

Covenanting Political Propaganda, 1638-89

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Pleasanton, California.

Margaret Steele

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the interplay of propaganda, politics and religion as it relates to the covenanting movement in early-modern Scotland. The transmission of ideology and the communication of ideas from above to below by covenanting polemicists to shape public discourse and to stimulate political action is the focus of this work. The use of propaganda as an élite mechanism for influencing popular opinion is analysed with respect to the origins of the covenanting movement. Consideration is given, then, to the initial, political tensions which occasioned dissent in the late-1630s and led to the formation of the radical, political movement. The evolution of the covenanters from a pressure group to a provisional government to a, largely, disaffected faction to an underground, protest group between 1638 and 1689 had a significant impact on the methods relied on to formulate and disseminate their ideology. Thus, the mechanics of their considerable polemical efforts are analysed with respect to their function, production, transmission and reception through their years of political ascendancy as well as their years in the political wilderness. Equally, attention is paid to the modes of thought that underlay the propagandists' message and the main themes promoted in it to galvinize popular opinion. Whether appeals to the masses through polemical rhetoric acted as a stimulus for the creation of a plebian, political consciousness in seventeenth-century Scotland is of prime concern throughout this study.

Abbreviations and Conventions

<u>APS</u>	<u>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</u>
<u>Edin. Biblio. Soc.</u>	<u>Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>Glasgow Biblio. Soc.</u>	<u>Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society</u>
<u>Hist. of Europ. Ideas</u>	<u>History of European Ideas</u>
<u>HMC</u>	<u>Historical Manuscript Commission</u>
<u>IR</u>	<u>Innes Review</u>
<u>JBS</u>	<u>Journal of British Studies</u>
<u>J. Eccles. Hist.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>N.L.S.</u>	<u>National Library of Scotland</u>
<u>P&P</u>	<u>Past and Present</u>
<u>Scot. J.T.</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
<u>Scots Church, Rotterdam</u>	<u>Archives of the Scots Church at Rotterdam</u>
<u>SHR</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>
<u>SHS</u>	<u>Scottish History Society</u>
<u>S.R.A.</u>	<u>Strathclyde Regional Archives</u>
<u>S.R.O.</u>	<u>Scottish Record Office</u>
<u>RPCS</u>	<u>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</u>
<u>RSCHS</u>	<u>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</u>
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
<u>U.G.S.C.</u>	<u>University of Glasgow - Special Collections</u>

Dates: Old style dates as used in early-modern Britain are herein retained with the commencement of the new year on 1 January in accordance with the Scottish usage rather than 25 March as in England.

Quotations: All abbreviations in quotations taken from contemporary manuscript and print material have been extended; however, punctuation and spelling has been rendered as they appeared in the original literature.

Introduction

The covenanting movement attracted the attention; ignited the interest; and, inflamed the passions of all ranks of Scottish society, whether as adherents or opponents, for a significant proportion of the seventeenth century. The historical boundaries of the movement were marked by the National Covenant of 1638 and the Revolution of 1688-89. During that time, the cause of the covenant was a formidable presence in the political culture of early-modern Scotland. What began as a conservative, reactionary backlash against the policies and ruling style pursued by Charles I developed over the course of fifty years into a radical program for political, ecclesiastical and constitutional change. The engine driving this extraordinary, revolutionary impulse was the covenant ideal. Although the covenant ideal had enjoyed broad-based, theoretical support in Scotland prior to the late-1630s, attempts to implement it as a guiding principle of public policy in conjunction with concerted efforts to popularise the concept were not launched until the outset of the 'Troubles'. Between 1638 and 1689, Scottish political culture was tested and, ultimately, altered by the successes and failures of the covenanters in promoting this vision with each succeeding decade witnessing new challenges for the established order in church and state. Beginning in the late 1630s, a petitioning campaign aimed at a redress of specific grievances was launched against the Caroline administration which led to a revolution in church and state. In the 1640s, internal and external threats to the political ascendancy of a provisional, covenanting government precipitated outbreaks of war while, during the 1650s, the movement's military and political inadequacies resulted in the occupation of the country by a foreign, military presence. After the restoration of the monarchy, in the 1660s and 1670s, frequent episodes of mass civil disobedience and armed resistance culminated in two major rebellions. During the 1680s, the radical militancy of the Cameronians, a renegade faction of covenanters, created political tensions that not only strained the resources of Charles II's and James VII's governments in handling political and religious dissent, but had serious repercussions for more moderate presbyterians. Although the covenant ideal served as the ideological touchstone for

covenanters for the duration of the movement, it was not a static model for revolutionary, political action; rather, it was the product of successive years of resistance to what was considered autocratic rule. The necessity to respond to particular developments in the arena of practical politics gave expression to the covenant ideal; thus, it did not spring to life fully formed but, instead, it was honed to meet the changing, political exigencies of seventeenth-century political culture.

The revolutionary forces unleashed in this era were precipitated by a consensus of opinion among the political nation, the radical presbyterian clergy and the Scottish people that the Caroline administration had to be challenged to amend the direction and substance of its policies. They were, initially, induced by the actions of a disgruntled, socio-political élite whose collective decision to question Charles I's policies and to petition against church reform, publicly, provided a stimulus for radical change of the *status quo*. Élite co-ordination and organisation of the opposition led, subsequently, to the effective supplanting of the monarchy as the functions of the institution and the day to day governance of the country were transposed in a piece-meal fashion from the royal administration to the covenanting régime by the early 1640s. If the revolutionary impulse had not come from above, it is doubtful if the political, ecclesiastical and constitutional changes that transpired between 1637 and 1651 would have been achieved. Certainly, the subsequent failure of the movement to win back power without the active support of the political nation in the latter half of the seventeenth century suggests as much.

Like the Scottish Revolution, the covenanting movement itself owed its efficacy as a force in Scottish political culture to the central involvement and complicity of the radical presbyterian clergy. From the initial challenge to royal authority with the Prayer Book controversy and the subsequent petitioning campaign of 1637-38 to the near realisation of the covenant ideal in the late 1640s when the radical kirk party dominated politics, ministers played a central rôle in, alternatively, fomenting civil disobedience and reinforcing the objectives and ambitions of the provisional government as its leading advocates. Moreover, after the majority of the political nation had abandoned the covenanting cause by 1651, the vacuum in the covenanters' leadership was filled by radical, presbyterian ministers. In the evolution of the covenanters from a pressure group in the petitioning campaign of

1637-38 to a provisional government from 1638 until 1651 to a fragmented and, largely, disaffected faction under the Cromwellian régime of the 1650s to an underground, protest group composed of rival wings after the Restoration until the Revolution of 1688-9, ministers figured prominently. During these four phases of the covenanting movement, the prime value of the radical, presbyterian clergy was their collective ability - along with their lay counterparts - to influence mass opinion. Through the dual mechanisms of printing and evangelising, the ministers as propagandists established a high degree of contact between the dissident leadership and a large proportion of the Scottish people. The existing network of the presbyterian church courts guaranteed such access from the late 1630s until the Cromwellian Interlude. Thereafter, loose coalitions of ministers maintained this link between the leaders and the rank and file of the covenanting movement with the communication of ideas from above to below heavily dependent on them. As men of influence within their own parishes, ministers' views, attitudes and beliefs carried some weight while, as the spiritual and intellectual guides for their congregants, their potential to influence popular opinion was palpable. Given their access to one of the chief, public forums in the early-modern period, the pulpit, they were well-placed to shape and mobilise public opinion in an effective manner. They functioned, too, as the agents for change, in that, what they said to their assembled parishioners in sermons with its mixture of religion, politics and propaganda was meant to be acted on. Equally, it was their facility for generating religious enthusiasm as an instrument for the acceptance of radical politics at the popular level that made them so vital to the perpetuation of the covenanting cause. Their work as propagandists, therefore, proved invaluable in creating the ideological climate and foundations to justify the political activities of the covenanters. Along with their lay counterparts, their dissident voices provided such authenticity and currency for the movement that it enabled it to remain a significant, political force for almost three generations of Scots.

The third component in the dynamic equation which occasioned the Scottish Revolution, in particular, and accounted for the longevity of the covenant ideal, in general, was the involvement of the Scottish people. What is striking about the origins and development of the covenanting movement was the position accorded to the lower ranks of Scottish society as an essential partner for engineering

political, ecclesiastical and constitutional change. With the unveiling of the National Covenant until the Revolution of 1688-89, the inclusion of the masses as a necessary adjunct of the political process was a deliberate ploy resorted to by the dissident leadership during both its political ascendancy and its years in the political wilderness. Although the breadth and depth of populist support altered, considerably, between 1638 and 1689 as the covenanting cause shifted from a national concern to a fanatical, minority interest, attempts to appeal to the populace by the movement's leaders continued unabated despite the diminishing returns of this strategy. This approach to dissent was noteworthy, in that, it not only went beyond the traditional use of the mob as a mere scare tactic in times of political instability, but it included the intrinsic assumption that the beliefs and opinions of ordinary Scots were worth cultivating in an effort to achieve specific political ends. It was all the more remarkable given the ideological constructs of early-modern society about the natural order and social stratification. As a multi-tiered, hierarchical society, seventeenth-century Scotland was imbued with an ingrained sense of rank, order and status that informed all social, political and economic relationships. Well-established customs and precedents for active, political involvement favoured those born to rule with this monopolistic dominance of political culture readily acknowledged and deferred to by the ruled. This common perception was augmented by the early-modern view of change as a retrogressive and, potentially, threatening force for the natural order. Men without the chief source of power, landed wealth, were excluded from the political life of the nation not only because of the dictates of social stratification but because of the commonplace presumption that without a vested interest in the preservation of the *status quo* they threatened its character and continuance. The covenanters' deliberate attempts to shape public opinion and generate populist support through the use of mass, domestic propaganda was, therefore, unusual if not unorthodox.

Why and how propaganda was relied on by the covenanting movement as a mechanism for influencing public discourse is the focus of this study. Through an examination of the petitioning campaign of 1637-38 along with an analysis of the process by which the National Covenant of 1638 was created and promoted, questions related to the genesis of the covenanting movement will be explored. How a small but influential group of dissidents who were hostile to the religious,

constitutional and political changes initiated by Charles I's administration managed to propel a campaign to redress their grievances into a national cause will therefore be established in Part I. Cultivation of élite and popular backing by the dissident leadership through the use of propaganda will be shown to have been a significant factor in the perpetuation of the covenanting cause between 1638 and 1689. How propaganda was formulated and what function it served during the life of the movement will therefore be addressed. The production of propaganda during the years of covenanting rule will be compared and contrasted with the liabilities and constraints this process faced under politically hostile régimes. An analysis is offered, too, of the communication of ideas and the transmission of polemical material from above to below in order to establish the extent to which covenanting propaganda was capable of penetrating public consciousness. Thus, Part II of this work explores the mechanics of covenanting propaganda. The ideological concerns of the covenanters and the main themes of their polemical messages as conveyed in their propaganda is the subject of Part III. Attention is paid to the implications of religious revivalism, covenantal theology, anticatholicism and millenarianism for the covenanting movement concomitant with the manner in which these modes of thought were exploited for polemical purposes by its spokesmen. Attitudes towards kingship, authority and the right to resist as well as the nature of the rhetorical battle played out in the seventeenth century between promoters of divine right theory and advocates of popular sovereignty are also given close scrutiny. Whether the reliance on propaganda by the covenanters to shape public opinion and stimulate political action resulted in a degree of politicisation of the masses in early-modern Scotland is of prime interest throughout this study.

Chapter I

The Petitioning Campaign, 1637-38

I.

The petitioning campaign of 1637-38 was the single, most formative political experience in the development of what became known as the covenanting movement. In the aftermath of the Prayer Book riots which occurred in Edinburgh on 23 July 1637, a small but influential group of dissidents who were hostile to the religious, constitutional and political changes effected by the Caroline government launched a highly organised and brilliantly executed propaganda campaign which culminated in the National Covenant of February 1638. Their achievements, over the course of seven months, were impressive insofar as they were able to engage a significant proportion of the political nation and the general populace in their cause. Through a combination of formal petitions, position papers, pamphlets, declarations, speeches and sermons, they were able not only to raise questions about Caroline rule but to give expression and clarity to the grievances and latent fears of the nation about it. This ability to convince others of the legitimacy of their protests was matched by the organisational skills of the disaffected element. The meetings called in support of the national petitions, attended in increasing numbers by men of influence, that evolved into committees for each estate and, eventually, the Tables – as the executive committee of the petitioners was known – provided a basic network for the dissemination of propaganda for the political élite who were active in the protest. This organisational structure was reinforced by broader, populist appeals to all ranks of Scottish society largely through the evangelising efforts of the radical presbyterian ministers. Thus, while the direction of the petitioning campaign came largely from above, popular opinion played its part too in the concerted attempt to persuade the administration of the pressing need to alter its policies in church and state. These efforts proved so effective that between July of 1637 and February of 1638, a minority of protestors laid claim to speak for the majority in Scotland. Those who directed the campaign can be said to have engineered wide-spread dissent throughout the Lowlands to produce a backlash against both the

policies and ruling style of Charles I. In doing so, they not only provoked a major political crisis for his administration but called into question its very existence.

Although studies of the petitioning campaign are still limited in number, they vary widely in their treatment of the topic. In Peter Donald's detailed analysis of 'high politics' during the four, crucial years of 1637 to 1641 when a covenanting revolution in church and state was initially brought about, discussion of the petitioning campaign is oriented to reflect his preoccupation with events in Scotland as they impinge on the king, the court and politics in England. Questions relating to the official response to the protest, in general, and the Caroline administration's efforts to comprehend and contain dissent, in particular, dominate this interpretation where they receive both rigorous scrutiny and thorough answers.¹ Yet, the emphasis placed here on the political ramifications of the petitioning campaign as "troubles for the king"² means that, in the confrontation between the Caroline régime and the protestors, the king is very much on the defensive while his opponents are depicted as the aggressors whose actions constitute a destabilising force in Scottish politics. This is in marked contrast to the work of Allan Macinnes on Caroline rule from 1625 to 1641 which focuses on the origins and early development of the covenanting movement. In a lucid account of the progress of events which distinguished the campaign by the disaffected element, it is the proceedings of the opposition faction which receive close attention. Historical problems related to the direction, momentum and organisation of the protest are thus of critical importance to this analysis. The study, then, systematically traces the political process by which a loose coalition of disgruntled heritors, burgesses and ministers - who, for different reasons, harboured resentment against the administration - was transformed into a highly organised political pressure group which, in turn, became the provisional government.³ In addition, within this perspective, Macinnes incorporates the view that it was the supplicants who were under seige; thus, their activities are regarded as a concerted attempt to defend the religious,

1. P. Donald, An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish troubles, 1637-1641 (Cambridge, 1990), 43-66.

2. Ibid., 45.

3. A.I. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641 (Edinburgh, 1991), 158-72.

constitutional, legal and political traditions of the nation. Therefore, unlike Donald, Macinnes interprets the petitioning campaign as a defensive strategy formulated to stave off radical change in church and state; hence, responsibility for the ensuing political disorder is laid squarely on the Caroline régime. But, in attributing the weight of responsibility for political disorder, neither of these analyses bear any resemblance to that of David Stevenson as laid out in his pioneering work on the causes, evolution and impact of the Scottish Revolution from 1637 to 1644. Although the debt owed to Stevenson's efforts to provide a comprehensive narration of the petitioning campaign is apparent in each of these studies, both depart from his methodological approach of consciously avoiding value judgements with respect to the legitimacy of the actions of either the king or his critics.⁴

However, apart from these distinctions, much of the historiography relating to the petitioning campaign shares a number of common, underlying assumptions in its approach. There is a general tendency to view the outbreak of dissent between July of 1637 and February of 1638 as a mere prelude to the National Covenant. In searching for its roots then, historians such as Maurice Lee in his study of the Caroline administration and the governance of Scotland in the twelve years prior to the outbreak of the Revolution have concentrated on long-term, rather than short-term, causes stretching back to the Reformation-Rebellion, in general, and to the policies of James VI, in particular, with the result that the petitioning campaign itself receives short-shrift in their analyses. Wedded to this premise is the adaptation of a teleological approach to the petitioning campaign which narrowly defines the National Covenant as the natural outcome of the Edinburgh Prayer Book riots. Within this paradigm then, the substance of the protest is seen to be exemplified by these two instances of legal appeal and mob violence but how the latter relates to the former remains largely unexplored.⁵ Moreover, underlying the thinking behind the literature

⁴ D. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters (Newton Abbot, 1973), 56-82.

⁵ M. Lee, The Road to Revolution: Scotland and Charles I, 1625-37 (Urbana, 1985). The standard general histories also incorporate this limited approach to the petitioning campaign as in G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V-James VII (Edinburgh 1978), 311-2 and R. Mitchison, Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745 (London, 1983), 39-42.

concerned, is the aphorism that actions speak louder than words; consequently, there is a proclivity to focus on the events marking the petitioning campaign at the expense of its ideology. For Walter Makey in his work centring on the Scottish church under covenanting rule, it is whether the outbursts of popular discontent were premeditated; who might have orchestrated the riots; and, what the command structure of the dissident leadership was and how it evolved which hold the key to an understanding of the protest.⁶ Indeed, this is the standard approach to the petitioning campaign relied on to a greater or lesser degree in all of the aforementioned works.

This tendency towards homogeneity in the scholarship has meant that other historical problems which are equally central to a deeper comprehension of the petitioning campaign remain largely unexamined. Most critically, the prevailing adaptation of the methodological approach to history as *événement* has rendered the *mentalité* which infused the petitioning campaign obscure and largely uncharted. The heated and, at times, violent political discourse which raged throughout much of Lowland Scotland at this time is thus subsumed to the process by which the public debate took place. Nor, for that matter, has any systematic analysis been undertaken of what ideological and rhetorical appeals were made by the disaffected leadership to encourage civil disobedience. And little attempt has been made in any studies to date to show how received beliefs could be manipulated to persuade others to join the protest. Therefore, questions relating to the historical problems of how and why the ideas and beliefs of a dissident faction came to be so readily accepted and acceptable for a significant proportion of both the political nation and the Scottish people need to be addressed to supplement existing scholarship. Through an examination of the principal issues and their background which initiated the public debate and the character of the protest as it developed, new light can be shed on the significance of the petitioning campaign as the crucible of the covenanting cause.

⁶ W. Makey, The Church of the Covenant 1637-1651 (Edinburgh, 1979), 16-25.

II.

To understand the nature of the issues which came to the fore in the petitioning campaign along with their background, it is instructive briefly to observe what Charles's motivations and aspirations were in attempting to remodel the church in Scotland. The king's plans for ushering in a new church policy and polity were ambitious and comprehensive with significant ramifications for the prevailing ecclesiastical, political and constitutional orthodoxies. In terms of religion, they were intended as a means of affecting deep, fundamental change in traditional belief and established practice; thus, a comprehensive package of reforms that included a new prayer book, a new psalms book and a new code of canons was proposed. Once each plank of this scheme was in place, the theological, liturgical and administrative basis of the existing church would be transformed. As for the political dimension, Caroline church policy was part of a concerted effort to bolster royal authority by creating a semblance of religious conformity throughout the multiple kingdom. Restructuring the established churches in Scotland and Ireland along the lines of the English church served as a practical means of fostering closer interdependence among the three nations. With respect to constitutional considerations, the means relied on to institute his programme for church reform were in keeping with Charles's authoritarian approach to kingship and the governance of Scotland. On the king's orders, the new blueprint for the church was conceived and drafted by the Scottish bishops in consultation, particularly after 1633, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, and it was, in turn, authorised by royal fiat. Even though it was customary for a general assembly and a parliament to ratify changes in ecclesiastical policy, this process was bypassed in favour of what was, in essence, legitimisation by royal prerogative. That a major policy was revised and instituted without a broad consensus within the political nation; that it was formulated in part under the aegis of a foreign prelate; and, that it was to be implemented without benefit of the general assembly's approval or of parliamentary statute was an expression of the royal will that was designed to undercut criticism, avoid controversy and afford the least possible opportunity for dissent. No doubt, memories of his predecessor's, James VI's, attempts to impose similar liturgical innovations between 1614 and 1621 through recourse

to managed general assemblies and parliament played some part in these decisions. While James was successful in obtaining approval and ratification from the two national institutions respectively for his church policy, the strength of opposition had been considerable and subsequent efforts at conformity were largely frustrated. Mindful of this experience, Charles's methods for introducing the proposed religious innovations were therefore intended to smooth the path for ecclesiastical reform. Thus, from Charles's perspective, the new policy for the church offered a potential solution to a variety of problems.

It was against this backdrop that the issues featured in the petitioning campaign against church reform were debated. For, regardless of what the king hoped to achieve, his new programme for the church was greeted with widespread hostility. Much of the antagonism was a direct result of the tensions created between the aspirations of the king for the church and those of his leading detractors, the radical presbyterians. Certainly, this clash of rival visions between what might be termed Canterburians and Calvinists defined the political dissent and popular disorder which marked the petitioning campaign. However, there were also important elements in the public discourse reflecting the political and constitutional grievances that had been simmering since Charles's succession which were, in turn, aggravated by his style of kingship that also became significant features of the protest.

