them modified ordination rituals. Bishop Andrew Knox, who felt it was God's purpose for his life and service to ordain them, was especially cooperative.

As the Plantation became established, the initial ministerial recruits encouraged others of like minds to come to Ireland. During the reign of James VI and I, some 65 Scottish ministers served in Ireland under the supervision of bishops in the Church of Ireland. As discussed in Chapter Five, 76 percent of them served under Scottish bishops.⁸⁶¹ After the establishment of the Army Presbytery in 1642, which became the Presbytery of Ulster in 1646, membership grew precipitously. Eventually the Ulster Presbytery was renamed Synod of Ulster in 1690. During those years 188 ministers served in Irish Presbyterian churches.⁸⁶² Scottish universities produced 162 (83 percent) of Ulster's Presbyterian ministers. The University of Glasgow educated 79 or 42 percent of them, while Edinburgh University trained another 47 (25 percent). The

Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, in T. Thomson ed., 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-9), vii. 356.

⁸⁵⁹ Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 362.

⁸⁶⁰ *The Hamilton Manuscripts*, T. K. Lowry, ed. (Belfast, 1867), 34f.

⁸⁶¹ Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London, 1973), 268.

percentage of divines educated at the other Scottish Universities dropped off to 5 percent and 3 percent.⁸⁶³ The Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh were physically closer to Ulster than their counterparts in Aberdeen and St. Andrews, so their pre-eminence in educating ministers for Ulster service is not surprising. Glasgow's proximity to the south-west of Scotland and Ulster gave it an advantage over even Edinburgh. Beginning in 1574 with the appointment of Andrew Melville as Principal, the University of Glasgow employed key members of his ecclesiastical intelligentsia, including Robert Boyd, Robert Blair and David Dickson.

The existence of social ties among church communities in south-western Scotland and Ulster is also clearly seen in the reverse migration flows of ministers. Of the 188 divines in Ulster service, 73 (38 percent) moved away from Ulster. Sixty-two moved to Scotland, six relocated to America, four left for England and one lone minister migrated to Holland. Some 24 of those who relocated out-with Ulster actually returned to Ireland later in their careers to hold charges.

As monarchical policy shifted throughout England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, the leading push factor in all migrations was political (39 cases), but the deposition of ministers at the Stewart Restoration (1660) failed to produce a measurable flow because the policy was applied evenly throughout the king's realm. With the possible exception of America, there was no place offering refuge to deposed ministers. However, regional deposition rates show contrasting cultural/political regions in Scotland. It further shows that Ulster and Galloway experienced similar deposition rates. Ulster witnessed an 89 percent removal rate and Galloway 86 percent. A Chi Square test revealed that there was no significant difference in the two rates. On the

⁸⁶² See Chapter Five and Appendices for data on ministers. Unless otherwise noted, the data on Irish divines presented in this section were culled from James McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church 1613-1840* (Belfast, 1951).

other hand, Galloway's deposition rate was significantly greater than Glasgow and Ayr, the Scottish synod with the second highest deposition rate. Because deposed ministers faced little prospect of employment by moving to another Stewart kingdom, few chose to move.

The answers to Questions Five and Six are hence answered in the affirmative. The Scottish pro-Presbyterian ecclesiastical intelligentsia was the primary social and intellectual source from which Ulster Presbyterian divines were drawn. Their beliefs produced divisive political patterns that clearly showed the existence of at least a Protestant-dominated Irish Sea culture area. When monarchical policies designed to suppress dissenting religious practices were not enforced uniformly across kingdom boundaries, politically-pushed migrations occurred in measurable ways, the implication being that distinctive patterns in migration flows, such as the obvious trend in movements from south-west Scotland to Ulster, have to be accounted for by other factors stemming from their thought world: perhaps by reference to more geotheological issues.