On the issue of religion, presbyterian opponents expressed concern that the Caroline scheme would have an immediate impact on the traditional church service; wide implications for the future direction of the church; and, a deleterious effect on the existing system of church government. For instance, the liturgical innovations as outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer* were attacked for the changes they made to the style of worship.⁷ With the emphasis placed on ritual and ceremony including the use of "Mattins and evening songs, and canonically services to be [per]formeis by the Minister and deacon" and the prescription of the celebration of festivals and feast days, they were roundly condemned as 'popish'.⁸ This view was expressed in the National Supplication of October

⁷. The fullest discussion of religious practices is G. Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 (Edinburgh, 1954) and W. McMillan, The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church (Glasgow, 1931).

⁸. Scottish Record Office, MS GD 18/3957[a], Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, 'The Scots Reasons against the Service Book'.

1637 when in reference to the Service Book the petitioners declared that it had "sawn the seeds of diverse superstitions, idolatrie and false doctrines".⁹ Moreover, since a structured, prescribed religious service in conjunction with a predetermined, formal religious calendar as modelled on the protestant Church of England had connotations of catholicism for many Scottish presbyterians, especially the more extreme ones, the protesters were quick to exploit this belief by claiming that the Prayer Book contained "many gross and superstitious points maintained by the Romish Church contrair to Gods word".¹⁰ In the supplication presented by the ministers from St. Andrews presbytery to the privy council in August of 1637, the liturgy was said to "depart farr from the forms of worschip and reformation of this kirk" with catholic accretions that "draw near to the Kirk of Rome".¹¹ In the Composite Supplication presented later that year in December, the Prayer Book as well as the Book of Canons were denounced for containing "diverse superstitions and points of Poperie".¹² Similarly, in an open letter of July 1637 to his parishioners in Anwoth, Samuel Rutherford referred to it as the "New fatherless Service Book, full of gross heresesis, popish and superstitious errors, without any warrant of Christ".¹³

As well, with the establishment of a set liturgy, the image and function of the clergy was significantly redefined; hence, this aspect of it came in for sharp criticism. This was largely because ministers were required to abandon their practice of *extempore* preaching and prayer. This proved controversial because it transformed the ministry into readers thereby downgrading their importance as preachers. As was argued in the *Informatione for Noblemen Counsellars given by Ministers*, a position paper drafted in August of 1637, "It establischeth a reading minister; whoever can reid the

9. 'Supplicatione against the Service-book, with a complaine upon Bischops, 18 October 1637' in J. Leslie, A Relation of proceedings Concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland from August 1637 to July 1638 (Edinburgh, 1830), 49-50. There is also a manuscript copy of the National Supplication in S.R.O., MS GD 18/3957[b].

10. 'Supplicatione of Auchterairder Presbitrie, 20 September 1637' in *Ibid.*, 48.

11. 'Supplicatione of the Ministers in St. Andrews Presbyterie, 23 August 1637' in *Ibid.*, 45-6.

12. 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 December 1637' in *Ibid.*, 50-1. For a slightly different version of the petition see: Historical Manuscript Commission, 9th Report Appendix (1885), Pt. II, No. 191, 253-4.

13. 'Letter to parishioners from Samuel Rutherford dated Aberdeen, 13 July 1637' in Letters of Samuel Rutherford: With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents, ed. A. A. Bonar (Edinburgh, n.d.), 440.

Book may be a minister; and he who is best gifted must say no more nor he readeth, whether in prayer, baptisme or communione".¹⁴ This point was reiterated in stronger language in a manuscript copy of a pamphlet entitled *The Scots Reasons against the Service Book*. Here, the "reading Minister" was seen as a dangerous regression in church practice for,

therewith all ignorance, & blyndnes upon the people for if an ignorant asse, canne but raed this book and gett orders; he may solemnize mariage, minister the supper of the Lorde; and sufficiently discharge the function of Ministration, on the other side, the ablest preacher that is, may use noe other worde in the time of the Comon prayer and Ministra[ti]on of the Sacram[ent]s, then are proscribed in the booke. Soe wee shall make an asse minister, and ablest minister an Asse.¹⁵

Given that the sermon was of fundamental importance to radical presbyterians because hearing the Word offered salvation and redemption,¹⁶ the prescribed change was characterised by them as "tending to the overthrow of preaching".¹⁷

How the Caroline religious reforms affected the clerical function in the communion service as well as the implications it had for churchgoers occasioned dissent. That communicants were no longer to sit around a communion table but were now expected to kneel before the minister to take the sacrament was the subject of much criticism.¹⁸ This was largely because the new form of worship denied both the "corporate action of the participants" and the view of the Lord's Supper "as a feast rather than a sacrifice".¹⁹ As well, this new requirement had a long history of opposition; indeed, it had been one of the leading points of contention raised about the Five Articles of Perth in 1618.²⁰ What is more, when receiving the bread and wine in the new communion service, there was to be an implicit recognition of Christ's real presence. This was a fundamental doctrinal change for

¹⁴. 'Informatione for Noblemen Counsellars given by Ministers, 23 August 1637' in Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 46-7.

¹⁵. S.R.O., MS GD 18/3957[a], 'Scots Reasons against the Service Book'.

¹⁶. An excellent discussion of the clergy's rôle and the function of preaching for puritans- much of which is applicable to the ministry in Scotland- is found in R.C. Richardson, Puritanism in north-west England: A regional study of the diocese of Chester to 1642 (Manchester, 1972), 23-73.

¹⁷. Letters of Samuel Rutherford, 444.

¹⁸. Ibid., 440; S.R.O., MS GD 18/3957[a], 'Scots Reasons against the Service Book'.

¹⁹. I. B. Cowan, 'The Five Articles of Perth' in Reformation and Revolution, ed. D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1967), 166.

²⁰. Ibid., 160-77. See also: P.H.R. Mackay, 'The Reception Given to the Five Articles of Perth' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XIX, (1977).

communicants in the church of Scotland who conventionally viewed the taking of the elements as purely symbolic of Christ's real though spiritual presence. One pamphleteer claimed that this was an indirect acknowledgement of transubstantiation since the "Minister must pray that God would so blesse and sanctifye the elements of bread and wyne, that the maye bee unto us the waye, bodge and blood of Christ in w[hi]ch word ther is coucheid transubstantiation".²¹ Therefore, if the Scottish clergy put the new prayer book into practice, two fundamental changes would be evident. First, both the laity and ministry would witness an immediate alteration in the character and substance of religious services and, second, the central function of the minister as preacher would disappear.

But, the Caroline prayer book was only one part of a complex package of ecclesiastical reforms. In his recasting of the church, Charles had also approved the preparation of a revised psalms book and a new book of canons. Of the two, the *Book of Canons and Constitutions for the government of the kirk* of 1636 was the more important for it provided much of the theoretical basis for this reconstruction. Part of its significance lay in the fact that it eclipsed aspects of the church's conventional theology thereby legitimising the liturgical changes incorporated in the new prayer book. Typically, critics denounced it for its advocacy of practices which were regarded as "blasphemous and superstitious".²² The charge was applied in the National Supplication of October 1637 that it too, like the prayer book, was "fostering abolisheid Superstitions"; that is, moving the church closer to catholicism.²³ Further objections were raised to the administrative changes it ushered in which sought to refashion church government by centralising authority and enhancing the power of bishops. Allocating greater jurisdictional powers to the episcopate was particularly unacceptable to presbyterian purists because they felt that, in the first instance, there was no scriptural warrant for the office of bishop in the church. In practical terms too, as crown nominees through capitular

21. S.R.O., MS GD 18/3957[a], 'Scots Reasons against the Service Book'.

22. Letters of Samuel Rutherford, 440.

23. 'Supplicatione against the Service-book, with a complainte upon Bischops, 18 October 1637' in Leslie, Relation of Proceedings, 49-50. For contemporary arguments of the same point see: S.R.O., MS GD 16/46/40, Airlie Muniments; L. Hughes, Reasons Why the Service-Booke was Refused of the Church of Scotland in Certain Grievances, or, The Popish Errors and Ungodlinesse of so much of the Service Book as Antichristian. Plainly laid open by way of Conference between a Countrey Gentleman and a Minister of Gods Word, (London, 1642), 51-7.

election, the bishops were not directly accountable to the lower church courts and, when coupled with the episcopate's expanding autonomy, it was claimed that the lower courts' own influence in church matters was diminished. The formulation and implementation of the new canons were singled out, for example, as evidence of the increasing episcopal control of church discipline at the expense of the other tiers of church government. Complaints were voiced that the bishops in drafting the canons had effectively undercut opposition to church reform by making it an offence - punishable by excommunication - for anyone to speak out against the code itself. If found guilty, the only recourse available for recalcitrants in these particular circumstances who wished to be reinstated as members in good standing of the church was wholly dependent on episcopal approval. As was contended in the National Supplication, if anyone declared that the new canons contained "any thing repugnant to the scriptures, or ar corrupt superstitious or unlawfull in the service of worschip of God", they could be excommunicated by the diocesan bishop and "not restored, bot by the bishop of the place, or Archbishop of the province, after his repentence and public revocatione of these his wicked errorrs".²⁴ The prospect of a more powerful episcopacy was perceived as a real threat to church order and government by radical presbyterians; thus, it was relied on to try to convince potential supporters of the inherent dangers in Caroline ecclesiastical policy. As the position paper drawn up in August of 1637 to garner the support of the nobility declared: "The Book Destroyeth all the order of kirk sessions, presbitries, and assemblies, and putteth the censure of doctrine, admisionne of ministers, and the whole government of the kirk assemblies, in the hands of Prelats".²⁵ Furthermore, this perception was reinforced for the administration's critics by parallel changes that had been made to the court of high commission under Charles I. As the highest ecclesiastical court, presided over by laymen and bishops but not presbyters and elders, its jurisdictional authority was increased to accommodate the transition under a new commission of 1634 when it received more discretionary authority for disciplining both clergy and laymen.²⁶ But, with its power to imprison and deprive nonconformists, the court of high

24. *Ibid.*

25. 'Informatione for Noblemen Counsellars given by Ministers, 23 August 1637' in *Ibid.*, 46-7.

26. G.I.R. McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission, 1610-38' in *RSCHS*, XV, iii, (1965), 198. It was given, for instance, the authority to prosecute pamphleteers.

commission had long been regarded by radical presbyterians as the crown's enforcement agency for conformity. Samuel Rutherford who had been summoned before the court for misconduct declared in 1630 that a major offensive was to be launched against nonconformists:

We are in great fears of a great and fearfull trial to come upon the kirk of God; for these who would build their houses and nests upon the ashes of mourning Jerusalem, have drawn our King upon hard and dangerous conclusions against such as are termed Puritans, for the rooting them out. Our prelates ... assure us that, for such as will not conform, there is nothing but imprisonment and deprivation ... All sorts of crying sins without controlement abound in our land.²⁷

Therefore, Charles I's religious policy proved highly contentious because in calling for a complete restructuring of church policy and polity, it not only ran counter to radical presbyterian views but it was said to threaten the balanced structure of the established church with its hybrid, Jacobean formulation of episcopacy-in-presbytery.

While the details of the new ecclesiastical order were important, their broader implications for the future direction of the church were taken to be equally significant for, in effect, they signalled a clear departure from the traditional, Calvinist base in doctrine and administration with their promotion of Arminianism. It is perhaps worth recalling that after the Reformation, the established church adopted the Genevan model of church policy and polity. It was doctrinally Calvinistic in its beliefs and practices and it relied on the presbyterian court system for its administration.²⁸ This theological basis remained intact until the Caroline reforms of the 1630s. Modifications, however, had been made to the form of church government under James VI when bishops were reintroduced into the hierarchy and gradually acquired increased authority from 1606 to 1610, thereby assuming the supreme jurisdiction of the general assembly.²⁹ Supporters of a pure presbyterian church polity acquiesced to the episcopal ascendancy by remaining within the established church. Yet, their presence created a certain tension, for they constituted a small but overtly critical faction. By the late 1620s, these administrative divisions affecting the higher clergy, ministry and laity were

²⁷. Letters of Samuel Rutherford, 52.

²⁸. Detailed examination of the development of church policy and polity is provided by J. Kirk, 'The Politics of the Best Reformed Churches: Scottish Achievements and English Aspirations in Church Government after the Reformation' in The Scottish Historical Review, LIX, (1980). See also: M. Lynch, 'Scottish Calvinism, 1559-1638' in International Calvinism, 1541-1715, ed. M. Prestwich (Oxford, 1985).

²⁹. However, no general assembly met between 1618 and 1638.

widened over theological disputes occasioned by the introduction of Arminian beliefs and practices in the established church. It was through the writings of the Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius, that this new system gained converts among influential clergy and laity alike including the king.³⁰ And as a consequence of Charles's preference for Arminianism along with that of his influential churchmen such as William Laud in England, it eventually became part of a key government strategy to establish religious uniformity in the multiple kingdom. Indeed, this policy gained momentum in 1633 when Charles appointed Laud to the archbishopric of Canterbury and allowed him to oversee ecclesiastical affairs not only in England but, effectively, in Scotland and Ireland as well.

For its detractors, Arminianism threatened the integrity and character of the church in two distinct ways with opposition deriving from both its immediate impact as well as from its future import. Arminian beliefs and practices as incorporated in the new religious policies were thought to challenge the theological underpinnings of the established church. While the claim that a move towards the acceptance of Arminianism sounded a death-knell for strict Calvinist predestination "may have been exaggerated", nonetheless, the promotion of Arminianism by some of the younger bishops provided a favourable climate of opinion in which it could gain official recognition since an influential part of the church was receptive and sympathetic to such views.³¹ Certainly, too, doctrines emphasising ritual and ceremony in religious services were novelties for communicants given that such forms of worship had been judged "utterly to be abolished from this Realme" in the *First Book of Discipline*.³² The hierarchical order in church government and discipline, as projected by the new code of canons, ran up against radical presbyterian misgivings about episcopacy as expressed in the *Second Book of Discipline*.³³ Their promotion by the administration, then, was bound to be greeted with suspicion and scepticism. More fundamentally, however, they were particularly controversial

30. For a discussion of the development and changes in the church see: D.G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986); W.R. Foster, *The Church before the Covenants: The Church of Scotland, 1596-1638* (Edinburgh, 1975); M.C. Kitshoff, 'Aspects of Arminianism in Scotland' (University of St. Andrews, M. Litt. Thesis, 1968).

31. Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, 44.

32. *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. J.K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1972), 89.

33. *The Second Book of Discipline*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1980), 222-7. Detailed discussion of this point is provided in the Introduction, 74-84.

because radical presbyterians saw them as a harbinger of the deconstruction of the Reformation with the trend towards Arminianism leading inexorably, in their eyes, to catholicism. Such thinking was in line with the accepted standards for protestantism issued at the Synod of Dort in 1618 which had "unequivocally reaffirmed Calvinist orthodoxy and condemned Arminianism as heresy".³⁴ It was commonly assumed too, though wrongly, that Arminianism - as promoted by archbishop Laud - and catholicism were essentially compatible; hence, they were readily equated. For contemporaries, this was not too far-fetched for they shared a number of beliefs and practices including the doctrines of universal atonement, free will and the Real Presence in the Eucharist; sacraments such as private baptism and private communion; concepts such as the Apostolic Succession of bishops; and, worship practices emphasising church rites and ceremonies. That the similarity of Arminian and catholic tenets was openly promoted by prominent Arminians themselves such as Richard Montague, later bishop of Chichester and Norwich, only fuelled Calvinist suppositions. In the celebrated English test case against censorship which attracted attention in Scotland,³⁵ Montague's work, *New Gag for a Old Goose*, reduced the fundamental, doctrinal differences between the Church of England and the catholic church from forty-seven to eight.³⁶ For the average churchgoer in Scotland, such beliefs contradicted everything their ministers had ever instilled in them through their sermons about the reformed faith. Their application to Scotland was roundly condemned during the 1630s in pamphlets by prominent presbyterian radicals such as Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie as being at odds with the traditional Calvinism that formed the basis of church policy and polity.³⁷ Indeed, that is one reason why, with the proposal for the introduction of the new prayer book, there was a general reluctance to have the English service book applied to Scotland. When comparisons were made between the books, critics always stressed that the English Reformation had been too indeterminate in

³⁴. MacInnes, Charles I, 27. See also: G. D. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland (Cambridge, 1937), 72-3; A. L. Drummond, The Kirk and the Continent (Edinburgh, 1956), 112-7.

³⁵. For instance, there is a listing of a pamphlet published in Edinburgh in 1641 refuting Montague's views in H. C. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: Including those Printed furth of the realm for Scottish Booksellers. With Brief Notes on the Printers and Stationers (National Library of Scotland, 1970), No. 988.

³⁶. C. Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments: English History 1509-1660 (Oxford, 1985), 213.

³⁷. S. Rutherford, Exercitatio Apologiae pro Divina Gratia (Amsterdam, 1637); G. Gillespie, A dispute against the English- Popish ceremonies (Edinburgh, 1637).

its incorporation of reformed doctrine, leaving the Church of England in a sort of theological limbo between protestantism and catholicism. Typically it was argued that while the Scottish Prayer Book was the "same but more subtillye polisheid wth some altera[ti]ons and addi[ti]ons" than its English counterpart, its acceptance was regressive in moving the church doctrinally closer to catholicism.³⁸ Thus, the Caroline church's attempt to adopt an anglicised prayer book was unpopular because it not only put at risk the church's distinctive character but, more ominously for its opponents, it seemed to presage a subversion of the Reformation.

Although these ecclesiastical and theological distinctions were of critical importance to the ensuing debate which occurred during the protest, other issues came to the fore too highlighting the political and constitutional ramifications of Charles's church reforms. This was, partly, because of the king's motivations in promoting change and, partly, because of his methods of managing it. In the first instance, uniformity of worship practices in Scotland and England was regarded as a means to alleviate some of the problems of absentee kingship. As the ruler of a multiple kingdom, Charles regarded the anglicising of the kirk as a practical step towards consolidating his authority over three, dissimilar nations by establishing a commonality of belief. In the case of Scotland, the transposition of a version of the English church had distinct political advantages for Charles. As a practicing member of the Church of England himself, undoubtedly, he felt more comfortable with English ceremonies than those of the kirk. Indeed, he had amply demonstrated his religious affinity and conviction at his coronation ceremony in 1633 by choosing to structure the event in accordance with a Church of England service complete with an altar, candles, a crucifix and bishops in rochets.³⁹ However, personal preferences aside, the impetus for ecclesiastical reform was not, as has been implied by Gordon Donaldson, merely a royal whim born out of piety and a "rare veneration for the clergy and especially for bishops";⁴⁰ rather, it was a political calculation to extend the power of the crown.

³⁸ S.R.O., MS GD 18/3957[a], 'Soots Reasons against the Service Book'.

³⁹ J. Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context' in The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context 1638-51, ed. J. Morrill (Edinburgh, 1990), 2-3.

⁴⁰ Donaldson, James V-James VII, 299.

The political benefits of achieving conformity along these lines were both tangible and durable. Given the early-modern view that religion was the "base and foundation of kingdomes and the estates, and the strongest band to tie subjects unto their Prince in true unity",⁴¹ conformity was commonly identified with political stability. As well, the application of a Church of England model of church government reaffirmed the central importance of episcopacy as the "order of the church most consonant with monarchy".⁴² Moreover, the enhanced rôle for episcopacy in the administration of church discipline as set out in the new Book of Canons helped to ensure that royal authority over the church would be consolidated in the hands of the king's placemen, the bishops. Additionally, the formalised structure of a Church of England worship service lent itself to the ready use of the church as a more efficient agent of social control. An ancillary benefit of the revised Scottish *Book of Common Prayer*, based on its English counterpart with a predetermined liturgy accompanied by a more stylised and ritualistic service, was that it could help to instill a greater degree of deference and obedience for both ecclesiastical and civil order. As Peter Donald has aptly put it, adherence to a nation-wide, predetermined worship service "protected the people from the vagaries of individual ministries and bred them in good faith".⁴³ By initiating the process of eradicating differences in the three churches in the multiple kingdom and drawing them in to closer association with one another—albeit to produce a church policy and polity approximating that of only one, the English church,—Charles hoped to cement his authority. In effect, then, the decision to restructure the Scottish church grew out of the same, innovative impulse as earlier Jacobean plans for fostering closer political and economic interdependence between Scotland and England. But, whereas James VI had seen stronger political and economic

41. A. Henderson, Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty persuading Conformity of Church government, as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations ([n. p.] 1641), 2.

42. P. Donald, 'The Scottish National Covenant and British Politics' in Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 92.

43. Ibid.

links as an effective way to counter the problems created by the regal union,⁴⁴ Charles viewed closer ecclesiastical ties as the key to the solution.

However, it was this willingness to treat religion as mere policy which underlay one of the chief sources of complaint articulated by the protestors; that is, that Caroline reforms of the church were overtly erastian. There can be little doubt about the veracity of this claim since the introduction of the book of canons and the prayer book saw royal control over the church tighten. So much was clear even in the methods used in their imposition. Charles introduced his new religious policy in a piecemeal fashion through royal decrees. Although he consulted extensively with the Scottish bishops, he did not seek any of the standard endorsements of parliament or general assembly. By circumventing the usual channels of consultation in the formation and approval of ecclesiastical policies, Charles not only offended radical presbyterian sensibilities but he raised serious political and constitutional issues. While royal interference in ecclesiastical matters was common, state control over worship, administration and regulation of the church had never been so blatant. What is more, this made a nonsense of presbyterian assertions that the church should be an independent and self-regulating institution. From the late sixteenth century when the Calvinist model of church government gained a foothold in Scotland, the ideal of full autonomy for the church had become more sacrosanct for presbyterian purists. Indeed, this had been one of the main principles underlying the Melvillian reformers' theory of the 'two kingdoms'.⁴⁵ Granted, political realities such as the universal acknowledgement of the crown's supreme authority and the reintroduction of episcopacy in 1606 had amply demonstrated the falsity of that ideal; nonetheless, it remained a theoretical tenet of critical importance.

44. The largely unsuccessful attempts to forge a political and economic union between Scotland and England are dealt with in greater detail by B. Galloway, The Union of England and Scotland, 1603-1608 (Edinburgh, 1986); B.R. Galloway and B.P. Levack eds., The Jacobean Union (Edinburgh, SHS, 1985); B.P. Levack, The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and Union, 1603-1707 (Oxford, 1987); M. Lee, Government by Pen: Scotland under James VI and I (Urbana, 1980), 34-47.

45. An examination of the relationship of the church to the state as it evolved and as it was articulated by the reformers is provided by J. Kirk, Patterns of Reform (Edinburgh, 1989), 232-79. See also: Dr. Kirk's introductory remarks in Second Book of Discipline, 57-65.

At its most basic, the radical presbyterian critique of erastianism rested on deeply ingrained convictions expressed since the Reformation-Rebellion that the crown had no special jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters other than defending and supporting the well-being of the church and that the interests of church and state were incompatible; thus the latter had no right to dictate to the former.⁴⁶ According to the *Second Book of Discipline*, all authority in the church derived from God and Christ the Mediator was acknowledged as the "heid and onlie monarche in this kirk".⁴⁷ Control over both church policy and polity was said to be put into the hands of the ministry - understood to include doctors and elders as well as ministers - as members of the church appointed by the Word: "This power ecclesiasticall is ane auctoritie grantit be God the Fader throcht the Mediator Jesus Chryst unto his kirk gadderit, and having the ground in the word of God, to be put in executioun be thame, unto quhom the spirituall government of the kirk be lauchfull calling is committit".⁴⁸ These assertions of ecclesiastical autonomy thus led radical presbyterians to denounce any intrusions of the state into church matters on the grounds that it had no jurisdiction to determine matters of conscience. Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, later a prominent covenanting laird, spoke for many when he observed in a diary entry dating from the 1650s that, "Sarah & Hagar would sooner dwell contendedlie in ane house then conscience & policie can duell under ane rooffe; conscience is an ingenious piece & will still be speakeing, policie is a deep plodding thing & will still be acteing its own game".⁴⁹ During the petitioning campaign, this sentiment was voiced by the signators of the National Petition who dismissed the innovations in religion as unacceptable because they "may tend to a great disquieting of these consciences".⁵⁰ The thought was echoed in a local petition sent at the same time by the town of Glasgow wherein it was stated that, in regards to the Prayer Book, "our weak consciences will not suffer us to embrace and

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, 167.

48. *Ibid.*, 164.

49. Strathclyde Regional Archives, MS T-PM 114/7, Records of the Maxwell family of Nether Pollok, subsequently the Stirling Maxwells, 'Diary of Sir George Maxwell of Pollok'.

50. 'Petition from the noblemen barons ministers burgesses and comons' in Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 47. There is another copy in *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown, 2nd series (38 vols., 1905-33), VI, No. 289, 699.

practice" it.⁵¹ Moreover, the erastianism implicit in the Caroline church reforms was an anathema to radical presbyterians because the alterations were said to require compulsory compliance without comprehension. This was perhaps best expressed by the three ministers from the presbytery of St. Andrew – Alexander Henderson, George Hamilton and James Bruce – who were cited under letters of horning to appear before the privy council in August for their refusal to co-operate with the royal edicts in purchasing the prayer book. Essentially, their defense was based on the argument that they could not undertake to put the new liturgy into practice until they were sufficiently familiar with the substance of the Prayer Book because "in maters of Gods worship we are not band to blind obedience".⁵²

Such convictions not only provided a philosophical basis for opposing erastianism but they implied certain attitudes and values that were antithetical to conventional notions of deference and obedience owed to rulers by the ruled; thus, their articulation was bound to bring the whole question of royal authority into sharp focus during the protest. The dichotomy between natural obedience owed to established authority and the dictates of conscience was repeatedly alluded to by the petitioners with the ideological gap separating them viewed as irreconcilable. In the National Supplication of October 1637, the dilemma this posed was plainly asserted: "we ar driven in such straitts, as we must either by process of excommunication and horneing suffer the ruin of our estates and fortouns, or else, by breach of our covenant with God, and forsaking the way of true religion, fall under the wrath of God, which unto us is more grievous than death".⁵³ Two months later, John Campbell, Lord Loudoun, stressed the same point. If the petitioners agreed to back down on their demands under pressure from an administration which viewed their activities as seditious, they would, he argued, "break the covenant with God established by the lawes of the land" and, alternatively, if they chose to proceed with their protest, they would "fall under the danger of

51. 'Supplicatione of the Toune of Glasgow, 20 September 1637' in Leslie, *Relation of Proceedings*, 48.

52. 'Supplicatione of the Ministers in St. Andrews Presbyterie, 23 August 1637' in *Ibid.*, 45-6.

53. 'Supplicatione against the Service-book, with a complainte upon Bishops, 18 October 1637' in *Ibid.*, 49-50.

rebellione by charges of horneing and excommunications".⁵⁴ In a sense, it was the weight given to individual conscience and the dismissal of 'blind obedience' which put the petitioners on a collision course with Charles's authoritarian style of kingship particularly given that it stemmed, in turn, from his own belief in the divine right of monarchy.

The willingness of the protestors to confront established authority became a hallmark of the petitioning campaign. Protracted assaults were launched against the royal administration when questions were posed about the right of privy councillors to exercise their power. Initially, it was the issue of the legitimacy of the councillors' authority to censure dissent which engaged the attention of the opposition. This line of argument first appeared in some of the local petitions submitted in September to the council itself. A case in point was the one presented by the town of Stirling in which the council's decree of July 1637 ordering compulsory purchase of two copies of the Prayer Book by clergymen "for the use of the perochine" under threat of prosecution was singled out as a dominant complaint. The elements of compulsion and punitive censure in the order were decried as were its implications: "be virtew [where] of the ministers ar begun to be pressed and the buik to be bocht and sua to draw nerat to be practised, [wh]airby we his Majesties subjectis ar reddie to be brocht in straites ther to conforme to the said forme of service and consent to such a dangerous innovatioun of religion, or ellis to be lyable to censures and punishmentis for nocht consenting". This was followed by the demand, then, that the order be revoked as a partial redress of their grievances.⁵⁵ Similarly, a month later in the National Supplication, the administration's use of a proclamation to force the petitioners to disperse from Edinburgh and return to their localities with recalcitrants being declared outlaws was denounced as a "peremptorie unlawfull charge".⁵⁶ In both instances, there was a measure of insubordination in the petitioners' criticism of the council for its handling of the process and a flagrant disregard for its rightful authority.

⁵⁴. *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵⁵. Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 2 Vols. 1519-1666, 1667-1752 (Glasgow, 1887-9), I, 177-8.

⁵⁶. 'Supplicatione against the Service-book, with a complainte upon Bischops, 18 October 1637' in Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 49-50.

A more fundamental challenge to established authority developed when the protestors focused on the rôle of the bishops as privy councillors. Whereas the methods used by all members of council to curb dissent had been mooted as unlawful, their right to exercise power had not been denied. In the case of the bishops on council, however, it was their eligibility to function as civil officials for the duration of the petitioning campaign which was debated. The issue was first, openly aired in the National Supplication when bishops were specifically identified as the "contruyvers and devysers" of the Prayer Book and Book of Canons and the demand was thus made that they not be permitted "to sett any more as our judges".⁵⁷ However, this was merely the public affirmation of sentiments harboured privately by the protestors; indeed, such ideas had been excised a month earlier from the final version of the National Petition because it made that petition seem less radical and thus more acceptable to the administration.⁵⁸ Near the end of the year, the grievance was publicly voiced once more about the ability of bishops to perform their civic duties, finding its fullest articulation in the Composite Supplication and, in its companion piece, the declinator against the bishops. Both were presented to the council on 21 December. Here, the episcopate's close involvement in shaping and introducing new ecclesiastical policies was specified as a major cause of discontent with the supplicants protesting,

against the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdome, as the contruyvers, maintainers and urgers therof, and against their sitting as our judges untill the cause be decydit, earnestlie supplicating withall to be freed and delgyvered from these and all other novations of that kynd, against the laudable laws of this kingdome, as that of the High Commission and other evils particularlie mentioned and generallie contained in our forsaied Supplications and Complaint.⁵⁹

The claim that bishops had no right to carry out their duties on council for the duration of the protest arose, partly, from what was perceived as a conflict of interest and, partly, from the numerical strength of the bishops on the council. The protestors believed that both conditions meant that an equitable settlement of their grievances would prove difficult. The ongoing power struggle between the king's lay and clerical advisors, the nobles and the bishops, for promotion and

57. *Ibid.*

58. Macinnes, *Charles I*, 162.

59. 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 Decmber 1637' in Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 50-1.

influence⁶⁰ made this demand more readily acceptable to the political nation engaged in the petitioning campaign. Additionally, the call for the higher clergy's temporary removal from council was accompanied by an injunction to the privy councillors to seek the king's approval that only "judges competent, alsweill civill and ecclisiasticall" be authorised to participate in the "formall and finall determinations of these our pressing grievances".⁶¹ Thus, a legal instrument, the declinator, was issued to that effect. Moreover, this insistence that the bishops "should be declyned from being Judges" and not be allowed to take part in any assessment or discussion of the petitions resurfaced in the notorial instrument issued by the leaders of the disaffected element at Stirling and Edinburgh in February of 1638.⁶² Serious questions, then, were raised about the competence, suitability and eligibility of Caroline administrators to function effectively in this political crisis. This development was all the more remarkable given that they had been entrusted to oversee the affairs of state by virtue of royal appointment. Thus, these type of attacks on the political credibility of privy councillors constituted what was, essentially, an indirect assault on the royal prerogative.

Constitutional issues relating to the limitations of established authority and the right to exercise power became prominent features of the petitioning campaign because of the protestors' convictions too that the king had imposed religious innovations in an arbitrary manner. Charles's attempts to promote radical change in the church without consulting a general assembly or seeking the ratification of parliament were denounced as an unprecedented use of the royal prerogative. Some of the antagonism on this score belied the residual resentment of a political nation largely denied any formal consultative function since Charles's succession in 1625. Even the political élite's attendance at the two conventions of 1625 and 1630 and the parliamentary session of

⁶⁰ Makey, *Church of the Covenant*, 16-7.

⁶¹ 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 December 1637 in Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 50-1.

⁶² S.R.O., MS GD 26/10/14, Leven and Melville Muniments, 'Copy of the Instrument issued by nobility, barons, burgesses and minsters taken at Stirling Castle, 20 February 1638'.

1633⁶³ had seen any attempts at keeping the royal prerogative in check largely frustrated.⁶⁴ Regardless of the origins, however, Charles's abandonment of constitutional and legal conventions became a pivotal issue in the debate over the legitimacy of the proposed changes. Much was made of the arbitrary nature of the king's actions which defied tradition and the law. In the National Petition, it was declared that the Book of Common Prayer was "introduced and urged in a way this kirk hath never bene acquainted with" and that it prescribed "manie verie materiall points contrare to the Acts of our Nationall Assemblies, his Majesties laws of this Kingdome".⁶⁵ In the local petition sent in by the town of Stirling to coincide with it, the contention was reiterated that the legality of the Prayer Book was suspect since it lacked both general assembly approval and the imprimatur of a parliamentary statute: the "authoritie [wh]air of hes hitherto been fund necessar for establishing of materis of religioun and Godis worship".⁶⁶

This willingness to challenge royal authority became more overt with the passage of time with the target for criticism widening as the dissident leaders reacted to the political exigencies of the protest campaign. But, it was brought into sharp focus when the disaffected faction had to respond to official injunctions ordering them to either moderate their activities and demands or, indeed, cancel their proceedings. Take the case of the protestors' reaction to the royal declaration of 7 December 1637. At an informal meeting with representatives of the administration held two days later, opposition spokesmen declared their dissatisfaction with what they considered to be the king's inadequate response to their grievances. When it was pointed out to them that Charles had made concessions by removing the Prayer Book from public usage and promising that there would be no further attempts to alter church policy and polity, the commissioners dismissed the proclamation as "neidles" as the king's "love of religion" had never been doubted. As for the

63. A parliament was also called in 1628 but it concluded no business.

64. Detailed analysis of this point is provided by A.I. Macinnes, 'The Origin and Organization of the Covenanting Movement during the reign of Charles I, 1625-41; with a particular reference to the west of Scotland', 2 vols., (University of Glasgow, Ph.D. thesis, 1987), I, 102-7; II, 38-103.

65. 'Petition from the noblemen barons ministers burgesses and comons' in Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 47.

66. Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 177.

Prayer Book, they declared that it was "not enough to be superceidit, for then it might be introduced againe; bot it was necessar to be removed by that same authoritie that brought it in". Attention was drawn to the fact that not all of their concerns had been addressed for the Book of Canons and the high commission still remained in force. This attack on the royal prerogative prompted the councillors present to caution the commissioners to temper their demands since "haveing to do with a King, it was fitt he should presayive the order and tyme of doeing". Moreover, they warned them not to press such matters as it might be counter-productive with the result that Charles might exercise his prerogative to strengthen the power of the bishops; or, in other words, "in stead of censuring Bischops, they gott them sett up further".⁶⁷ Given that the dissidents produced a national petition less than a fortnight later which incorporated these same views, the officials' advice to soften their critique of the régime went largely unheeded.

Whether Charles had the right to exercise his authority was a question that took on new relevance, however, after the royal proclamation of 20 February 1638 was issued. While position papers such as the *Historical Information* had speculated earlier on the extent of the royal prerogative and how it might be held in check,⁶⁸ the petitioners were now forced to put such theories into practise to defend their activities and preserve their political gains. Charles's edict was an unequivocal denunciation of the petitioning campaign as illegal and seditious: contrary to the maintenance of good order, good government and royal authority. Thus, it was said that those involved in attending or assisting the meetings as well as those who had a part in drafting the petitions should "deserve and to be lyable to his Majesties high censure, both in their persons and fortunes, as having convenned themselves without ather his Majesties consent or auctoritie". Comprehensive orders were given, therefore, that future meetings would result in charges of treason and that the noblemen and gentry – along with the ministers and burgesses – engaged in the protest who were not members of the privy council or court of session return to their localities. Further weight was added to these injunctions by making civil officials in the burghs obliged to

⁶⁷. For all of the above see: Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 34-5.

⁶⁸. Macinnes, *Charles I*, 171

enforce them under the pain of treason. Despite the punitive nature of this decree, two concessions were made by the king. If all the petitioners abandoned the protests – that is, stopped holding meetings and stopped producing petitions – what was, in effect, a royal pardon was proffered. This was accompanied by an assurance that such drastic measures were not intended to outlaw the constitutional practice of petitioning the privy council for legal redress of grievances. However, this assurance was not without conditions. It was specified that future petitions would be permissible as long as they respected the king's authority: "anie petitions that herrafter sall be given in to his Majestie upon this or anie other subject his Majestie is lykewayes pleased to declair that he will not shutt his eare therfrom, so [long] as nather the mater or forme be prejudiciall to his Majesties regall auctoritie". It became mandatory, too, for anyone wishing to appear before the council in the future to obtain a formal warrant from it prior to their attendance.⁶⁹ With the royal decree then, the petitioning campaign was outlawed thereby forcing the protestors to choose directly between obedience to their king and adherence to their principles. Charles's proclamation, therefore, helped to transform the debate from one centring on the king's right to determine church matters by royal fiat to one encompassing the question of royal authority in secular matters too.

The fine line between lawful petitioning and civil disobedience was virtually erased at this time as well with the commissioners' decision, after extensive consultation among themselves, to carry on with their protest.⁷⁰ Having been appraised of the substance of the decree days before its public unveiling, the dissident leaders were therefore able to respond in kind. When the proclamation was publicly read, first at Stirling on 20 February and then in Edinburgh two days later, at the market crosses respectively, the petitioners' followed suit with their own rival declaration. In a collective act of defiance of royal authority, they issued a notorial instrument reiterating their opposition to the Service Book and Canons and their demand that the bishops be temporarily relieved of the civic duties for the duration of the protest. These statements were

⁶⁹. RPCS, VII, 3–4.

⁷⁰. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632–1639, ed. G.M. Paul (Scottish History Society, 1911), 318.

accompanied by the general lamentation that so far their grievances had not been redressed and their former petitions had proven ineffectual.⁷¹ Determined to continue their protest in the very same manner through meetings and petitions which the king had declared treasonable, advertisements were dispatched throughout the country stressing the illegitimacy of the royal edict. It was said in one that Charles's orders to halt their petitioning and cease holding meetings "in the judgement of such as understand best the proclama[tio]nes and proceidings are made of noe legall force to hinder the absolutie necessitie [of] meetings of all interest in this comon caus" and reference was made to the meetings of the Tables as "Lawfull consulta[tio]nes". Protestors, thus, were urged to come to Edinburgh to "mak or loyaltie and Law[full] proceidinges clair to them as wee have done to all such whome wee have acquainted harewith".⁷² With these activities, the petitioners amply demonstrated their willingness to openly challenge royal authority in order to pursue their political objectives.

However, such collective defiance and the political solidarity of those involved in the petitioning campaign was only representative of the public face of dissent. In private, some of the leading protestors were more concerned about seeking an accomodation with the crown. Archibald Johnston of Wariston who had spearheaded the confrontation with the government was persuaded to give copies of the Protestation to officials including the earl of Traquair, the earl of Roxburgh and Sir Lewis Stewart on 23 February. As a consequence, he was urged to moderate the protestors' paper in light of the king's proclamation "[wh]erby the king findeth his regal authoritie injured by the matter and cariage of the supplications and offers [not] to schut his ears to new supplications [which] ar not praejudicial in matter and manner to his regal authoritie". The administrators warned, too, that the dissidents should "clear thair intention, professe thair sorrou for the Kings taiking them so, and offer to follou any way the king would praeseryve be himselth or his counsail". This belief that the protest had become far too radical, while not shared by Wariston, nonetheless found favour with some of the

71. S.R.O., MS GD 26/10/14, 'Copy of instrument issued by nobility, barons, burgesses and ministers taken at Stirling Castle, 20 February 1638'.

72. S.R.O., Ms GD 22/3/791, Cunningham Graham Muniments, 'The Coppie of the Commone advertiessment sent from the Commissioners and shirreffes of schyres unto all that ar weill affected into all pairts of the kingdome from the meitting now at [Edinburgh]'.

other commissioners. In a series of meetings first with the "pryme four noblemen" - the earls of Rothes, Lindsay and Loudoun and lord Balmerino - followed by consultations with other members of the nobility and gentry serving on the Tables, Wariston was forced to defend the Protestation and the importance of continuing the protest. Amidst heated debate in which he "refuted from many absurdities", he argued in favour of pursuing the tactic of challenging royal authority and against the adoption of a more moderate approach as suggested by the privy councillors. Even though his opinion was eventually, according to Wariston, "universally applauded to and imbraced both be the nobilitie and gentrie", this consensus had been reached only after much discussion and dissension.⁷³ The radical implications of the latest declaration were viewed, then, as a necessary means to reach the chief political objective of the disaffected element of curbing arbitrary rule. Such means were regarded as justifiable by some of the leading protestors but, to others, they were seen as too prejudicial to royal authority.

Contributing to the political discontent over the issue of kingship amidst charges of arbitrary rule were the problems associated with absenteeism and the mixture of alienation and anti-English prejudices this had engendered since 1603. This became a key issue for the protestors since, as has been recognised, "Nationwide petitioning was co-ordinated by the disaffected element opposed to the authoritarian absenteeism that had stamped the Personal Rule of Charles I".⁷⁴ Thus, the petitioners' objections to Caroline religious innovations were informed with expressions of nationalist sentiment. As the somewhat muted calls for parliamentary involvement in any reconstruction of the church made clear, the planned ecclesiastical changes were resented because, in both substance and implementation, they had been imported from England. That this was an underlying concern was evident in the position paper dating from August drafted for circulation amongst the nobles wherein it was declared that the "Kirk is a free and independent Kirk, such as the Kingdom is a free and independent Kingdome, and our owne

⁷³. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 318-9.