As would be expected among a people committed to a dissenting polity, underlying beliefs encouraged their schismatic position. The Melvillian notion of "two kingdoms" contributed to their unwillingness to submit to monarchical authority in matters ecclesiastical. Just as depositions of ministers formed a pattern across the Irish Sea, so did their geotheological beliefs. The answer to Question Seven, "Is there evidence to demonstrate trans-Irish Sea regionalisation associated with Scottish geotheology?" is thus 'yes'. In fact, as is discussed at the end of this section, the western seaways theory articulated by Bowen delineates how a culture area, which was constituted through networked connections of sea-borne traffic (of people, ideas,

⁸⁶³ The University of Aberdeen produced nine ministers for Ireland (5 percent), and the University of St.

practice, artefacts), was gradually pieced together along the northern shores of the Irish Sea. After the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, Atlantic seaways facilitated the diffusion of Scots-Irish geopiety further west to North America.⁸⁶⁴

The Scottish National Covenant of 1638 was certainly a pledge pregnant with geotheological attributes.⁸⁶⁵ A number of ministers, who had served in Ulster, and who were deposed by Lord Deputy, Thomas Wentworth, and Archbishop William Laud in the mid 1630s, returned to Scotland and took part in the movement and the General Assembly in Scotland that developed and approved the National Covenant. The pledge required solemn oaths of loyalty among Kirk members with respect to its pronouncements. One of its authors was Archibald Johnston of Wariston.⁸⁶⁶ He declared that 28 February 1638, the day in which the pledge was made available for signing, was “the glorious marriage day of the Kingdom with God”.⁸⁶⁷ One of the deposed Ulster ministers who attended the General Assembly that approved the National Covenant was Robert Blair. Blair believed that God had placed a protective fence around him and his colleagues as they ministered in Ulster, and that whosoever was in need could, through providence, be satisfied in Ireland.⁸⁶⁸ The payment of the *Regium Donum* to dissenting Protestant ministers certainly seemed to support Blair’s claim that God would shower his blessings on his labouring children in Ireland. This is especially true when compared to the policy toward dissenting divines in Scotland and England. There Charles II vacillated between ordering military actions against them and their followers and providing them with offers of indulgences, which of course

Andrews trained seven (3 percent).

⁸⁶⁴ For an excellent assessment of the impact of Ulster-Scots religious culture on revivalism in eighteenth-century America, see Marilyn Westerkamp, *The Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (Oxford, 1987).

⁸⁶⁵ See Chapter Seven.

⁸⁶⁶ The other author was Alexander Henderson of Leuchars.

⁸⁶⁷ Archibald Johnston of Wariston, quoted in David Stevenson, *Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland, the* (Edinburgh, 1988), 1.

⁸⁶⁸ See Chapter Seven.

meant that they would have to renounce their oaths to the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. The government regarded those who remained committed to the pledges as outlaws, forcing them to submerge into a sea of peasantry while others such as Alexander Peden took refuge in Ireland.

Like the English Puritan Robert Cushman, Scottish Puritan-Presbyterians in south-western Scotland and Ulster believed that they were chosen by God to serve as a beacon of political and religious promise for European countries, if not the world. As Cushman remarked in a sermon delivered at Plymouth in 1621, “If it should please God to punish his people in the Christian countries of Europe ... when Satan shall be let loose, to cast out his flouds against them, here is a way opened for such as have wings to flie into this wilderness”.⁸⁶⁹ It is significant to recall that the pro-Presbyterian intelligentsia formed by Andrew Melville certainly shared membership in an imagined community of Puritans. The ministers who developed the Presbyterian Church in seventeenth-century Ulster maintained communications with English Puritans in the colonies. When it seemed to Robert Blair and his colleague John Livingstone that God might be better served among his people in North America, they built a ship called the “Eaglewing” and set sail for the wilderness across the Atlantic. However, their ship was beset with storms, so they decided that God wanted them to stay in Ireland. Like Livingstone and William Row, Blair was convinced of God’s providential plans for Ireland, England and Scotland.

As the Presbyterian Synod in Ulster grew under the guidance of committed leaders such as Blair, Livingstone, General Munro and Patrick Adair, it threatened the established church. Under pressure, the government passed the Test Act of 1703. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Test Act made life difficult for dissenting Christians.

The policies supporting religious dissension in Ulster continued to wane, and in 1714 the *Regium Donum* was suspended, causing the migration of thousands of Ulster Protestants to North America. Along with them went their geotheological beliefs and their commitment to the doctrine of “two kingdoms”. The goals of Puritans, like the Ulster’s Robert Blair, Galloway’s Samuel Rutherford and the governor of Massachusetts John Winthrop, rested on the assumption that they would create a Christian theocracy in the wilderness, for they believed God would use the fruits of their labour as a model for the church throughout the countries of the world.