⁷⁴. A.I. Macinnes, 'The Scottish Constitution, 1638-51: The Rise and Fall of Oligarchic Centralism' in Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 107.

Parliament can best judge what forme of worship best beseemeth our measour of reformatione".⁷⁵ Allusions to the church as a "free and independent kirk" reappeared in the formal petition of defence presented to the privy council by the three ministers who had letters of horning issued against them for failure to comply with the royal decree to purchase the new service book.⁷⁶ Such appeals belied the anxieties of the nation about Charles's anglocentric kingship and his tendency to govern Scotland as a mere province of England.

What is observable, then, is that the issues dominating the petitioning campaign tended to centre firmly on Caroline religious policy and the ramifications that it had for religious, political and constitutional orthodoxies. Although their targets for criticism increased as the campaign progressed from the new liturgy and Book of Canons to the high commission and the bishops' with respect to their right to perform their civic duties as privy councillors to questions about the royal prerogative, the petitioners never lost sight of their chief goal of trying to persuade the administration to rethink its proposed policy and to encourage it to cancel its programme of church reform. Yet, in many instances, the issues raised by the opposition contained elements of discontent which had less to do with the immediate protest than with the political management of Scotland under the Caroline régime. Long-standing grievances, then, became entwined and, in turn, reinforced the strands of complaint articulated during the petitioning campaign. Nonetheless, there was a remarkable show of political discipline and a certain sense of internal logic to the protest. There was, for instance, little mention of the economic factors which had occasioned considerable disaffection over the previous twelve years of Charles's rule and which had, as a consequence, helped to create the general climate of discontent on which the petitioning campaign thrived. Indeed, the unpopular fiscal, monetary and economic reforms, most notably the Revocation scheme,⁷⁷ promoted by the government were never aired as major grievances by the petitioners. Sympathy and tolerance for the dissidents, particularly among members of the

⁷⁵. 'Informatione for Noblemen Counsellars given by Ministers, 23 August 1637' in Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 46-7.

⁷⁶. 'Supplication of the Ministers in St. Andrews Presbyterie, 23 August 1637' in Ibid., 45-6.

⁷⁷. The importance of economic factors as precipitants for revolution is dealt with by Macinnes, Charles I., 49-127.

political nation, may have been generated by elements of economic discontent, however, these were not publicly exploited by the leaders of the protest to win adherents. Thus, the issues raised by the disaffected element focused on the immediate religious, political and constitutional crisis as defined by their opposition to Caroline ecclesiastical policy.

III.

Although the basic issues highlighted during the petitioning campaign infused it with purpose and meaning giving it its *raison d'être*, the character of the protest as it evolved lent further clarity, expression and shape to the protestors' demands. What aspects of the dispute the leaders of the disaffected element chose to emphasise for propaganda purposes to promote their cause; evoke political approval; and discredit their opponents were critical to their ultimate success. How their version of events was presented in that public debate concomitant with what justifications were given for their actions were of equal importance in attaining political credibility. In addition, their ability to tap into the commonly-held political assumptions and resentments as well as the received beliefs of early-modern Scotland meant that support for dissent could be generated among an ever-widening circle of the political élite and the general populace alike as the campaign progressed.

Given its inherently controversial nature, hostility to Caroline church reforms may have needed little encouragement from the propagandists; nonetheless, the articulation of grievances in the petitions, tracts, position papers and advertisements issued during the protest was of fundamental importance in maintaining the momentum of the protest. Contemporary observers identified the propaganda effort launched by leading dissidents as the primary catalyst for the growth and acceptance of organised dissent. Many were struck by the efficacy of the polemicists' work. Robert Baillie noted that in response to the proclamation ordering that the new liturgy be performed in the Edinburgh churches in July that the "whole body of the toune murmures and

grudges all the week exceedingly; and who can marvell, discourses, declarationes, pamphlets, every where against this course".⁷⁸ This heightened sense of political ferment was fuelled in part by the "scandalous pamphlets which comes daily new from England"⁷⁹. Government officials were also taken aback by the diversity, vehemence and geographical spread of dissent and they too attributed it to the disaffected faction's success in stirring up opposition to the new liturgy. Even as early as August of 1637, privy councillors informed Charles that,

wee finde ourselves surprised for beyonde our expectation: why the clamors and feares [which] yor Maties subiectes from diverse p[arts]& corners of the Kingdome And that even from those who otherwise have hertofore lived in obedience And conformitie to yor Maties lawes ... And that we find it to be a matter of soe high a consequence in respect of a generall grudge and murmurs of all sorts of people; for urginge at the saids service booke, as the like hath not bin heard att any tyme her to fore.⁸⁰

Primacy was given, therefore, to the efficacy of propaganda as a factor in generating a groundswell for collective opposition to the innovatory schemes.

Moreover, while councillors may have felt at a loss in explaining the vehemence and depth of discontent, they were in no doubt about how the grievances became a national concern. In their view, the greatest obstacle to the acceptance of the religious reforms was the intransigence of the nonconforming ministers, in general, and their ability to influence others, in particular. Active recruitment for support of the petitioning campaign by dissident clergy at church services and conventicles, then, was regarded as especially dangerous by officials. The earl of Traquair, the lord Treasurer, remarked in a letter to the king, that it was the "follies and too great forwardnes (I will give it no worse name) of some of the clergy" which had "bred many groundles and unnecessary feares in the heartes of the people".⁸¹ As vocal critics of the religious innovations, the radical presbyterian clergy were among the most effective political agitators because of their ability to exploit their position for their own political ends. Indeed, their assiduous use of the pulpit as a forum for

⁷⁸. The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M. Principal of the University of Glasgow, MDCXXXVII - MDCLXII, 3 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1841), I, 17.

⁷⁹. Ibid., I, 23.

⁸⁰. S.R.O., Ms GD 18/3957, 'A copy of a letter from the councill of Scotland unto the King dated the 25 of August Anno Dom 1637 [Edinburgh]'.
⁸¹. Draft of letter from the earl of Traquer to Charles I dated [July 1637] in H.M.C. 9th Report App., Pt. II, No. 266, 258.

denouncing Caroline religious policy proved invaluable, largely, because it was said that in relation to the Scottish people, or, at least those in their congregations, that "The Ministers ... has command of their mind".⁸² The upshot was that talk of opposition to the liturgy's use became a major preoccupation of social discourse for all ranks of Scottish society: "Thir things did sound from pulpits, were carried from hand to hand in papers were the table talk and open discourse of high and low".⁸³ Therefore, the character of the protest owed as much to the manufacturing of dissent through the use of propaganda as it did to the political exigencies as they arose over the course of the petitioning campaign.

How the leaders of the disaffected element justified opposition to a major policy initiative by the government was a significant factor in broadening the appeal of the protest. To a great extent, their cultivation of both élite and popular backing was predicated on their depiction of their activities as legitimate and warranted; hence, one of the most striking features of the petitioning campaign was its legalism. Certainly, conventional and legalistic mechanisms were relied on to register dissent. It was standard practice for the political nation to seek a redress of its grievances through petitioning. Thus, the presentation to council of the three major petitions of 1637 on 20 September, 18 October and 21 December – the National Petition, the National Supplication and the Composite Supplication respectively – was in keeping with constitutional and political tradition. The use of legal *formulae* such the declinator against the bishops issued in December of that year along with the notorial instrument produced in February of 1638 underscored this approach. What is more, leading dissidents clothed their demands in the language of the law. One of the foremost expressions of this proclivity is found in a position paper drafted in December of 1637 outlining the burgesses' reasons for supporting the Composite Supplication. Entitled, *The cleiring of the burrowes and others [who] have subt the complaints aganest the prelati for undermynding of religione in the buiks of Cannones and Commone Prayer*, it was designed both to justify active participation in the formal protest and to win more converts. Here, the ultimate goal of the

82. Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, I, 23.

83. Ibid., 17.

petitioning campaign was identified as an effort to attain "Justice according to the lawes of the realme unto which Just complaint we have Joynd or selff". Throughout the paper too, emphasis was placed on the legitimacy of the protest; hence, the legal means used in petitioning and the illegality of the administration's imposition of religious reforms were reiterated as major themes. Ecclesiastical reform was said to have been introduced "with out ordor of law"; consequently, the petitioning campaign was "ane orderlie proceiding by law[full] complaintis aganest such unlaw[full] commiss[ion]". That petitioning was a legitimate part of the political process was stressed, too, with the declaration contending that it was "one wrong done to or soverne to suspect his mat[ies]tie would be angrie w[ith] his subjectis for compleaning on such as dothes wrong seing we call to him selff and console onlie for justice in an humble maner". It was the chief objective of the campaign, then, to right the "injurees and wronges done to ws"; thus, striving for "Justice in sa worthie a causs".⁸⁴ Thus, the opposition's rhetoric was imbued with appeals to rights and justice.

Legal, constitutional and scriptural precedents were marshalled to lend legitimacy to the protest. The selective citation of parliamentary statutes of 1567 and 1633 which had authorised church polity and policy helped bolster the opposition's claim that Charles's program was contrary to the law.⁸⁵ Reference to the liturgical changes as being against the "laudable laws of this kingdome", as was specified in the Composite Supplication, merely echoed the sentiments found in the two earlier national petitions.⁸⁶ It was contended, then, that the innovations were without legal sanction because "all different forms (such as this is) are forbidden" by law.⁸⁷ In addition, as has been shown, the alterations planned for worship services and the administration of the church were publicly condemned as constitutionally unacceptable because they were introduced without warrant of parliamentary statute or general assembly approval. Privately, too,

84. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/50, Dalhousie Muniments, 'Copy of Reasons given by the burgs and others who have signed the supplication against the book of Canons and common prayer entitled 'The cheiring of the burrowes and others qu have subt ye complaints aganest ye prelatiis for undermynding of religione in ye buiks of Cannones and Commone Prayer'".

85. 'Supplicatione of the Ministers in St. Andrews Presbyterie, 23 August 1637' in Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 45-6.

86. 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 December 1637' in Ibid., 50-1.

87. 'Informatione for Noblemen Counsellars given by Ministers, 23 August 1637' in Ibid., 46-7..

commissioners representing the disaffected faction in informal meetings with officials upheld this position. When asked at a meeting in early December with the Treasurer, the earl of Traquair, and the Privy Seal, the earl of Roxburghe, why the protest needed to continue, the commissioners pointed out that the innovations in religion including the Book of Canons and high commission still remained in force "yett were introduced without, yea contrair to all order of law appoynted in the kirk and countrey, for establisching ecclesiastick constitutione or lawfull judicatories".⁸⁸ Local petitions drafted in September to accompany the National Petition like that of the town of Glasgow made the additional observation that, while other revisions had been made in church government and policy since the Reformation, these had been authorised in general assemblies and parliament; hence, earlier changes had been recognised as legitimate.⁸⁹ In the tract, *The Scots Reasons against the Service Book*, the government's methodology for imposing change was questioned because the existing forms of worship – that is, those in place prior to the Caroline reforms – were not "orderlye abolisched by a generall assemblye as faultye and erronious". Thus, the process relied on to usher in church reform was depicted as constitutionally defective.⁹⁰ Scriptural precedent was added to reinforce these claims for legitimacy. In the petition drawn up by the elders of Kirkoswald in October and given to Sir Alexander Kennedy of Culzean to present to the privy council, the religious innovations were denounced because they were "against the discipline practise and religioun professed by ws and our predecessouries in theis kingdome according to the canone of holie scripture and [whi]ch was ratified be actis of parliament & generall assemblies".⁹¹ Justification for a formal protest, therefore, was said to derive from convention, tradition and the word of God.

Historical precedents were relied on, as well, to give further credence to this stance, constituting an integral part of the propaganda effort. Organised opposition to the Caroline reforms

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34–5.

⁸⁹ 'Supplicatione of the Toun of Glasgow, 20 September 1637' in *Ibid.*, 48.

⁹⁰ S.R.O., MS GD 18/3957[a], 'Scots Reasons against the Service Book'.

⁹¹ S.R.O., Ms GD 25/4/96 Bundle 15, Ailsa Muniments 1600–1699, 'Commission from the Elders of Kirkoswald to Sir Alex Kennedy of Cullean to present a petition to the Privy Council anent canons latelie come out and a book of comoun prayer set out and appointit to be the onlie forme of discipline and divine worschip in the Kingdome'.

was necessary because the "forme of worschip and religione receaved at the Reformatione, and universallie practised since" was under threat.⁹² Mention was made that the petitioners' actions were legitimate because they were in accordance with the "laudable lawes of this and other nations in the lyke caise".⁹³ Impassioned pleas that the legacy of the Reformation was to be dismantled under Charles I formed a significant component of the propaganda attack by the disaffected. So much was evident in the formal address given by Thomas Cunningham, a nonconforming minister, before the privy council on 21 December of 1637: the text of which was later circulated as part of a handwritten tract.⁹⁴ Imbued with millenarian and apocalyptic images, Cunningham's speech alluded to the historic legacy given to Scotland by the sixteenth-century reformers and the important rôle played by protestant nobles in bringing about the Reformation. To his mind, the privy councillors thus had an obligation to see that this legacy was preserved for present and future generations. Out of a sense of honour and duty as scions of their families, as Christians and as royal advisers, the councillors, therefore, were urged to intercede with the king to cancel the proposed church reforms:

that this was the way to honnour and happines, for fearing God, he would build them houses that their auncestors had conveyed the truth unto them upon all hazards, and nothing wold more become them then to transmitt it in puritie to their posteritie, without mixture of humaine traditiones abjured in the Confession of Faith, and by the oath and covenant of the whole land.

Warning was given too that failure to do so would mark them as enemies of God and invoke divine retribution, citing the curse of Meros and the fate of Esther to underline the gravity of the protest.⁹⁵ This rhetoric was taken one step further by Thomas Ramsay, another radical presbyterian minister, who also spoke on behalf of the dissidents that day. He reminded the councillors of the seriousness of the matter at hand and flattered them by stating that he had "been

⁹². 'Supplicatione of the Ministers in St. Andrews Presbyterie, 23 August 1637' in Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 45-6. The same point is reiterated in the National Petition. See: 'Petition from the noblemen barons ministers burgesses and comons' in Ibid., 47.

⁹³. 'Declaration by noblemen, barons, burgesses, ministers and commons craving that the prelates may not be permitted to sit as judges in any decision on the petition as to the saids books' in H.M.C. 9th Report App., Pt.II, No. 192, 254. Another copy is found in Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 51.

⁹⁴. S.R.O., Ms GD 16/46/25, 'Mr James Cunyngname minr at cumnok his speich to ye counsell at dalketh the 21 decr 1637'.

⁹⁵. For all of the above see: Leslie, Relation of proceedings, 39.

oftymes before them about papists, and never parted bot with great contentment". Having insinuated that it was clearly the issue of catholicism which had prompted his appearance before the council, his comment then became a backhanded compliment with the declaration that he therefore expected at this time "much more being before them about Poperie itselfe, the seids of whose superstitione and idolatrie wer thick saven in the service-book, and its hierarchicall turrany in the Canons and High Commission". Augustine's critique of Psalm 110 with its depiction of three kinds of Antichrist - one "craftye", one "cruel" and one "craftie and cruel" - was also used by Ramsay to draw an analogy with the new liturgy and canons. In addition, problems that had occurred in England with respect to the English Service Book were duly noted; particularly, the "great trouble it brought to the best and ablest ministers, and disturbance in that kingdome, though established by law". Thus, he asked, "what may be expected upon a worse [prayer book] without law"?⁹⁶

Such evocations of the Reformation legacy acted as a powerful catalyst for dissent. Moreover, they proved particularly valuable because it became a commonplace of the dissident critique that the announced church reforms were only the thin edge of the wedge presaging more extensive innovations that would be implemented in the future. All three national petitions declared as much beginning with the National Petition which expressed the hope that "some way may be found wherby we may be delivered from the feare of this and all other innovation of this kind": a sentiment that resonated further in the Composite Supplication when the petitioners asked to be "freed and delyvered from these and all other novations of that kynd".⁹⁷ In the National Supplication, the Book of Canons was said to be "opening a door for further innovations".⁹⁸ This was combined with frequent expressions of the momentous nature of the protest, its gravity, and uniqueness which one tract claimed was "na less [than] the overturning of religione to insnairing of

⁹⁶. For all of the above see: *Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁹⁷. 'Petition from the noblemen barons ministers burgesses and comons' in *Ibid.*, 47; 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 December 1637' in *Ibid.*, 50-1.

⁹⁸. 'Supplication against the Service-book, with a complainte upon the Bischops' in *Ibid.*, 49-50.

all the subjectis in the matter of the saull & bodie & gudes".⁹⁹ Similarly, in the national petitions including the Composite Supplication, there were calls for all to consider "how deep this matter drawes, and how important the consequences therof may be, fair above any thing that doth or may concerne us in this present lyff".¹⁰⁰ What is more, acceptance of the polemical exaggeration that the Caroline reforms made moves towards a reconversion to catholicism possible, if not likely, gave dissident leaders the opportunity to conjure up the spectre of catholicism in the most lurid tones. A case in point was the petition handed in to the council by ministers cited for their refusal to purchase the prayer book. After equating the new liturgy with catholicism, all of the standard, inflammatory rhetoric came to the fore, leading to the conclusion that, "for her heresies in doctrine, superstitione and idolatrie in worschip, tyranie in government, and wickednes everie way, is as Antichristian now as when we came out of her".¹⁰¹ By doing so, not only did the petitioners tap into the received beliefs of protestant determinism but they readily appealed to the visceral, anticatholicism which was so deeply embedded in early-modern Scotland

Taken together, the benefit of this propaganda stance was that the disaffected element was able to portray itself as the champion of the established order. Remarking on the "progress of the whole cause", lord Loudoun - whose formal presentation to the council in December preceded that of Cunningham's and Ramsay's - defined the petitioners' motives as altruistic, in that, they acted to defend religion and the laws of Scotland "on which dependeth the weillfair of church and commoneweal".¹⁰² This was in keeping with the declarations of loyalty found in the national petitions which were always careful to stress that the political nation was motivated to formally protest out of a sense of "dutie to God, our king and native countrey".¹⁰³ It was reinforced by

⁹⁹. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/50, 'The cleiring of the burrowes and others qa have subt ye complaints against ye prelati for undermynding of religione in ye buik of Cannones and commone prayer'.

¹⁰⁰. 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 December 1637' in Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 50-1.

¹⁰¹. 'Supplicatione of the Ministers in St. Andrews Presbyterie, 23 August 1637' in *Ibid.*, 45-6.

¹⁰². *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁰³. 'Supplicatione against the Service-book, with a complainte upon Bischops, 18 October 1637' in *Ibid.*, 49-50.

constant assurances that the petitioners were "good, Loyall and faithfull subjectis".¹⁰⁴ To bolster this image, accusations were levelled against any who spoke out against the petitioning campaign as in the Composite Supplication when complaint was made of clergymen who had denounced those involved as rebels. These ministers were pilloried for "privatlie in their speeches and publiclie in their sermons, traduced and sclandered our legall proceidings and humble Supplications with the odious and intollerable imputatione of rebellione and conspiracie against authoritie, and have laboured to informe ws his Majesteis good subjects with the names of rebels and seditious bankrupts".¹⁰⁵ Moreover, such critics were branded as disloyal to their king, their country and their kirk. Warnings were issued to those who refused to subscribe the petitions that their reluctance might be taken, first, as pro-catholic and, second, as a readiness to doubt the sincerity of the king's own anticatholic position as expressed in his declaration of 7 December 1637. If they remained uncommitted, then, they would "interteane themeselves and foster in the hairts of others w[ith] suspitionnes of his maj[esty's] mynd contrare to the express declara[tio]ne in the proclama[tio]ne". Thus, those who take "ane contrair course to the supplicants and subscriyveris" were told to "take heid lest they be found followeris of ane factioun for interteaning of superstitiones of poperie and unlawll practise contrar to the religioun professed in the kingdom and establisched by Laudible Lawes and the kingis express proclama[tio]ne".¹⁰⁶ One consequence of the propaganda effort, then, was that those who opposed royal policy were cast in an heroic mould while those who upheld it were depicted as villains of the piece.

Even though intimidation played its part in coercing the uncommitted of all ranks to join the protest, the most concerted propaganda attack devised by the dissidents against their opponents focused on the higher clergy. Indeed, the full burden of responsibility for initiating, drafting and implementing the Caroline religious reforms was laid squarely on the bishops. As the "contryvers

104. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/50, 'The clerking of the burrowes and others qa have subt ye complaints against ye prelatiis for undermynding of religione in ye buik of Cannones and commone prayer'.

105. 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 December 1637' in Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 50-1.