Geotheology and its many sub-parts lay at the base of that notion. Certainly those immaterial aspects of culture had a profound impact on the political landscape of Ulster and arguably America. The seventeenth century, in the final analysis, was a time of tremendous change in which a plethora of forces, both real and imagined, encouraged the creation of a dissenting culture area in the North Channel of the Irish Sea. Despite those changes, the thought worlds of sixteenth century leaders of the Melvillian intelligentsia could not be destroyed by space of time or distance of place.

⁸⁶⁹ Robert Cushman, *A Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in New England, December 9, 1621*, in Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom*, 124.

APPENDICES

Data reflected in the Tables were generated from McConnell, *Fasti* and Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915).

Appendix 1
Birth and Education Places of IP (Irish Presbyterian) Ministers (1642-1661)

	Scot. #	Ire.	Eng.	Unknow n	Educ. Gla.	Educ. Edin.	Educ. Aber	Educ. St. And.	Educ. Other	Remain/Go Eng/Scot/Ireland
1	JA4						X			
2	PA4				X					
3	JA5					X				
4	JA5								UNKWN	
5	FA5				X					SRE P
6	RA5				X					
7	JB5				X					
8				JB6					UNKWN	
9		EB6							UNKWN	
10	MB6					X				
11	JB6				X					
12	TB6				X					
13	WB7				X					
14	MB7					X				SBF
15	DB8								UNKWN	
16	WC8				X					
17	JC8				X					SBF
18	JC8					X				
19				GC8				X		
20			SC9						UNKWN	
21	RC9							X		SBF
22	TC9					X				
23	WC10				X					
24	JC10					X				SBP P
25	WC10						X			
26	HC10				X					SBF
27		JC11*			X					
28		RC11*				X				
29				RD11					UNKWN	
30	JD11				X					SBP P
31	TD12 FM								UNKWN	
32	JD13				X					SBF
33	AF14							X		
34	JF14*					X				
35	JF14*					X				
36	TF14				X					
37	DG14				X					SRE P
38	AG15					X				
39	JG15						X			
40	TG37					X				
41	JG37				X					SBF
42	TH38				X					SRE P
43	AH38					X				
44	JH39					X				
45	JH39					X				
46	RH39				X					
47		NH39							UNKW	

									M	
48			TH39						UNKWN	ABF
49	JH39							X		
50	RH40				X					
51	HH40				X					
52	AH40				X					
53	WJ41					X				SRET
54			JJ42						UNKWN	
55	GK42						X			SRET
56	AK43								UNKWN	
57	TK43				X					SBF
58	JK44					X				SRET
59			WK44						UNKWN	
60	JL44								UNKWN	SCON P
61		WL44							T.C.D.	
62	JL44								UNKWN	SNC P
63	HJ45				X					
64	HM45					X				SRE P
65			JM45						C.C.COL	ENC P
66	WM4 5						X			
67			WM4 6		X					
68	AM46								UNKWN	SBP,RG P
69		JO46			X					
70	AO46				X					
71	TP46				X					
72	RG47								UNKWN	
73	MR47				X					
74	WR47				X					
75	DR47				X					
76		AR47 *							UNKWN	
77		RR47 *							UNKWN	
78	JS48								UNKWN	SRET
79	WS48				X					
80	AS48					X				SRE P
81				JS49^					UNKWN	SPROT P
82				JS49^					UNKWN	
83				HS49					UNKWN	
84				GS49	X					
85				JS49		X				HNC P
86				JS50	X					
87		AS50							UNKWN	SBF
88	RS50				X					SBF
89			EV50						OXFRD	EDOOR
90			TV51						UNKWN	
91	GW51				X					ADOOR
92	JW51					X				
93	JW51								UNKWN	
94		NW51							KNSAL	
95			JW51						UNKWN	
96	AW52				X					
97	JW52				X					
98	HW52				X					SRET
99	RW52								UNKWN	
TOTAL	71 (72%)	10 (10%)	5 (5%)	13 (13%)	39 (40%)	20 (20%)	5 (5%)	4 (4%)	27 U, 4K 31 total (31%)	30 = A(2) + E(2) + S(25) + H(1); S(24) = P(11) + SBF(9)

										+ OTHER(5)
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- * and ^ identify sets of brothers
- Codes such as PA4 refer to Patrick Adair and are found on page 4 of the *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church 1613-1840*.
- Codes for Remain/Go: S = Scotland; E = England; A = America; H = Holland; RE = Republican Engagement 1650; CON = Conventicler; NC = Non-conformity; RG = Rullion Green; PROT = Scottish Protesters; GA = General Assembly Scotland; GS = General Synod IPC; BP = Blood's Plot 1663; REV = 1689 Revolution; BF = Back and forth; DOOR = Providence or ministerial calling; RET = Retired; P = Political; OTHER = Economic.