106. For all of the above see: S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/50, 'The clerking of the burrowes and others qa have subt ye complaints aganest ye prelatiis for undermynding of religione in ye buiks of Cannones and commone prayer'.

and devysers"¹⁰⁷ of the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Book of Canons and Constitutions for the government of the kirk*, they were condemned for their high church bias and their erastianism. Their authority over the production of the innovations; the implementation of future church reform; and, the regulation of church discipline was harshly criticised. Questions about their accountability to the lower church courts and, equally, their increasing monopolisation of power in the kirk were raised. Radical presbyterian ministers like John Adamson in their sermons deplored the lack of accountability that bishops operated under, "calling it papal, antichristian, tyrannical for any bishops to does anything in Gods matters without consent of the whol Church".¹⁰⁸ This litany of grievances was first, formally, mooted in the National Supplication. It was used to build a case for asserting – in the time-honoured fashion¹⁰⁹ – that the bishops were 'evil councillors' who had given bad council; deceived the king as to the full import of the policy; and, promoted subversion by division. The assertion thus was made that Charles was,

heighlie wronged by the said Prelatts, who have so far abused their credit with so good a king as thus to ensnare his subject, perill our kirk, undermyne religione in doctrine, sacraments, and discipline, move discontent betwixt the king and his subjects and discord betwixt subject and subject, contrair to severall acts of Parliament.¹¹⁰

The purpose of this propaganda assault was not only to discredit the bishops and their church reforms, in the short-term, but to ensure that they became politically isolated, in the long-term. As the alleged architects of the political ferment affecting the nation, they were depicted as a divisive force in both church and state and denounced as "Scismaticks who bringe in and practise Noveltyes in a church with out the warrant and approba[ti]on of the Church".¹¹¹ The nation was said to be divided between "all estates on the one hand & the of prelates on the uthr"; thus, as a rationale for joining the protest, it was posited that "it have bein both sin ane shame if aither we

¹⁰⁷. 'Supplicatione against the Service-book, with a complaine upon Bischops, 18 October 1637' in Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 49-50.

¹⁰⁸. *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, 306.

¹⁰⁹. R. Mason, 'The Aristocracy, Episcopacy, and the Revolution of 1638' in *Covenant, Charter and Party*, ed. T. Brotherstone (Aberdeen, 1989), 17-9.

¹¹⁰. 'Supplicatione against the Service-book, with a complaine upon Bischops, 18 October 1637' in Leslie, *Relation of proceedings*, 49-50.

¹¹¹. S.R.O., MS GD 18/3957[a], 'Scots Reasons against the Service Book'.

sould have beine newtrialls in the contraversie or had taken it w[ith] the guiltie prelatis".¹¹² Even after the royal decree of 20 February 1638 in which the king took full responsibility for the changes in worship and kirk government thereby undercutting the protestor's version of events,¹¹³ the convenient fiction of the bishops as 'evil councillors' was sustained with advertisements continuing to rail against the "comon adversares the prelates".¹¹⁴ The disaffected leadership's reluctance to abandon this strategy was one clear indication of its immense propaganda value. It was indicative, too, of how cynical a ploy it was to serve up the bishops as a sacrificial lamb against which all of the latent resentments and anger of the political nation about Caroline rule could be vented with relative impunity.

What is striking about the character of the petitioning campaign, then, is that the leaders of the disaffected element through their assiduous use of propaganda projected an image of themselves and their cause which was antithetical to their activities as protestors. In the petitions and dissident literature, organised opposition to Caroline church policy was always portrayed as conservative, altruistic and legitimate. It was as the self-styled protectors of the church and its legacy from the Reformation-Rebellion and as the guardians of political and constitutional tradition that the case for dissent was made before the political nation and the Scottish people alike. This atavistic impulse was informed by a strong sense of protestant determinism which played on entrenched fears about a Counter-Reformation. Involvement in the petitioning campaign, thus, was depicted not only as a necessary expedient to curb arbitrary rule but as a civic duty warranted by legal, constitutional, Biblical and historical precedents. Yet, this dissident version of events

¹¹². S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/50, 'The clering of the burrowes and others qa have subt ye complaints aganest ye prelatis for undermynding of religione in ye buiks of Cannones and commone prayer'.

¹¹³. In the proclamation, Charles declared that the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer grew out of his "care of mainteaning the trew religion, already profest and for beating down of all superstition". His involvement in the composition of the new Prayer Book is cited - "in the forming quhair of his Majestie tooke great cares and panes" - thereby disposing of the petitioners' claim that the king did not know of its contents for otherwise he would never have authorised its use because of its catholic and Anglican accretions emphasising ritual and ceremony in the church service. Indeed, this stance is repeated to emphasise Charles' involvement and appreciation of the religious changes: "so that nothing wes past therein but what wes seene and approven be his Majestie before the same wes ather divulged or printed". See: RPCS, VII, 3-4.

¹¹⁴. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/49, 'A copie of ye tymous advertisment sent frome the commissionars & cheife men of Shyres to all yt are weill affected in all partes of ye kingdome from ye meiting now att Edr'.

failed to take into account the simple fact that all of their efforts constituted an attack on the established order in church and state. The radical presbyterian faction's casting of themselves as the rightful arbitrators of ecclesiastical policy was an infringement of the royal prerogative; a usurpation of the monarch's duty as defender of the faith; and, an expropriation of the king's function as chief lawmaker. It may have become a commonplace of the polemicists that adherents of the protest acted out of loyalty to Charles and a patriotic urge to preserve the kirk and the kingdom; but, as vociferous critics of crown policy in an age which equated such expressions with sedition, this view was highly questionable. Moreover, while members of the political nation involved in the protest exercised their constitutional right to petition the crown for a redress of grievances receiving official encouragement to do so during the campaign until the process was denied by the royal proclamation of February 1638, the collective nature of the protest itself was suspect because it merely skirted the treason laws. Repeated violations of episcopal, council and royal edicts to comply with the law, initially, by putting the new prayer book into practise and calling a halt to the civil unrest which had accompanied the liturgy's introduction and, latterly, by cancelling the meetings and the presentation of supplications to the council showed a flagrant disregard for established authority. In addition, the opposition factions' dismissal of those willing to speak out in favour of royal policy and those attempting to uphold the royal prerogative as disloyal subjects, while conventional, nonetheless defied logic. However, despite the contradictions between words and actions, the dissident leadership managed to transform their grievances into national concerns thereby gaining political acceptance and credibility for their cause because the character of the protest as it evolved concomitant with the issues that were raised spoke directly to the latent political resentments, frustrations and suspicions of the Scots about Caroline rule.

Chapter II

The National Covenant

I.

When the petitioners under the authorisation of the Tables issued a notorial instrument at Stirling on 20 February 1638, repeating the provocative gesture two days later at Edinburgh, to register their dissent; validate their protest; and, confirm their commitment to civil disobedience as a defiant response to coincide with the royal proclamation outlawing the petitioning campaign, they lamented the fact that their grievances had not as yet been satisfactorily redressed and that their supplications had so far proven ineffectual.¹ This was a telling admission on the part of the disaffected leadership of the failure of their protest in obtaining satisfactory redress of their grievances from the king. Granted, seven months of collective, formal protest had seen their numbers swell and their geographical representation spread to encompass a significant proportion of the upper and middle ranks of Scottish society; that is, men of influence such as heritors, burgesses and ministers. One measure of this growth was reflected in the increasing numbers willing, publicly, to declare their support for the three national petitions of 20 September, 18 October and 21 December 1637 – the National Petition, the National Supplication and the Composite Supplication respectively. Although the figures for those actively involved in the petitioning campaign are incomplete,² sixty-eight petitions were presented to the privy council in September on behalf of the towns, parishes and presbyteries protesting against innovations in the church representing the support of 20 nobles which constituted thirty per cent of the nobility; 80 to 100 clergymen which was equivalent to nearly ten per cent of the ministry; and, additionally, an indeterminate number of gentry and burgesses described as

¹ Scottish Record Office, MS GD26/10/14, 15, Leven and Melville Muniments, 'Copy of Instrument issued by nobility, barons, burgesses and ministers taken at Stirling Castle, 20 February 1638' and 'Instrument of Protest dated Edinburgh, February 22, 1638'.

² All figures are drawn from those given by A.I. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641 (Edinburgh, 1991), 161, 164; D. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters (Newton Abbot, 1973), 66, 73; W. Makey, The Church of the Covenant 1637-1651 (Edinburgh, 1979), 19-20; and, J. Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context' in The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, ed. J. Morrill (Edinburgh, 1990), 14.

a "considerable number of gentry" as well as a "generous leavening of burgesses".³ For the most part, these local petitions originated from the western Lowlands and Fife and they were drafted by ministers with the endorsement of the landed interest of the parish ranging from members of the gentry to feuers to tenant farmers who were exercising their function as heritors and elders.⁴ A month later, there were over two hundred parishes involved in the campaign through subscription to the National Supplication with 482 men of weight signing the petition; that is, 30 nobles, 281 gentry, 48 burgesses and 123 ministers. Once the leaders of the disaffected element had constructed a more formal organisation for their protest with the creation of the Tables in November, there was a nationwide network of dissidents with 6 representatives of the nobles; 2 members of the gentry elected from each shire; one representative from each burgh; and, one minister from each presbytery serving as commissioners in Edinburgh whose function was to co-ordinate and sanction any negotiations with the Caroline administration.⁵ Moreover, mass demonstrations, particularly those of 23 July and 17 October 1637, in which figures of authority including privy councillors were barracked and physically assaulted by the mob in Edinburgh attested to the campaign's broader appeal in general. Rank and file support for the petitioners was assiduously cultivated, however, on a country-wide basis, primarily, through the evangelising work of the radical presbyterian ministers. Such propaganda efforts became more formalised when leading nonconformists were dispatched by the leaders of the petitioning campaign, beginning in October, throughout the Lowlands and, later, to the Highlands. In their sermons and speeches at churches and conventicles, these ministers helped to promote and broaden the appeal of the protest thereby reinforcing the political élite's petitioning campaign.⁶

Yet, what is observable is that for all of the success of the disaffected element in gaining adherents, the issues on which leading dissidents had staked their opposition to Caroline policies and governing practices remained largely unresolved by February of 1638 *vis à vis* the king. Although

³. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanted Movement, 161.

⁴. Ibid., 162; Makey, Church of the Covenant, 20. There are 47 local petitions that are extant.

⁵. Ibid., 162, 166.

⁶. Ibid., 163.

the highly contentious issue of the compulsory use of the new liturgy had been defused, somewhat, by the administration's decision in August of 1637 not to enforce the law despite the king's initially voiced objections, the royal warrant authorising the prayer book had not been withdrawn as requested. Opposition demands for the suspension of the code of canons, the abolition of the high commission and the temporary removal of the bishops from the privy council, also, had not been met. In addition, insofar as the protestors were concerned, the questions raised during the petitioning campaign about the extent of the royal prerogative and the arbitrary nature of Caroline rule remained unanswered. Seven months of intensive lobbying, then, had seen the protestors augment their numerical strength and regional appeal, but it had failed to realise their chief objectives. Even these organisational gains threatened to be for naught with the issuance of Charles's decree of February outlawing the petitioning campaign. Thus, in lamenting their inability to acquire adequate redress of their grievances, the leaders of the disaffected element made a tacit admission of their own failure to persuade the king to rethink his plans for the church.

What is clear, then, is that by mid-February of 1638, the élite's campaign against Caroline religious policy had reached a political impasse. Not only had the king censured their activities but he had given notice that any continuation of the protest would be regarded as treason. It became increasingly evident, too, that the administration was more interested in breaking the collective unity of the petitioners than in redressing their grievances.⁷ With negotiations having reached an apparent stalemate, some of the leading protestors including Archibald Johnston of Wariston and John Leslie, the earl of Rothes, called for a major re-evaluation of the opposition's campaign. After extensive consultation among the hundreds of members of the three estates and the clergy gathered in Edinburgh, it was agreed that the only effective way to break the political deadlock was to revitalise the protest by adopting a more ambitious approach.⁸ At a meeting of the nobles, gentry, burgesses and ministers, the decision thus was made to broaden support for their cause by "renewing that same Covenant subscribed be our ancestours, with such additions as the corruptions of this tyme necessarilie

7. J. Leslie, A Relation of Proceedings Concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland from August 1637 to July 1638 (Edinburgh, 1830), 69.

8. Ibid., 69-70.

required to be joyned, and such Acts of Parliament as was against Poperie and in favour of the true religione".⁹ Rather than continue formally to petition, primarily, on behalf of the élite, this involved an unprecedented departure from the accepted norms of public protest: a direct, formal canvass of the Scottish people for a loyalty oath based on the Negative Confession of 1581 – initially known as the Confession of Faith or, alternatively, the Nobles' Covenant – which quickly acquired the name of the National Covenant.

II.

Studies of the National Covenant share some common approaches and perspectives in their assessment of the text and its significance; however, a range of opinion exists as to its implications. The historiographical problem of whether it was a conservative or a revolutionary document is central to these analyses. In part, this distinction is not so much a matter of interpretation as it is of methodological approach. When the text of the National Covenant is analysed in isolation from its origins, implications and impact, it is concluded that it was "essentially a constitutional, and not a revolutionary document".¹⁰ As evidence of its conservative nature and format, emphasis is given to its inclusion of both the Confession of Faith of 1581 and the lists of statute law and mention is made of what is seen as the moderate tone of the final section of the National Covenant, the general band.¹¹ But, when the document itself is set within the context of Caroline rule, it is regarded in a wholly different light. This is, largely, because there is a shift in the methodological approach from an analysis of the text to the historiographical problem of the motivations and aspirations of the petitioners in crafting it. This change in perspective is related, as well, to attempts to explore the wider question of how contemporaries reacted to the National Covenant. As David Stevenson – who incorporates both approaches in his study of the early years of covenanting rule – contends, the

⁹. *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁰. *A Source Book of Scottish History*, ed. W.C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and I.A. Milne (Edinburgh, 1961), iii, 104.

¹¹. Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, 85.

"details of the contents of the national covenant are of little more relevance to the enthusiasm with which it was greeted than the contents of the prayer book are to the bitter opposition to it. Just as the prayer book was a symbol of all that was disliked in the king's policies, so the national covenant became symbolic of united opposition to religious and other innovations".¹² Thus, a clear distinction is made between the contents and tone of the National Covenant and its purpose and impact.

What is more, this dual approach to an historical assessment of the National Covenant has led historians to try to account for its conservative nature in juxtaposition with its subsequent radicalising impact on Scottish politics. This has resulted in a general agreement that the document itself should not be taken at face value. Ian Cowan in his work of the post-Restoration covenanting movement maintains that the National Covenant was "deliberately cautious"¹³ while David Stevenson in a monograph on the origins, development and impact of the movement argues that it "needed to be vague if it was to unite the nation as far as possible behind the agitation against the king".¹⁴ This intimation of a hidden agenda on the part of leading dissidents finds favour, too, in James Kirk's survey of the relationship between religion and politics in early-modern Scotland in which he characterises the National Covenant as "cleverly contrived ... [and] superficially conservative in tone".¹⁵ More cautious verdicts are offered by Walter Makey and John Morrill. While the former argues that it was "ambiguous in some respects, but the general drift was conservative",¹⁶ the latter concludes that the National Covenant was "at once a very precise and an infuriatingly imprecise document. Although tedious, it is easy to understand; but it is horrifically difficult to interpret".¹⁷ Thus, even though there is a consensus among scholars that a distinction must be made between the document's rhetoric and its implications, there are shades of opinion as to what impressions are to be made of the text.

12. *Ibid.*, 86.

13. I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688* (London, 1976), 21.

14. D. Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 41-2.

15. J. Kirk, 'Reformation and Revolution, Kirk and Crown 1560-1690' in *Scotland Revisited*, ed. J. Wormald (London, 1991), 84.

16. Makey, *Church of the Covenants*, 27.

17. Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', 11.

In addition, most recent studies of the National Covenant adhere to the view that its significance lies in its symbolic value as an articulation of Scottish resentment of Caroline rule. Y. G. Kiernan in an article dealing largely with the covenanting movement in the late-seventeenth century sees the National Covenant "as a pledge to protect kirk and creed against Charles I's interference"¹⁸ while John Morrill offers the more specific observation that it is a "critique of a system of government".¹⁹ Similarly, in his work on freemasonry, masons and early masonic lodges, David Stevenson refers in passing to the National Covenant as a "symbol of resistance to the religious and other policies of Charles I".²⁰ Often allied to this assessment, too, is the argument that the National Covenant may be interpreted as an early expression of Scottish nationalist sentiment because of the perceived difficulties of absentee rule. Moreover, the strong links between Scottish protestantism and national independence forged in the Reformation-Rebellion which helped to shape national identity are said to have been compromised by Jacobean and Caroline government policies, particularly after 1603.²¹ For some like Peter Donald, in an examination of the influence of the National Covenant on British politics from 1638 to 1640, there is only tentative acceptance of this analysis and a preference for stressing that, in its conception, the National Covenant contains the seeds of a national cause. As Donald puts it, the "parties who embraced the idea of a Covenant stood therefore to a national cause against an absentee King".²² Others, however, like Kiernan exhibit no such inhibitions about emphasising that it had a "vigorously nationalist flavour".²³ But, this interpretation finds its most definitive expression in the work of Allan MacInnes. In his detailed study of Caroline rule and the origins and development of the Scottish Revolution from 1625 to 1641, he makes the case that the National Covenant should be regarded as a "a nationalist manifesto asserting the independence of a

18. Y. G. Kiernan, 'The Covenanters: A Problem of Creed and Class' in History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé, ed. F. Krantz (Montreal, 1985), 97.

19. Morrill, 'The National Covenant in its British Context', 13.

20. D. Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century 1590-1710 (Cambridge, 1988), 72.

21. Stevenson, Covenanters, 2-5.

22. P. Donald, 'The Scottish National Covenant and British Politics, 1638-1640' in The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 93.

23. Kiernan, 'The Covenanters: A Problem of Creed and Class', 97.

sovereign people under God".²⁴ Therefore, while the bulk of historiographical opinion on the National Covenant supports the view of it as a product of discontent with Charles I's governance of Scotland coupled with the disaffection engendered by absentee kingship, only part of it shows a willingness to make the unequivocal claim that it belies a nascent Scottish nationalism.

It is important to note, too, that the distinction made by historians as to whether the National Covenant should be taken as an atavistic or a radical political impulse is also, in part, a reflection of their interpretation of the precipitants that led to the outbreak of revolt concomitant with their assessment of the subsequent outcome of the covenanting revolution. Stressing that the political grievances of the nobility weigh heavily in shaping the protest against Caroline church innovations and the future direction of the covenanting régime, Walter Makey argues that tradition and innovation co-exist in the National Covenant; characterising it as "at once a call to rebellion and an appeal to the past".²⁵ Although readily ascribing to this conventional view of the nobles as a prime force in affecting revolt, Allan Macinnes adopts a broader perspective on the causes of revolt and its ramifications by giving equal consideration to its political, constitutional, religious and economic basis and impact. This allows him to add a fresher dimension to the debate by stating that there is an implicit revolutionary element in the Scottish people's collective opposition to Caroline rule.²⁶ Elsewhere, too, in an article on the covenanting régime's attempts to restructure central and local government, he asserts that the National Covenant was a "revolutionary enterprise binding the Scottish people together to justify and consolidate the revolt against absentee monarchy".²⁷ Yet, when the relevance of the National Covenant as a constitutional device is taken into account, a different perspective is brought to bear on the document's import. James Kirk makes the point that the National Covenant was "designed as a religious band (or bond of union) – justifiably so since the King in 1634 had construed legitimate petitioning as treasonable" and he concludes that it "spelt out to

24. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 173.

25. Makey, Church of the Covenantants, 27.

26. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 173, 176–7.

27. A.I. Macinnes, 'The Scottish Constitution, 1638–5: The Rise and Fall of Oligarchic Centralism' in The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 108.

Charles as well as to everyone else, that the King was bound by, and could not override, the fundamental laws of the realm". The significance of the National Covenant is, therefore, said to lie in the fact that this "appeal to the constitutional rights of general assemblies and parliaments in determining and approving appropriate policies in church and state was wholly incompatible with the exalted conception of the powers of the crown and divine-right monarchy which Charles wholeheartedly espoused".²⁸ This accords with the views of Allan Macinnes, as expressed in his survey of the town of Glasgow's response to the Scottish Revolution, that the National Covenant was a "nationalist as well as a deceptively radical manifesto ... intent on imposing fundamental limitations on monarchical power".²⁹ What seems clear, then, is that present-day interpretations of the National Covenant share a common problem with those current in the seventeenth century; that is, as Gordon Donaldson has aptly put it, it is "all things to all men".³⁰

However, for all the comprehensiveness of this scholarly work, there are, nonetheless, some gaps remaining in our understanding of the National Covenant. It may well be the case that its historical reputation as a mythic totem of Scottish culture³¹ favours interpretations that tend to attribute a higher, more noble purpose to it than it deserves with the result that less attention is focused on it as an early-modern solution to a specific political controversy. That it was forged in the heat of a political and constitutional crisis is reflected in the process adopted for its drafting; its contents; and its purpose. Perhaps, too, in its latter-day acceptance as a shibboleth of Scottish presbyterianism which since the early-modern period has, in turn, helped to define national identity, the National Covenant has bred a familiarity so that it is simply taken for granted. Certainly, it is conventional to offer a textual analysis of the National Covenant in terms of its having three parts; yet, closer examination reveals that it actually comprises five, distinct sections. As well, systematic analysis of the text itself underlines how well it articulated the grievances and concerns about Charles's kingship in a manner which may, as has been shown, seem "vague" or "ambiguous" in the

²⁸ Kirk, 'Reformation and Revolution, Kirk and Crown', 84.