Appendix 2

Birth and Education Places of IP Ministers (1661-1690)

	Scotland #	Ire.	England	Other	Educ. Gla.	Educ. Edin.	Educ. Aber.	Educ. St. And.	Educ. Other	Remain/Go Eng./Scot./Ire.
1		WA57							Scot	
2	DA57					X				SRET
3	JA57						X			SDOOR
4	JA57					X				
5	DB58				X					
6		JB58				X				SBF
7	DC58				X					SRET
8	JC58				X					
9	RC59				X					SBF
10	JC59					X				SRET
11			TC59						X	
12				WC59	X					
13	HC59				X					SBF
14	DC60				X					SBF
15	JC60				X					
16	JD61				X					SDOOR
17	AF61				X					
18	AF61					X				
19		JF62				X				
20	JF62				X					SBF
21		TF62							Scot	
22	AG62				X					SREV P
23	WG62				X					
24	AG62				X					
25		AG63					X			SBF
26	JG63						X			
27	JG64					X				
28	NG64				X					
29	SH64				X					SBF
30	JH64				X					
31	MH65				X					
32		AH65				X				SBF
33		JH65				X				SREV P
34				RH66		X				
35	WH66								X	ADOOR
36				TH67	X					SBF
37				RH67					X	
38		RH67				X				
39				WH67	X					
40	DH67				X					SBF
41	JH68				X					SREV P
42				JH68		X				SGA
43		FI68							Ireland	
44	GJ69					X				EAO P
45				JJ69					X	
46		RK69							SCOT	
47		SK69							X	SREV P
48	GK70				X					

	FATHER-IN-LAW OF WM. TENNANT "LOG COLL-EGE"									
49		TK70			X					SREV P
50	JK70							X		SGA
51	HK70							X		
52	RL71				X					SREV P
53	GL71				X					
54	JL71				X					
55	WL71				X					SREV,GA P
56				WL72	X					
57		JM72			X					SBF
58	JM72				X					
59		AM77				X				
60		JM77				X				
61		FM77			X					A
62				JM77		X				
63				JM78	X					
64		TM78				X				
65	JM78				X					SREV P
66	JM78							X		SDOOR
67		PO78			X					SBF
68				RP79	X					
69	PP79							X		
70	JP79							X		SDOOR
71	JR79				X					
72	RR80					X				
73		JS80			X					SBF
74				PS80					X	
75				WS80	X					
76		AS80			X					EBF
77	AS81						X			SREV P
78	JT81							X		SREV P
79	WT81					X				ABF
80	JW82							X		
81	GW82					X				SBF
82	WW82					X				SBF
83				FW83		X				
84	JW83					X				SREV P
85	JW83					X				
86	RW83					X				
87	TW83							X		ADOOR
88	TW84					X				SPROT P
89	AY84					X				SREV P
TO TA LS	54 (61%)	20 (22%)	1 (1%)	14 (16%)	40 (44%)	27 (30%)	4 (4%)	3 (3%)	11, 4K, (16%)	43 = A(4) + E(2) + S(37); S(37) = P(13) + SBF(15) + OTHER(9)

Codes such as PA4 refer to Patrick Adair who is found on page 4 of the *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church 1613-1840*

Codes for Remain/Go: S = Scotland; E = England; A = America; H = Holland; RE = Republican Engagement 1650; CON = Conventicler; NC = Non-conformity; RG = Rullion Green; PROT = Scottish Protesters; GA = General Assembly Scotland; GS = General Synod IPC; AO = Abjuration Oath; BP = Blood's Plot 1663; REV = 1689 Revolution; BF = Back and forth; DOOR = Providence or ministerial calling; RET = Retired; P = Political; OTHER = Economic.