²⁹ A.I. Macinnes, 'Covenanting Revolution and Municipal Enterprise' in Scotland Revisited, 97.

³⁰ G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V-James VII (Edinburgh, 1978), 315.

³¹ A useful discussion of the covenanters' religious, political and social legacy is provided by Stevenson, Covenanters, 70-84.

present day but which was readily comprehensible to contemporaries. Thus, while assessments of the National Covenant tend to stress that it was "deliberately cautious", this judgement must be tempered with a clearer understanding of the document's evolution, contents, objectives and reception.

In the context of the petitioning campaign, what became known as the National Covenant was largely a piece of political brinksmanship born of accommodation and political expediency. The format of the final version presented for public subscription on 28 February 1638 and circulated throughout the country beginning in March was predicated, above all, on the need to balance the aspirations of a minority of more radical activists representing the political élite against moderate, majority opinion. For those members of the élite gathered in Edinburgh, then, the National Covenant was by necessity a compromise shaped by an immediate political crisis. Initially, the task of drawing up a preliminary draft of the band fell to Archibald Johnston of Wariston, an Edinburgh lawyer, and Alexander Henderson, a Fife minister. Both were radical presbyterians who had taken a keen interest in the controversy created by the imposition of the Caroline church reforms with Henderson playing a leading rôle from the inception of the petitioning campaign. Although ostensibly a co-operative venture, the final draft of the Covenant contained more of the hallmarks of the lawyer than the divine. Granted, the brief given to them by the disaffected leadership, the fifth Table, had exact instructions as to the content of the proposed document, specifying that it was to include the Negative Confession, also known as the King's Confession; laws both confirming the reformed religion and denouncing catholicism; and, a general band. But this format may well have been arrived at because of Johnston's insistence at earlier meetings since the final version incorporated elements of specific documentation that he had been considering for almost six months. The Negative Confession of 1581 which, according to his diary entries, engaged his attention as early as September of 1637 when he discussed it with his wife and other members of his household as part of the family's religious instruction, found its way into the National Covenant as the first section.³² He records further that he had collated the acts of parliament against catholicism and in favour of the reformed religion, which made up the second and

³². *Diary of Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639*, ed. G.M. Paul (Scottish History Society, 1911), i, 269.

third parts of it, two months later in November.³³ Thus, the only original contribution that Henderson may possibly have made relates to the last two sections of the National Covenant: the civil loyalty oath and the general band. Whether these may be taken as a reflection of Henderson's thinking rather than Johnston's is difficult to determine however since, unlike Johnston, Henderson did not commit his thoughts and actions to a diary which is extant.

But this question of the authorship which has so plagued some historians is not particularly relevant, given that the original draft version of the National Covenant prepared by Johnston and Henderson was subject to such close scrutiny by members of the disaffected élite. In addition to adhering to the guidelines for the document first issued by the Tables, a working copy of it fashioned by Johnston and Henderson underwent further modifications at the hands of other prominent dissidents. For six days - beginning on Friday, 23 February until the following Wednesday, 28 February 1638 - the band was vetted at private and public meetings attended by the executive members of the Tables and members of the nobility, gentry and ministry as individuals as well as in their capacity as commissioners for their localities.³⁴ Although the particulars of the debates are unknown, two of the most contentious points raised during these forums related to the authority of bishops and the Five Articles of Perth. It seems likely, as well, given the issues addressed by the petitioning campaign as well as the character of the protest as it had evolved and in light of the personal commitment to radical presbyterianism on the part of Johnston and Henderson, that the working version of the National Covenant crafted by these two men, initially, had been more condemnatory in its references to episcopacy and liturgical change than the final version might suggest. Certainly, only after heated discussions which resulted in some revisions was a compromise reached satisfying all of the objections raised to the document in its original form.³⁵ A case in point was at a meeting held on February 26

³³. *Ibid.*, 275.

³⁴. D. Stevenson, 'The National Covenant: a list of known copies' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XXIII, ii (1988), 259.

³⁵. This account of the proceedings is based on the contemporary observations of Archibald Johnston of Wariston and John Leslie, the earl of Rothes, two leading dissidents. Johnston's central part in drafting the document; obtaining approval from the other leading protestors for it; and, altering it accordingly makes his diary entries especially valuable. Thus, all of the following quotations are taken from it. For a full account of the proceedings see: Diary of Archibald Johnston, i, 320-3. A brief description of the signing of the Covenant is also found in Leslie, Relation of Proceedings, 69-70.

where there was an "appearance of great opposition amongst the ministrie and barons, and from the great grandies of lawers [w]herwith som was dasched"; causing Johnston to remark that "my fearful conjecture was increased; yet my desyre and resolution for the Band was by the sam opposition augmented". As a consequence, this clash of views required an unspecified alteration in the wording of the National Covenant. During the next day, in a series of meetings involving the nobles, the commissioners of the presbyteries and the ministers, an especially contentious point of dispute still existed among the barons and gentry, probably, centring on a clause relating to episcopacy. Such opposition had apparently been foreseen by Johnston for he worried, prior to the encounter, about "som rub from the gentlemen" and the clause's possible reception by the privy council; or, as he put it, "som stop from the staitsmen and bishops". When the draft copy was presented to the nobility, though, only minor changes were implemented involving "two words [that] wer chainged". Two further alterations were requested at a meeting attended by an estimated two to three hundred ministers on 27 February held at the Tailors' Hall in Edinburgh. Here, debate was sparked by the issue of whether the oath which had been taken by all entrants to the clergy to respect the Five Articles and episcopal government prevented ministers from supporting the National Covenant. It had been the potential divisiveness of these issues which had made Johnston anticipate this meeting with some trepidation and "with great fears". Apparently though, after prolonged discussion, just one minister dissented from the majority opinion that it offered no such impediment "becaus of his oath to the bishop to practise perpetually". On the following morning of 28 February, the commissioners of the barons approved the text despite some qualms and after "long reasoning upon the Perth Articles"; however, only the laird of Ethie actually registered a negative vote. During the course of these consultations, too, the format of the document was revised when the compilation of parliamentary statutes that had been originally cited in full was abbreviated into lists of titles on the advice given to Johnston on 24 February by lords Rothes, Loudoun and Balmerino. Thus, only after a process of measured debate accommodating a wide variety of views was an amended version of the National Covenant written by Johnston and Henderson made acceptable to moderate opinion. The practicalities involved in creating a petition by committee, then, helped to ensure that the final version of the

National Covenant would be a compromise solution to try to end the political impasse reached in the petitioning campaign.

Political expediency, also, played a significant part in determining not only the tone and content of the National Covenant but the way in which it was presented to the Scottish people. The main motivation behind the drafting of the Covenant was the conscious need to broaden the appeal of the protest so as to force the Caroline administration to deal constructively with the petitioners' grievances rather than ban their activities. For Archibald Johnston, the document's real value, then, was that it would offer a show of collective resistance, or, as he put it, "al should be linked together" with the residual hope that this defensive act would promote, in the short-term, "this churches welfaire, the standing of our religion, laues, liberties, and commonwealth, our stricter union with him [God] and amongst our selves, the greater opposition to idolatrie and al uther innovations" and, in the long-term, "the instruction of posteritie and my awin salvation through Chryst Jesus".³⁶ The predominance of political objectives here account, too, for the decision to solicit a more broadly-based and more participatory subscription than had been attempted with the earlier petitions. Although the three national petitions of 1637 had been issued in the name of the "noblemen, barons, ministers, burgesses and commons",³⁷ the majority of the "commons" actively involved in the protest had been landowners ranging from magnates to lairds to feuers drawn from the upper and middling ranks who as community leaders, whether as heritors or elders in the church, endorsed the petitioning campaign.³⁸ The active part which they played in dissent helped to establish that it was the general distaste of the community for Caroline religious reforms which validated the protest. But, with the National Covenant, there was additionally the explicit acknowledgement of the importance of the active participation of the lower ranks as individuals who were required to adhere to a national petition.

36. *Ibid.*, 319.

37. 'Petition from the noblemen barons ministers burgesses and comons' in Leslie, *Relation of Proceedings*, 47; 'Supplication against the Service-book, with a complainte upon Bischops, 18 October 1637' in *Ibid.*, 49-50; 'Bill of the Supplicants given in at Dalkeith, 21 December 1637' in *Ibid.*, 50-1 and *Historical Manuscript Commission, 9th Report Appendix* (1885), Pt. II, No. 191, 253-4.

38. Makey, *Church of the Covenant*, 20; Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 162.

In extending the parameters of the protest to include non-landholders, not only would the leading dissidents demonstrate the continuing viability of their campaign and its universal appeal but they would show, too, that its political legitimacy remained intact despite the royal fiat outlawing it. Obtaining the largest possible number of signatures helped, as well, to insulate those signators from prosecution; offering a measure of assurance that they would not be charged with sedition because of their numerical strength. Additionally, it had the propaganda value of identifying the protest as a collective act of passive civil disobedience on the part of the Scottish people rather than on the part of a disaffected faction. Indeed, these had been over-riding concerns in the decision to frame a new petition; for as John Leslie, the earl of Rothes, declared, it was designed to show that "they wer not gathered mutinously by one or a few men, bot by God and a good cause".³⁹ For these reasons, stress was laid on the very public nature of the exercise of introducing the new petition. It was unveiled for subscription by the élite at public venues, first, at Greyfriars kirk in Edinburgh on 28 February where the dissident nobles and barons signed it and, second, at Tailors' Hall on 1 March where members of the ministry affixed their names to it: an act repeated later that same day by the commissioners of the burghs. The next day, subscriptions began to be openly solicited in all regions of the country among all social ranks of Scottish society. This was in accordance with the directives issued by the Tables authorising the reproduction and distribution of the document to every shire and distinct judicatory in Scotland where it was to be endorsed by the heritors within each jurisdiction and to every parish where it was to be signed either personally or through a notary by all males who were church communicants.⁴⁰ Subscription and support at parish churches was obtained in accordance with the same general procedures that were followed for many years to come. When the National Covenant was subscribed in July of 1642 at Bracadale in Skye for the first time, the proceedings mirrored those carried out across the nation: "The elders and parochiners haveing conveyed and after inquisition finding that they had not subscribit the Covenant, neither that it was presented unto them,

³⁹. Leslie, *Relation of Proceedings*, 70.

⁴⁰. Stevenson, 'The National Covenant: a list of known copies', 259. Stevenson suggests, however, that it is improbable that all parishes and jurisdictions ever received or subscribed their own, separate copy. See also: Leslie, *Relation of Proceedings*, 79-80.

We did openly read the samine and breefly exponed the speciall heads therein contained. After which being done they did both subscribe so many as could write, and the rest testified their willingness to stand be it by their holding up of their hands".⁴¹ Thus, attention was paid not only to reading but to explaining what were considered the pertinent points of the National Covenant to potential adherents of all ranks. Furthermore, while it soon acquired the name of the National Covenant, it was initially referred to as the new Confession of Faith thereby lending it a universal appeal as a religious undertaking. What is apparent, then, is that, in its formulation, the National Covenant was above all part of a deliberately calculated propaganda exercise by the leading dissidents, making it a carefully crafted manifesto of *realpolitik*.

III.

The most striking feature of the National Covenant itself was that it was a, somewhat, unlikely document to ever have achieved mass appeal. In its style, content and language, it was distinguished more by a cerebral legalism than by any visceral appeals to popular sentiment. Theoretically, it was to be sworn to by all heritors and all church-going, communicants; yet, its complex syntax and its sheer length - running to almost 4,300 words - probably prevented the majority of Scots from having a good grasp of its finer points. What would have been perfectly comprehensible to all though was the three-fold purpose of the exercise. Subscription meant that one had signed, firstly, a loyalty oath affirming commitment to Calvinist doctrine and presbyterian polity; secondly, a national petition calling for a halt to the government's promotion of Arminianism; and, thirdly, a declaration of intent to modify Charles's style of rule. As a consequence of the petitioning campaign, these demands had become common knowledge over the course of the previous seven months. Nowhere was the National Covenant's basic intent made more explicit though than in its five main sections: that is, the Negative Confession of 1581; the compendium of anticatholic legislation; the list of laws formally constituting the established church; the civil loyalty oath; and, the general band. All were designed to emphasise

⁴¹ Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-1651, ed. D.C. MacTavish (S.H.S., 1943), 44-5.

the protestors' objections to the dismantling of Calvinist doctrines in the church; the further promotion of episcopacy at the expense of presbyterianism; and, the arbitrary nature of Charles's kingship.

Certainly, if we examine the text of the National Covenant, it is apparent that potential supporters were made aware that a threat to traditional worship practices necessitated a band.⁴² So much is evident with the inclusion of the Negative Confession, a "confessione of the true Christian faith", which constituted the first section. This was simply a pledge affirming the subscriber's commitment to protestantism. Originally, when James VI and his chief political advisers signed it in 1581, it had been issued to allay worries about the Jacobean administration's alleged affinity for catholicism - rumours that had gained credibility by the political ascendancy of Esmé Stewart, the duke of Lennox, - which, it was feared, would result in a Counter-Reformation.⁴³ Its chief purpose then had been to "maintain the said true religion, and the King's Majesty according to the confession aforesaid and acts of parliament". Thus, the Negative Confession was subscribed by the king, his household and the privy council and then ratified by the general assembly with a "general band for the maintenance of religion and the king's person". Also, the band was signed by noblemen, barons, lairds, burgesses, ministers and commons. Reference in the National Covenant to an oath taken almost sixty years earlier by the king's father was not as obscure as it might seem since it could be exploited to political advantage. It imbued the document with an element of legitimacy by establishing its signators as emulators of a royal tradition; thus, it provided the historical, legal and moral justification for the national petition. Given, too, that the National Covenant was heralded initially as a new Confession of Faith, the inclusion of the Negative Confession lent a sacred and universal respectability to it as a religious undertaking. Its historic importance as a band of faith, also, flattered adherents as the church's vanguard, occupying the high moral ground. Moreover, by citing the Negative Confession, opponents of Caroline religious policy drew attention to parallel

⁴² For the discussion which follows, all quotations from the Negative Confession and the National Covenant are taken from the versions of the documents provided in G. Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents (Edinburgh, 1974), 150-3; 194-201.

⁴³ G. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation (Cambridge, 1960), 208-9.

circumstances in an earlier age that had resulted in similar action. Both external and internal threats to the established church prompted a backlash in 1581 as they did in 1638, requiring a formal reaffirmation of protestantism. Where the circumstances differed, though, was in the source of the threat with Arminianism replacing the hegemony of catholicism. For this reason, the singularity of the church policy and polity was emphasised in the Negative Confession. Its support for the nation's brand of protestantism was thus defined as that "received, believed and defended by manie and sindrie notable kyrkis and realames, but chiefly by the kyrk of Scotland". In a sense, then, the Negative Confession provided a convenient short-hand for contemporaries, allowing the opposition to express its dissatisfaction about recent changes in the church without specific reference to existing, government policies. This was a purely political expedient enabling protestors to maintain a veneer of legality while skirting the treason laws.⁴⁴ What is more, with a blanket condemnation of "all contrarie religion and doctrine, but cheifly all kynd of papistrie in generall", the renewal of the Negative Confession hit a responsive, populist chord by playing on the deeply ingrained anticatholicism so prevalent in early-modern Scottish society. It had a broader significance, too, due to the association in the public mind of Charles's church policy with the deconstruction of the Reformation. When catholic ritual, ceremony and doctrine were enumerated and condemned in the Negative Confession, the Arminian-inspired church reforms promoted under the stewardship of the Canterburian bishops overseen, after 1633, by archbishop Laud were tarred with the same brush. Thus, by inference, the Negative Confession encapsulated all of the radical presbyterians' criticisms of the Caroline church.

The second section of the National Covenant was a selective compendium of laws passed by parliament since the Reformation-Rebellion against catholicism. Here, acts condemning catholic worship practices and beliefs and those denying papal authority and jurisdiction were referred to by title. It also encompassed some of the penal laws enforcing civil penalties against practicing catholics as "common enemies to all Christian government"; as "rebellers and gainstanders of our sovereign Lords Authority"; and, as "Idolators". This view of catholics as constituting a political and religious

⁴⁴ Stevenson, Scottish Revolution, 86.

threat reflected early-modern, protestant assumptions. In an era when religion was a badge of civil loyalty and a bench-mark of political dependability, political orthodoxy associated protestant interests with the viability of the nation-state; thus, catholicism was equated with subversion. Although an undercurrent had existed since the Reformation-Rebellion, popular hostility towards catholicism in the seventeenth century was triggered by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 and it intensified, after 1625, because of Charles I's marriage to Henrietta Maria, a French Catholic.⁴⁵ In addition, concern about increased catholic influence at court had resulted in parliamentary demands for more rigorous implementation of the penal statutes in the early years of Charles's rule; most notably at the convention of 1625.⁴⁶ This reflected the general expectation articulated by one commentator that a government crackdown on recusancy was necessary to confirm the administration's political orthodoxy.⁴⁷ Both the political nation and the Scottish people, then, sought tangible proof of the Caroline administration's willingness to suppress catholicism. Therefore, the anticatholic laws in the National Covenant served as a timely reminder of popular apprehensions about Charles and his immediate circle, the court.

Juxtaposed with these negative expressions of populist sentiment was a litany of positive belief outlining the "perfect Religion"; thus, the third section of the National Covenant contained a list of the pro-protestant statutes "conceaved for maintenance of Gods true and Christian Religion". For the protestors, these laws embodied the clearest expression of all that they were fighting for as signators to the national petition. When the sixteenth-century laws were read out to them prefaced by the statement that "there is none other Face of Kirk, nor other Face of Religion, then was presently at that time, by the Favour of God established within this Realme", they understood that it was the church of Andrew Melville that was referred to when presbyterianism had been in the ascendancy, the "presbyterian high-water years"⁴⁸ of 1585 to 1596. If any missed this reference to the pre-

⁴⁵ C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983), 92-4.

⁴⁶ *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (12 vols., 1814-75), v, 184, 179-80.

⁴⁷ Scottish Record Office, MS GD112/39/556, Breadalbane Muniments, 'Letter from T. Rae to C. Campbell dated 17 November 1634'.

⁴⁸ K.M. Brown, 'In Search of the Godly Magistrate in Reformation Scotland' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 40, No. 4, (1989), 567.

episcopal church as the ideal, they had further opportunities to grasp the point in subsequent passages of the Covenant. There was, for instance, a direct call for official confirmation of the legal basis of presbyterian polity. Demands for the protection of the "liberty & freedom" of the "true Church of God" were unequivocal in specifying the presbyterian court system as embodying the quintessential church polity with the ideal form of church government being defined as that which consisted of the "National Synodal Assemblies, Presbyteries, Sessions ... as that purity of Religion and liberty of the Church was used, professed, exercised, preached and confessed according to the reformation of Religion in this Realm". While there was no abrogation of episcopal church government and no forthright denunciation of episcopacy,⁴⁹ it was nonetheless conspicuous that there was no mention of bishops either in this definition of the church's hierarchy for only the idealised presbyterian model was projected as the criterion for the "true church". Furthermore, to legitimise this stance, the 1592 act of parliament – act 114 parliament 12 – was cited four times here: the statute which did not establish but nonetheless gave formal recognition to the presbyterian system of church government. As Arthur Williamson points out, this act "appeared more frequently than any other in the text of the covenant". Its prominence in the National Covenant coupled with the Negative Confession prompts him to conclude then that the National Covenant "unmistakably constitutes an assertion of presbyterianism", prudently adding the proviso, however, that "it asserts that discipline within a framework with which it had been historically incompatible".⁵⁰ Thus, appeals were made to a supposedly golden age of presbyterianism which existed more in the historical imagination than in the historical past. Moreover, through a highly selective citation of legal precedents, the compendium of legislation outlining the development of the established church left out any references to the office of bishop and episcopacy for it "did not extend beyond the era of the first presbyterian experiment during the 1590s; a calculated omission of all subsequent legislation in favour of episcopacy".⁵¹ What was omitted from the compendium of statutes was, therefore, as significant as what was included in giving

⁴⁹. D. G. Mullan, Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638 (Edinburgh, 1986), 179-83.

⁵⁰. A.H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh, 1979), 142. This act is mistakenly cited by Williamson as act 114 parliament 112.

⁵¹. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 173.

an indication of the ideal for church polity promoted by the dissidents. Thus, with the list of laws defining the doctrine, discipline and worship of the church, adherents pledged themselves to a dual commitment. In general, they were to oppose any measure that might threaten protestantism. More specifically, they were to work towards the reconstruction of the late sixteenth-century model of Scottish presbyterianism: a church based on a Calvinist vision of church government shorn of the subsequent seventeenth-century addition of bishops.

What might be overlooked as innocuous lists of Jacobean statutes were, in effect, a political minefield of condemnation for the spirit and direction of Caroline religious policy. Certainly, the two, separate lists of acts served a number of purposes in terms of legitimising the protest against recent church reforms. Simply the emphasis on legality – a marked feature of the petitioning campaign – was sustained by their inclusion. Moreover, by listing parliamentary statutes instead of church ordinances, the constitutional and legal basis for the protest rather than the religious justification were given prominence. Even though this acknowledgement of erastianism conflicted with radical presbyterian beliefs, nonetheless, it had the compelling political advantage of providing a convenient framework for the claim that the changes in the church infringed the spirit if not the letter of the law thereby implying that the Caroline administration and not the protestors had acted illegally. Additionally, in the National Covenant, criticism of the government was based as much on perception as reality; thus, when mention was made, in the lists of legal precedents of the circulation of "erronious doctrine" and "erronious bookes and writtes" with the demand that the "homebringers of them" should be punished, the reference was not exclusively directed to catholic literature. Indeed, there was also the inference, here, that Arminian literature has been allowed to spread through the authorities' indifference. That is why civil officials were reminded of their duty to suppress any contraventions of established kirk practices. Therefore, the lists of parliamentary acts gave signatories of the National Covenant the distinct impression that not only the existing system of church policy was under threat but the radical presbyterian ideal of the Scottish church, as the model of international Calvinism in doctrine and government, would be further diluted if Caroline church reforms were allowed to proceed.

The fourth part of the National Covenant, ostensibly, contained a conventional statement of civil loyalty to the crown; but, it was accompanied by three clauses drawing attention to existing, political conditions affecting the relationship between ruler and ruled that made it distinctly unorthodox. Firstly, it was prefaced by a statement suggesting the equality of the authority of crown and parliament which read: "all lieges are bound to maintaine the King's Majesty's Royal Person and Authority, the Authority of Parliaments, without the which neither any lawes or lawful judicatories can be established". This would have struck contemporaries as a radical, constitutional assertion since, traditionally, parliament had functioned in a subordinate capacity as only an instrument for royal policy with the king, rather than parliament, regarded as the chief lawmaker. Its inclusion, then, spoke to the immediate political situation for it would have been taken as an oblique reference to Charles's tendency to govern without a parliamentary consensus, in general, and his reliance on royal decrees for the implementation of ecclesiastical policy, in particular. Secondly, to reinforce this point, the civil loyalty oath was made concomitant with veiled assertions of parliamentary sovereignty tinged with Scottish nationalism when reference was made to the findings of a Jacobean commission which had examined the possibilities of a formal, political union between Scotland and England in 1604. Here, the commission's conclusions were reiterated to underline the dangers of conformity with England for national autonomy; thus, if the common laws of Scotland,

be innovated or prejudged, the commission ... declares such confusion would ensue, as this Realme could be no more a free Monarchy because by the fundamentall lawes, ancient privileges, offices and liberties of this Kingdome not onely the Princely Authority of his Majesty's Royal descent hath been these many ages maintained, but also the peoples security of their Lands, livings, rights, offices, liberties, and dignities preserved.

By citing this bi-lateral committee's warning that a stricter union with England would prove prejudicial to Scotland, supporters of the Covenant expressed concern for what they saw as the increasingly arbitrary nature of Caroline rule in which the common laws as grounded in statute had been modified; overturned; and over-ruled by royal fiat. This was exemplified in the popular mind by royal efforts to recast the Scottish church to conform with the church of England. There was the suggestion too, as Allan Macinnes observes, that with this particular citation "innovations prejudicial to parliamentary sovereignty were deplored", leading him to conclude that, "constitutional tradition

masked a revolutionary determination: sovereignty was to be vested in the king-in-parliament at the expense of the royal prerogative".⁵² Thirdly, the statement of allegiance was coupled with a specific clause reminding Charles that his coronation oath included a pledge to defend the "true religion". That the king's commitment to protestantism should have been questioned reflected popular assumptions that Caroline ecclesiastical policy was reactionary. In the context of the petitioning campaign, it acted as a stinging rebuke to the royal proclamation of December 1637 which had contained an unequivocal statement of Charles's affinity for protestantism. Thus, taken together, the three clauses summed up the broader issues involved in the protest against the religious innovations. Not only their substance but their method of introduction and their intent were viewed as symptomatic of Charles's autocratic, intrusive style of governing which had often subjugated Scottish needs to English imperatives. Thus, the civil loyalty oath as expressed in the National Covenant encapsulated all of the protestors' apprehensions about Charles's ability to provide good government for Scotland.

This willingness to question Charles's style of kingship was evident, too, in the fifth component of the National Covenant containing the general band. Recent changes in worship practice were condemned as constituting "dangers in the nation to religion, the king's honour and the public peace"; thus, demands were made for their suspension coupled with calls for the temporary removal of bishops - referred to as "kirk-men" - from civic office until such grievances had been adequately addressed. While both of these particular demands had figured prominently in the petitioning campaign, they were accompanied by a new condition in the National Covenant that the "corruptions of the publicke Government of the Kirk, or civil places and power of kirk-men" be withheld "till they be tryed & allowed in free assemblies and in Parliaments". This was a bold assertion for the dissidents to make; coming perilously close to an outright denial of the royal prerogative. In demanding parliaments and general assemblies to settle the controversy, there was the intimation that the royal decrees relied on by Charles to impose liturgical changes had been insufficient to establish the law; thus, the king's traditional right to formulate government policy was questioned. Calls for parliaments and general assemblies to supplant the authority of the bishops as privy councillors,

⁵² *Ibid.*, 174.

albeit temporarily, for the ratification and approval of ecclesiastical policy implied an infringement of the king's recognised power to select and appoint his advisers and administrators to implement the royal will. Furthermore, the demand that a parliament and general assembly had to be held as a necessary condition of a settlement prejudiced the crown's accepted authority to convene these national forums when and if it saw fit.

Additionally, such demands were tantamount to an implicit indictment of Charles's rule. No general assembly had met after his succession; the last being held seven years earlier under James VI. In the same vein, the call for parliamentary sanction of government policies was a reaction to the almost total absence of parliament since 1625. Prior to the parliament held in 1633, Charles had convened only one parliament in September of 1628 which had sat for one day producing no legislation and he had held one convention in October and November of 1625 during which twenty-six acts were passed.⁵³ That the national forums of parliament and general assembly should be offered as part of the solution to breaking the political deadlock between the king and the petitioners merely underlined the king's attempts to govern without a broad, political consensus. Moreover, the stipulation that such bodies be "free" would have been taken by signatories as a reference to Charles's heavy-handed manipulation of the parliament of 1633 with the inference that "constitutional redress should not be subject to the censorious royal management evident in the coronation parliament of 1633".⁵⁴ Thus, in specifying that a "free" parliament and a "free" general assembly meet as a condition of settlement, the dissidents offered a radical, constitutional alternative to alleviate the ongoing, political crisis. As James Kirk rightly suggests, these were "two radical and far-reaching reforms which, if granted, would turn the government of Scotland on its head: the right to hold 'free' parliaments and 'free' general assemblies of the church, unfettered by royal manipulation".⁵⁵ When accompanied by a call for the restoration of the "purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was stablished and professed before the foresaid Novations", the general band therefore had as its twin objectives the overturning of the church innovations and the modification of the Caroline style of government.

⁵³. APS, v, 184, 179-80.

⁵⁴. MacInnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 175.

⁵⁵. Kirk, 'Reformation and Revolution, Kirk and Crown', 84.

Having established the scope of their intentions, adherents were then required to make three, separate pledges in the general band, binding themselves to defend the "true religion"; the crown's authority; and, one another in the cause. While each seems self-explanatory, this appears less so when the pledge to uphold protestantism along with the other two pledges to support the king and to offer mutual assistance among the banders are considered within the context of the petitioning campaign; insofar as they relate to one another; and, with respect to early-modern belief systems. First of all, the pledge to uphold the church embodied a defensive rather than an offensive commitment because it was a negative expression which belied resistance. It was an oath not simply to provide protection for the church but to protect the church against "all these contrary errors and corruptions" – in other words, against the innovations introduced by Charles I. Given that the "foresaid true religion", as has been demonstrated above, had already been defined in the body of the text of the National Covenant as implying the presbyterian ideal, defence of the church in the general band suggested a commitment to Calvinist doctrine and presbyterian polity.

Second, the acknowledgement of monarchical authority was no less oblique. It was couched in such a way that defence of the crown was inextricably linked to both the defence of the church and to the defence of civil liberties and the law: or, as it is put in the National Covenant,

we declare before God and Men, That we have no intention or desire to attempt any thing that may turne to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the Kings greatness and authority: But on the contrary, we promise and sweare, that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our meanes and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereigne, the Kings Majesty, his Person, and Authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true Religion, Liberties and Lawes of the Kingdom.

Two points are worth noting here. On the one hand, it is the first part of this pledge to defend both the church and the crown when the self-styled champions of the two institutions seemed to be pursuing rival visions that is often dismissed as contradictory and disingenuous by historians.⁵⁶ Yet, this interpretation – while right in stressing the political cynicism underlying the confrontation with the crown in general – loses some of its force when such expressions are considered within the context of seventeenth-century thinking. As George Rudé in his seminal work on popular movements in

⁵⁶ Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 24-5; Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 315.

medieval and early-modern Europe, North America and Latin America observes, this "medley of loyalties" involving simultaneously an expression of opposition to royal policy and a declaration of loyalty to the king was a common feature of early-modern, popular revolts especially against absolutist régimes.⁵⁷ What is more, in the National Covenant, defence of the church and the crown were regarded as inseparable because religion and kingship were considered to be inextricably linked and interdependent through their divine origins and function: the "true worship of God and the Kings authority, being so straitly joined, as that they had the same Friends, and common enemies, and did stand and fall together". This belief was a reflection of the contemporary concept of sovereignty with the king, firstly, as the embodiment of the natural order and, secondly, as a godly magistrate, who was expected to fulfill his destiny as God's vicegerent on earth by performing his obligations as the defender of the faith.⁵⁸ Authorisation of the king's rôle in preserving and promoting the church had been established, too, in the Scots Confession of Faith of 1560 which specified that the civil magistrate was to play his part in the "conservation" as well as the "purgation" of religion.⁵⁹ Proper fulfilment of the godly magistrate's duty, then, clearly militated against any conflict of interest. Moreover, in what features essentially as an escape clause as articulated in the National Covenant's first component, the Negative Confession, allegiance to the monarchy was stated to be only conditional since it was predicated on the king's unequivocal support of the church because "we perceave that the quietnes and stabilitie of our religion and kirk doth depend upon the savetie and good behaviour of the kyngis majestie". Few signators of the National Covenant would have believed that Charles was incapable of this stipulation as it was considered integral to good kingship. Thus, swearing to defend the king and the church was the expression of an ideal and Charles, as a godly magistrate, had a divine obligation to fulfill it by his subsequent actions.

57. G. Rudé, Ideology and Popular Protest (London, 1980), 32.

58. For a discussion of the godly magistrate and its significance in early modern Scotland see: K.M. Brown, 'In Search of the Godly Magistrate in Reformation Scotland', 553-81; J.M. Wormald, 'Princes' and the regions in the Scottish Reformation' in Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929, ed. N. MacDougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 65-84; M. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638' in International Calvinism, ed. M. Prestwich (Oxford, 1985), 241-7.

59. 'The Confession of Faith Professit and Belevit be the Protestantis Within the Realme of Scotland' in The Works of John Knox, ed. D. Laing (6 vols., Edinburgh, 1846-64), ii, 118.

On the other hand, with respect to the second part of this pledge, when adherents offered their support for "our dread Sovreign King's Majesty, his Person and Authority", it was equally conditional on the constitutional imperative of protecting the "Liberties and Lawes of the Kingdom". Again, contemporary expectations of kingship made the duality of this pledge possible: as chief lawmaker, the king was required not only to provide good laws but to implement them in a just and fair manner for the common good. Above all, good kingship entailed concern not for self-interest but the national interest as Charles's father and predecessor, James VI, had readily acknowledged. Even in his tract offering a definitive statement of divine right theory, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, written to define the "trew grounds of the mutuall duetie, and allegiance betwixt a free and absolute Monarche and his people", James outlined the criteria for good kingship in these same terms: "a good king will not onely delight to rule his subiects by the lawe, but even conforme himselfe in his owne actions thereunto, alwaies keeping that ground, that the health of the common-wealth be his cheife lawe".⁶⁰ Thus, the recognition of the necessity to uphold the crown's power as embodied in both the office and the person of the monarch in the protection of the nation's civil liberties and the law was a reflection of early-modern assumptions about the nature of kingship. Its applicability to the immediate political crisis was clear: it was, according to the general thrust of the dissidents' critique, the "health of the common-wealth" that was at stake. Therefore, both parts of the pledge found their way into the general band because they acted as a reminder and a rebuke to Charles for, what the petitioners considered, his arbitrary style of kingship as exemplified by his programme for church reform as well as his handling of dissent against it.

Finally, the pledge of mutual defence and assistance was equally full of nuances. In the first instance, it too was a product of the immediate political crisis. Those swearing to adhere to the National Covenant took an oath to support one another to maintain the "true Religion" and the king's authority. Thus, subscribers were responsible for the "mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another in the same cause of maintaining the true Religion and his Majesty's Authority, with our

60. 'The Trew Law of Free Monarchies' in *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C.H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 54, 63.

best counsel, our bodies, meanes, and whole power, against all sorts of people whatsoever". This declaration of future intent was grounded firmly on past experience. It was a defiant response to the royal proclamation of February 1638 which had outlawed the petitioning campaign as treason. Moreover, allegations of sedition which had punctuated the disaffected element's political manoeuvres since July of 1637 and had been fully endorsed by the royal decree were dismissed as malicious and unwarranted: "neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries from their craft and malice would put upon us, seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeined desire to maintaine the true worship of God, the Majesty of our King, and peace of the Kingdome, for the commone happinesse of our selves and the posterity". The administration's attempts, throughout the petitioning campaign, to divide and weaken the protestors obviously served as a strong inducement for this pledge of corporate responsibility for, it was declared: "that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, allurement, or terrour from this blessed & loyall Conjunction". Consequently, in the event of any future challenge or threat to their solidarity in the cause, subscribers were obligated to take decisive action: "if any dangerous & divisive motion be made to us by Word or Writ, We, and every one of us, shall either repress it, or, if need be shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated". In addition, the cumulative effect of the petitioners' willingness to defy established authority combined with their indirect and direct attacks on the royal prerogative, as expressed in previous petitions and echoed in the National Covenant itself, made adherence to a band for mutual support all the more vital to the success of the protest. Swearing to defend one another in pursuit of common objectives, therefore, met a number of political, psychological and propaganda objectives.

However, in featuring collective, political action as a necessary obligation of the subscribers to the National Covenant, the pledge of mutual defence and assistance acted, on another level, as an ultimatum to the authorities that what had been a relatively peaceful protest so far could escalate into active civil disobedience and civil unrest. The prospect of disorder was implicit in the declaration that,

So that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular. And that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, allurements, or terrours from this blessed & loyall Conjunction, nor shall cast any let or impediment, that may stay or hinder any such resolution as by common consent shall be found to conduce for so good ends. But on the contrary, shall by all lawful means labour to further and promote the same.

Although this statement offered a measure of assurance that the protest would remain within the boundaries of the law, its powerful rhetoric coupled with its tone of self-righteous determination served as an open challenge to government authority and its capability of censoring dissent. In practical terms, too, such veiled threats of organised civil disobedience on a large-scale made the prospect of passive resistance even less likely. Thus, the oath of mutual defence and assistance was quintessentially a product of its time defining the obligations, duties and responsibilities of the petitioners in the event that their protest continued to be stymied. In this sense, it was the embodiment of a programme for civic corporatism for the dissidents.

The band for mutual defence and assistance was, also, a call to corporate, political action that resonated with deeper socio-political, historical and religious significance for its adherents. As such, it offered the additional propaganda value as an appeal to tradition thereby lending further legitimacy to the process of subscribing the band. Certainly, the use of a formal contract binding its signatories to a specified obligation in pursuit of common objectives had a long history in Scotland, falling well within the bounds of accepted political and religious orthodoxy.⁶¹ When faced with a political stalemate, the protestors thus turned to a familiar remedy of issuing a band of mutual support to both clarify and publicly acknowledge their intentions. This impulse was part of the early-modern convention of political banding. As has been demonstrated by Jenny Wormald in her study of bonds of manrent, some political bonds which were written between the mid-fifteenth and late sixteenth centuries contain features such as the signatories' "mutual commitment to a specified political end"

⁶¹. For an analysis and discussion of the tradition of collective banding both religious and political see: Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 28-34.

which make them comparable to the National Covenant.⁶² A case in point is the extant band of 1582 which was issued in response to a perceived threat to protestantism. Signed by forty-five men of influence including five earls, it obligated them mutually to support the maintenance of the "true religion ... until remedy and reformation be provided". Similarly, in the wake of the earl of Moray's murder and the burning of Donibristle in 1592, a band was subscribed by 161 mostly northeastern heritors as well as the king and prominent courtiers like the duke of Lennox. Essentially, this constituted the creation of a counter-alliance which was formed to uphold protestantism against the "authors of the treasonable conspiracies;" in this instance, the catholic earl of Huntly and his supporters. From 1599, in response to rumours that Sir Robert Cecil was promoting the interests of the Spanish Infanta,⁶³ a bond is extant which supports James VI's claim to the English throne after the death of Elizabeth which was signed by as many as forty-one individuals including the duke of Lennox and ten Scottish earls.⁶⁴ These pre-1600 political bands, then, tend to be all of a type with common aspirations and objectives. According to Wormald, they were "quite consciously short-term agreements" involving a significant number of individuals that emphasised the "value of the formal personal alliance". Often they grew out of comparable political circumstances since many were drafted during royal minorities or in "times of political stress and crisis". Since the motivations of those involved in political banding was similar, the tone and content of the bands thus bear a marked resemblance:

they were, therefore, expressed in the same sort of language, or indeed language which gave an even stronger impression of a deeply felt adherence to the strength of the ties of friendship and because they were made in political circumstances, of a conscious attempt to show that those who made them were imbued with political responsibility and desire to serve the state. Thus, it was standard practice to refer, sometimes at length, to the troubled and parlous state of the commonwealth, riddled with unrest and disorder which the makers of the band would combat; and in

62. J. M. Brown, 'Bonds of Manrent in Scotland before 1603' (University of Glasgow, Ph.D. thesis, 1974), esp. 334-43; 552-8. This analysis of the significance of political and religious bands in general has been expanded on in Brown's subsequent book. See: J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985).

63. G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1974), 471; J. Brown, 'Scottish Politics 1567-1625' in *The Reign of James VI and I*, ed. A. G. R. Smith (London, 1977), 37. Elton points out here that it was the earl of Essex's belief that lord Cecil was behind this move which prompted him to begin to plot with James so as to ensure a Stuart succession in exchange for his own political rehabilitation back to the centre of power. That these circumstances resulted in this political bond is confirmed by Brown (Wormald).

64. Brown, 'Bonds of Manrent in Scotland before 1603', 552-8.

the second half of the sixteenth century there was added the intention to act as Christian subjects, to follow the law of God as well as of man, and to maintain the true - that is, reformed - religion.⁶⁵

In terms of their rhetoric and political motivation, then, these earlier more limited political contracts served as precedents for the National Covenant. Therefore, the band for mutual defence and assistance was part of a well-established political convention.

Equally central to the formulation of the National Covenant, in general, and the band for mutual defence and assistance, in particular, was the separate tradition of religious banding. Spurred on by the Calvinistic belief that a covenant was a mark of true faith conjoined with the politicisation of religion with the Reformation-Rebellion, men of influence showed a predilection for religious bands in Scotland beginning in the late sixteenth century. While categorising these bands as covenants may be a moot point,⁶⁶ nonetheless, it is conventional to do so. Their renewal was a well-established ritual with no less than thirty-one, extant documents of this type dating from this period. The earliest known is the Duns Covenant of 1556 which was an anticatholic bond drafted on John Knox's return from exile on the continent and signed by five protestant lords.⁶⁷ Generally speaking, these were oaths taken by a handful of nobles and heritors such as that issued by the First Band of the Lords of the Congregation in 1557 in response to the pro-French policy of the queen regent, Mary of Guise, and subscribed by the earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, Lord Lorne and John Erskine of Dun. In purpose and rhetoric, this particular band foreshadowed the National Covenant, in that, fear of foreign domination in the face of a threat to the church prompted this public declaration. Taking the format of a "common bond" upheld by "the Lords and Barons professing Jesus Christ", it contained a denunciation of catholicism and a pledge to maintain the reformed religion "aganis Sathan and all wicked power that dois intend tyrannye or troubill aganis the forsaied Congregationne" and it imposed the further obligation on its adherents to "apply our whole power, substance and our very lives to maintain, set

65. *Ibid.*, 334-43.

66. For instance, David Stevenson points out that it is "anachronistic and misleading" to speak of these religious bands as covenants because the "concept of a covenanted relationship with God was not present". Stevenson, *Covenanters*, 29.