Appendix 3
Further Exploration of Ethnic/Paternal Family Origin and
Institutional Affiliation of IP Ministers (1641-1690)

- JB6. James Baty, Education Unknown, 6.⁸⁷⁰
 GC8. Gabriel Cornwall, St. Andrews (degree and date unknown), 172.
 RD11. Robert Dewar (Denner), Education unknown, 207.
 JJ42. James Johnston, Education Unknown, 385.
 JM45. Jeremiah Marsden, Educated at Christ Church College in England, (not listed).
 JS49. James Shaw, Education unknown, 720.
 JS49. John Shaw, Education unknown, 720.
 HS49. Hope Sherrid, Education unknown, (not listed).
 GS49. Gilbert Simpson, educated Glasgow (1646), 727.
 JS49. James Simpson, M.A., Edinburgh (1635), 727.
 JS50. John Sommerville, M.A., Glasgow (1642), 737.
 TV51. Thomas Vesey, Education unknown, 794.
 JW51. John Weldwood, Education unknown, 808.
 WC59. William Cocks, M.A., Glasgow (1662), 160.
 RH66. Robert Hamilton, M.A., Edinburgh (1679), 340.
 YH67. Thomas Harvey, M.A., Glasgow (1663), 346, 357.
 RH67. Robert Henry, M.A., Edinburgh (1670), 353.
 WH67. William Henry, M.A., Glasgow (1663), 353.
 JH68. John Hutcheson, M.A., Edinburgh (1681), 371.
 JJ69. James Johnston, Education Unknown, 385.
 WL72. William Liston, M.A., Glasgow (1659), 431.
 JM77. John Mair, M.A., Edinburgh (1676), 574.
 JM78. John Malcom, M.A., Glasgow (1672), 576.
 RP79. Robert Patton, M.A., Glasgow (1654), 650.
 PS80. Patrick Shaw, Education Unknown, 720.
 WS80. William Shaw, M.A., Glasgow (1651), 720.
 FW83. Fulk White, M.A., Edinburgh (1672), 811.

N = 27

Scottish university connection = 16

English university = 1

Unknown = 10

Scottish Surname = 25 out of 27 for 93 percent

⁸⁷⁰ According to George Black in *The Surnames of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996), though not all of the surnames are exclusive to Scotland, most of these ministers (25/27 or 93 percent) belong to paternal families that were represented in Scotland, before or during the seventeenth century. The number after each person's name and university information refers to the page number in which it is found in Black's book.

Appendix 4

Further Exploration of the Push Factors Among Back and Forth (BF) Clergy

Number	IPC Fasti Reference	Name	Cause(s) for moves to/from Scotland
1	MB7	Michael Bruce	(1) Deposed for non-conformity 1661; (2) Conventicler
2	JC8	John Colthart	(1) Personal leave 1659; (2) Deposed for non-conformity 1661
3	RC9	Robert Craghead	(1) Deposed for non-conformity 1661; (2) Preached illegally
4	HC10	Hugh Cunningham	(1) Refused to take Republican Engagement (1650); (2) Deposed for non-conformity
5	JD13	John Drysdale	(1) Refused Republican Engagement (1650); (2) Deposed for non-conformity; (3) Blood's plot 1663 (prison)
6	JG37	John Greg	(1) Refused Republican Engagement (1650); (2) Blood's Plot 1663 (prison)
7	TK43	Thomas Kennedy	(1) Deposed for non-conformity 1661
8	AS50	Andrew Stewart	(1) Refused Republican Engagement (1649); (2) Deposed for non-conformity 1661;
9	RS50	Robert Stirling	DOOR
10	JB58	James Bruce	(1) Revolution of 1689
11	RC59	Robert Campbell	DOOR

12	HC59	Hugh Crawford	(1) Deposed for non-conformity 1662;
13	DC60	David Cunningham	Retirement and return DOOR
14	JF62	John Freeland	DOOR
15	AG63	Alexander Gordon	Served in Scots General Assembly; retired to Ireland
16	SH64	Samuel Halliday	DOOR
17	AH65	Archibald Hamilton	(1) Deposed for non-Conformity 1662
18	TH67	Thomas Harvey	DOOR
19	DH67	David Houston	(1) Covenanter societies
20	JM72	John McBride	DOOR
21	PO78	Peter Orr	DOOR
22	JS80	James Scott	(1) Revolution 1689; DOOR back to Ireland 1690
23	GW82	George Waugh	(1) Deposed for non-conformity; Retirement and DOOR in Ireland
24	WW82	William Weir	(1) Deposed for non-conformity 1673
Total			Political = 15 Criminal = 0 SGA and DOOR = 9

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