67. J. Lumsden, *The Covenants of Scotland* (Paisley, 1914), 1; F. N. McCoy, *Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation* (Berkley, 1974), 49-50.

forward and establish the most blessed word of God".⁶⁸ Two years later, the Lords of Congregation signed another, similar bond declaring that they acted for "God's cause". In April of 1560, the "contract and band" made at Edinburgh signed by seven nobles and forty-two others resulting in the removal of French troops from Scotland with English military aid cited the "reformation of religion according to God's Word" as its chief motivation.⁶⁹ More unusually, mass subscription was solicited to a religious contract in March of 1596 at the general assembly which, ostensibly, was said to be due to the "defections" of the ministry; however, it was, in fact, a product of the Jacobean government's attempts to emasculate presbyterianism which coincided with a resurgence of public apprehension about catholic conspiracies. This covenant in which the adherents reaffirmed their faith and their calling as ministers was characterised as a renewal of the Covenant of Mercy and Grace with God and referred to as a 'league' with God. It was publicly witnessed by a show of hands of about 400 ministers attending the assembly and, then, sanctioned through aural, public declarations by members of kirk synods, presbyteries and parishes both clerical and lay as the "new Covenant" in various parts of the country. Although five years later, James VI at a meeting of the general assembly formally pledged his support for the reformed faith – in what was referred to as a mutual covenant between the king and the ministers – and, in doing so, inspired those present to reaffirm this covenant and to issue orders for its renewal throughout Scotland,⁷⁰ this particular band marked the end of two generations of public religious banding by men of influence until the appearance, almost four decades later, of the National Covenant.

The religio-political conditions which gave rise to the practise of religious banding and its subsequent demise at the beginning of the seventeenth century help to explain, in part, why this form of public protest lapsed only to be revived in 1638 with the National Covenant. With the important

68. Donaldson, Scottish Documents, 116-7; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 136; Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', 226; I. B. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth-century Scotland (London, 1982), 111; G. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men: Power and politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland (London, 1983), 27.

69. J. Wormald, Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470-1625 (London, 1981), 117; G. D. Henderson ed., The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History (Edinburgh, 1957), 61.

70. Stevenson, The Covenanters, 32-3; Wormald, Court, Kirk, and Community, 117; Henderson, The Burning Bush, 61.

exception of the last case which proves the rule, these covenants grew out of the unique religious-political circumstances of the late-sixteenth century when the complementary strengths of political influence backed by military might and reformed ideology combined to make the successful partnership between the protestant nobility and the reformed clergy in bringing about a reformation in Scotland. It was by "harnessing lordship to Protestantism" and by the "fusing of patriotic and religious ideals" that John Knox and the vanguard of the reformed clergy had helped to set the stage for the nobility who "made the Reformation happen".⁷¹ What is notable for our purposes, however, is that the "new Covenant" of 1596 did not, despite the king's subsequent gesture of support, enjoy the same level of aristocratic sponsorship as its predecessors. This was largely because the interests of the reformed clergy along with their political militancy after 1585 in pursuing a presbyterian programme for the church had, by that time, diverged from those of the nobles so that they were no longer so compatible. Keith Brown in an article which explores the validity of the aristocratic commitment to the reformed faith between the late 1550s and the early 1590s finds that "it went beyond the merely formal submission to the established religion of the state or the conformity found in the rituals of births, marriages and deaths".⁷² But, he argues, a concatenation of political, religious, economic, social and intellectual trends occurred in the late-sixteenth century which eroded the ties between the protestant nobility and the ministry so that, by the 1590s, they no longer shared a common outlook for the church. This was also "part of the wider reaction against half a century of instability, war, feuding and religious upheaval which began with James V's death in 1542 and did not really come to an end until 1594". The result was that "much of the enthusiasm for the politicised religion, which was so evident among many who made the Reformation itself, did not transmit itself to their sons"; consequently he draws the wider conclusion that,

During the later 1590s there was a distinct move towards political and religious conservatism, which took its lead from the king but which had the widespread backing of a nobility shaken by their own factionalism and feuding, by economic disaster and by an apparently uncontrolled ministry who publicly berated their behaviour and their values. Not surprisingly, the nobility swung towards a much more conservative outlook; and their approval of the more absolutist rhetoric of

⁷¹. Brown, 'In Search of the Godly Magistrate in Reformation Scotland', 553.

⁷². *Ibid.*, 579.

the king, their heightened awareness of the need for law and order, the pushing up of rents and the replacement of the presbyterian church government with an Erastian episcopacy all reflected that conservatism.⁷³

The decline of the presbyterian wing's influence in the church, therefore, coincided with the issuance of the "new Covenant" of 1596 which, unlike earlier religious bands, lacked an aristocratic *imprimatur* when it was first unveiled at the general assembly. Thus, the demise of public religious banding at the turn of the century was a consequence of the waning of noble enthusiasm for the "politicised religion".

There are indications, too, that militant protestantism led from above gave way to a new strain of radical protestantism driven from below after the 1580s; thus, the revival of banding in 1638 with the band for mutual defence and assistance in the National Covenant may have been attributable to the influence of privy kirks and conventicling. Beginning in the 1580s, especially in some of the burghs, the domination of the protestant régime by burgh oligarchies began to be challenged by, what Michael Lynch has termed, the "nouveaux Calvinists" representative of the "populist streak" of the reformed church who in comparison to the first, generation of protestant enthusiasts were of lower social origin and drawn from the middling and lower ranks of Scottish society.⁷⁴ Lynch contends that the social and political divisions between the "wealthier, elitist elders and the nouveaux Calvinists", helped to exacerbate the ideological tensions that arose in the 1590s about the direction of the church under the Melvillians; the questions of church discipline and government with respect to presbyterian and episcopal models; and, gave further impetus to the debate about the relationship between church and state. Such conflict helped to promote a lay radicalism determined to achieve greater voice in the church. When set against the entrenched interests and attitudes of the more conservative establishment, this resulted in increasingly acrimonious debate with the town councils and kirk sessions, aided and abetted by radical presbyterian ministers.⁷⁵

Alienation of the radical laity was given its greatest impetus, however, by the increasing erastianism of Jacobean church policy after 1603. Lay militancy of the 1580s and 1590s was

⁷³. *Ibid.*

⁷⁴. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', 240.

⁷⁵. *Ibid.*, 240-1.

transmuted into radical presbyterian nonconformity of the 1620s by the increasing royal interference in the church brought about by the crown's determination to curb the threat to its authority posed by presbyterianism. The reintroduction of episcopacy between 1606 and 1610 and the attempts to impose liturgical changes with the Five Articles of Perth in 1618 provided part of the solution to effecting a measure of royal control over the church. These changes in ecclesiastical policy and polity were anathema to Calvinist sensibilities, however, because of their high-church implications for doctrine, worship, discipline and government.⁷⁶ Thus, in reaction, by the 1620s a significant number of communicants refused to worship in their local, parish churches, preferring instead to practise their religious devotion at private prayer meetings conducted by like-minded ministers. Pockets of support for conventicling were concentrated in areas of the Lowlands including Lothian, Fife, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire. By the 1630s, localised nonconformity had expanded into a loosely organised, regional phenomenon in the Lowlands through the establishment of a network of preaching circuits for radical presbyterian ministers.⁷⁷ Conventicling fervour for nonconformity was further augmented by the arrival of Ulster-based Scottish ministers after 1634. Having left Ulster in protest against the introduction of the Caroline programme of reform for the Church of Ireland signalled by the issuance of a new code of canons, these presbyterians radicals infused new blood into the ranks of the conventicling ministry, especially in the south west, and helped to stiffen the resolve of nonconformists to boycott the church.⁷⁸ Jacobean church policy, then, acted as a catalyst for nonconformity but it was given momentum by further Caroline innovations.

The conventicling movement which this trend fostered had wide implications. As a populist rejection of the established church, it threatened the largely monolithic edifice of reformed religion as it had evolved in Scotland since the Reformation-Rebellion. It has been suggested, for instance, that lay participation in private prayer meetings belied a "new-style urban Calvinist, fuelled by inner conviction verging on antinomianism as much as by political animus, [and it] endangered the broad

⁷⁶. G. Donaldson, 'The Scottish Church 1567-1625' in *The Reign of James VI and I*, 51-6.

⁷⁷. D. Stevenson, 'Conventicles in the Kirk, 1619-37' in *RSCHS*, XVIII (1972-74), 99-114.

⁷⁸. MacInnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 156-7. More detailed discussion of Caroline ecclesiastical policy in Ireland is provided by H. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1989), 104-29.

Calvinist consensus which marked the Reformed Church since the late 1570's. Scripture or individual conscience was brought into play against what was seen as an increasingly corrupt, Erastian church".⁷⁹ Moreover, in separating themselves from the established church, conventiclers formed the basis of an alternative, communal religious forum. This provided nonconformity with a grass-roots coalition from which to launch a concerted protest campaign against Caroline innovations.⁸⁰ It meant, too, that they could practise a less diluted strain of Calvinism than was offered by their parish ministers. Nonconformity for the small minority who engaged in conventicling thus acquired a fundamentalist, evangelical, revivalist outlook characterised by personal asceticism with a devotion to simplicity in worship. When allied to their uncompromising Calvinism and their practical application of precepts such as the equality of believers; the literal interpretation of Scripture; and, advocacy of preaching the Word as a means to salvation and redemption, the conventiclers as puritans thus embodied a radical alternative to the established church.⁸¹ Above all, for our purposes, it was the contribution of conventiclers to the revival of religious banding that is noteworthy. The reformed belief in the covenant as a mark of true faith found expression among conventiclers who actively indulged in and promoted "communal banding in covenants as the alternative religious standard to liturgical innovations".⁸² The traditional practise of religious banding was thus kept alive by the conventicling movement, making it current in the 1630s. Therefore, the band for mutual defence and assistance in the National Covenant reflected this changing but never wholly abandoned legacy.

Even though the general band contained in the National Covenant shares some important traits with these earlier religious and political bonds, most notably the commitment to the reformed religion and a sense of political obligation in the face of a threat to the *status quo* respectively, nonetheless, it

⁷⁹. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', 241.

⁸⁰. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 157.

⁸¹. A survey of seventeenth century Scottish Calvinism and pastoral theology is provided by G. Marshall, Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the development of capitalism, 1560-1707 (Oxford, 1980), 65-109. Detailed analysis of puritan thought is provided by P. Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century, (Boston, 1963); M. Waltzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study of the Origins of Radical Politics (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) and D. Willen, "Communion of Saints": Spiritual Reciprocity and the Godly Community in Early Modern England' in Albion, 27, 1, (1995), 19-41.

⁸². Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 157. For a fuller discussion of the significance of the covenant see: Chapter VI: Evangelicalism and Federal Theology.

was markedly different. Apart from content and format which were much more substantial, the crucial differences between the National Covenant and its antecedents lay in the more ambitious scope of its intentions; the unprecedented numbers of its subscribers; and, the broader, social base of its subscriptions. Whereas most earlier manifestations of banding tended to be produced to call attention to a political incident in an effort to provide short-term relief, the National Covenant constituted an indictment of the political system brought on by Charles's management of Scottish affairs. Moreover, the precursors of the National Covenant, with the exception of the "new Covenant" of 1596, solicited endorsement from a limited number of men of influence ranging from a handful to a few dozen to several hundred. By contrast, the National Covenant commanded national support with "in all probability hundreds of copies" being drafted for circulation even in the few weeks after its inception in February of 1638.⁸³ That its subscription was a major undertaking encompassing a significant proportion of Scots drawn from all regions of the country is hinted at in the surviving copies. David Stevenson has found seventy-six extant copies of the National Covenant which were produced in a variety of formats; that is, on both parchment and paper; in handwritten and printed versions for signing; and, in the form of tracts for reading. Any estimation of the actual numbers willing to affix their signatures to the petition is problematic because the majority of copies have disappeared: lost or destroyed by the natural processes of time and human neglect and, most importantly, by human calculation when possession of it after the Restoration became a treasonable offence. However, the scale of the exercise can, at least, be glimpsed at by the number of names attached to the extant copies, running to at least sixteen and a half thousand individuals.⁸⁴ When this rough estimation is added to the, potentially, thousands more who signed copies that have subsequently disappeared concomitant with the many thousands of all ages who swore to uphold it by a show of hands when it was read out at worship services by ministers, periodically, for many years thereafter, the scale of active participation in taking the National Covenant belies a remarkable feat of national organisation.

⁸³. Stevenson, 'The National Covenant: a list of known copies', 259.

⁸⁴. *Ibid.*, 264-99. Stevenson's provision of the number of signatures on each of the extant copies when known along with his estimates of total numbers of names provide the raw material for this figure. It also takes into account the duplication of signatures by leading dissidents who affixed their names to multiple copies for distribution throughout the country *pour encourager les autres*.

Furthermore, except for the "new Covenant" of 1596, earlier bands whether religious or political were issued by the socio-political élite to signal their own political actions; to justify them; and, to act personally on these intentions accordingly. By contrast, the National Covenant, was formulated by disaffected members of the socio-political élite as a means of signalling and justifying their own radicalism but also as a propaganda weapon to generate mass civil disobedience. Taken together, these are critical distinctions, making the National Covenant not a personal but rather an emphatically public alliance forged in the name of the common good. Therefore, while it is true to say that its underlying dynamic was shaped by the traditions of political and religious banding, the National Covenant was politically precocious in going well beyond the standard convention. When allied to the sense of mission underlying the oaths in the general band and the recurring linkage between religious freedom and "civill liberties" throughout the National Covenant, the general band can be said, therefore, to have all of the ingredients of a dangerous recipe for rebellion.

In summation, the National Covenant was a manifesto of *realpolitik*. It was the culmination of seven months of intense political lobbying by a disaffected element of the socio-political élite whose formal protest campaign against Caroline ecclesiastical policy and its means of implementation was buoyed by popular discontent at the changes in the church. In this sense, then, the National Covenant was quintessentially the product of a power struggle between the petitioners and the Caroline administration focussing on the satisfactory redress of grievances. With the issuance of the three national petitions of 1637 along with the National Covenant, the petitioners demanded alterations in the direction of Charles's church policy concomitant with modifications in his style of kingship which the king and his government refused to countenance. Ideological considerations had, of course, fuelled this confrontation and they had been used to justify opposition but it was the political impasse in attempts to reach a settlement of the protest that actually necessitated the National Covenant. That it was the child fathered by a particular, political crisis was evident in its formulation under the auspices of the executive of a provisional government, the fifth Table; in its rhetoric and tone as a document of political expediency; and, in its content as an abridgement of the ongoing protest. Granted, allusions to, what was regarded as, the arbitrary nature of Caroline rule since 1625 and to

the problems of absentee kingship since 1603 featured in the National Covenant, but their inclusion was predicated largely on the need to lend credence and substance to the dissidents' dissatisfaction with how their grievances and demands were handled by the administration during the petitioning campaign. Thus, even though it is commonly assessed as a manifesto for the revolution to come, this teleological approach to the National Covenant has obscured its real significance as a declaration summarising, documenting and justifying much of what had already occurred.

IV.

Apart from its immediate significance in the context of the petitioning campaign, however, the National Covenant had profound ramifications for it acted as a catalyst for dissent and gave rise to a mass protest movement whose sustaining presence impinged heavily on seventeenth-century Scottish politics, religion and the state. Over the course of the next fifty years, adherence to the National Covenant sparked a revolutionary impulse that ignited periodic waves of political, ecclesiastical and constitutional disorder. Between 1638 and 1689, Scotland was convulsed by a revolution in church and state; four outbreaks of internecine warfare; two major wars with England; two populist rebellions; and, almost three decades of mass civil disobedience. In many ways, then, the covenanting movement was a central and enduring force which defined and gave shape to this seminal period of early-modern Scottish history. Its endurance was remarkable, in that, as a coalition of dissidents drawn, at times, from all social ranks, it adapted and, subsequently, was altered by the political exigencies of each subsequent era. The movement's evolution through four major phases resulted in its transformation from a pressure group in the petitioning campaign of 1637-38 into a provisional government - effectively seizing the reins of power from 1638 and maintaining that position until 1651 but at the cost of the movement's unity - into fragmented and, largely, disaffected factions under the Cromwellian régime of 1651 to 1659 and, then, into an underground protest movement composed of rival wings after the Restoration until the Revolution of 1688-89. Thus, over almost three

generations, the covenanting movement took on different rôles as a dissident political group; however, it showed remarkable resilience as a dynamic, radical force.

Its longevity as a force in Scottish politics was attributable, in no small measure, to the unflagging efforts of its staunchest polemicists, the core of whom were radical presbyterian ministers, who managed to keep the cause of the covenant alive through the vicissitudes of seventeenth-century, political culture. Although the movement's authority and ability to galvanise dissent rose and fell in accordance with the changed political circumstances, its propaganda remained as a constant touchstone for its supporters. Propaganda, both written and oral, functioned at different times as an essential instrument of dissent in attempts to mobilise public opinion; gain adherents; strengthen the resolve of supporters; discredit opponents; and, influence government policy. Above all, however, through the dissemination of information and the communication of ideas, the propagandists sought to justify political actions which, often, were subversive and in counterpoint to traditional beliefs and the established order. Therefore, with the National Covenant as the culmination of the petitioning campaign, there was the genesis of a mass movement that only confirmed what would undoubtedly have been the worst nightmares of James VI in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries about the political militancy of radical presbyterianism and its implications for the established order in church and state. But, this begs the questions of how this was achieved under such widely variant political conditions and what mechanisms were relied on to propagate the covenanting movement's dissenting views?

Chapter III

The Function of Covenanting Propaganda

1.

Social scientists interested in analysing mass propaganda commonly define it as an attempt by an élite to manufacture consent at the popular level in order to justify its own activities and to discredit those of its opponents.¹ This standard definition of propaganda was first articulated by Walter Lippmann in a seminal work on the interplay of public policy and mass debate.² Although with respect to terminology, Lippmann ascribes the impetus for propaganda to a "decision-making élite",³ it is generally recognised that the concept of 'élite' as defined here can be taken to refer to any group of like-minded individuals who, as spokesmen for a cause or a partisan viewpoint, actively attempt to exert influence on a broad-scale in order to persuade others of the validity of their stance. Such activity may involve the use of one, some or all of the four main forms of propaganda; that is, aural, literary, visual or symbol propaganda. Thus, depending on the historical problem under study, an 'élite' may denote an institutional élite; an ideological élite; a political élite; a cultural élite; or, a socio-economic élite. This approach finds one of its fullest expressions in a contemporary critique of American foreign policy by the eminent American social scientists and intellectuals, Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, in which political and cultural élites are shown through an identity of interests to work towards common objectives in shaping and supporting American activities abroad in the late twentieth century by influencing public opinion.⁴ But, the derivation of the word, 'propaganda', itself is actually the source for this view of propaganda as an élite mechanism to affect mass debate. It originated with the catholic church committee set up in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV - the *Sacra*

1. J. Elul, Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes, trans. K. Kellen and J. Lerner (New York, 1973); H. Lasswell, 'Propaganda' in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York, 1933); E. Bernays, Propaganda (New York, 1928); T.H. Qualter, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare (Toronto, 1962); G.N. Gordon et al, The Idea Invaders (New York, 1963).

2. W. Lippmann, Public Opinion (London, 1921).

3. Ibid., 31.

4. E.S. Herman and N. Chomsky, Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (New York, 1988).

Congregatio Christiano Nomini Propaganda, or, as it was alternatively known, the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* – as a regulatory agency to monitor and co-ordinate the pastoral work and liturgical writings of catholic priests as part of the church's offensive against protestantism. While it was not the first, institutional body to engage in propaganda activities, nonetheless, it was the first to bear the appellation as such.⁵ As an integral part of the Counter-Reformation, the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* had a wide brief with responsibility for promoting the faith in the new world and for reviving it in Europe at the popular level through proselytising and pamphleteering. Thus, the institutional élite of the catholic church hierarchy from the pope to the cardinals to the bishops to the parish priest to members of certain church orders – particularly the Jesuits – were given the evangelising mission to cultivate and strengthen lay support on a broad scale with the two-fold objective of, internally, attempting to protect the church and, externally, trying to destroy the reformed religion.

The development of mass propaganda with its cultivation of public opinion and its stimulation of mass debate by elements of an élite – more specifically, in this case, a combination of institutional, ideological, political and cultural élites – anxious to establish their polemical vision formed an integral part of the rivalry between the traditional and the reformed religions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, the relationship between mass propaganda and the Reformation was a symbiotic one given that the competing evangelisms of catholic and protestant gave rise to the production of mass propaganda on an unprecedented scale. Whereas from the Classical period to the Renaissance, printed works had been designed for polemical purposes including Herodotus' *Persian Wars*; Plato's *Republic*; Cicero's *Oratories*; Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Thomas More's *The History of Richard III*, they were targeted for a more exclusive audience with the primary intention of influencing élite thinking and activities.⁶ But, the political exigencies of the Reformation concomitant with the evolution of major cultural and intellectual sea-changes including the spread of humanism; increased interest in education among the gentry; the printing revolution; and, the gradual rise in

⁵. Qualter, *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare*, 3.

⁶. Gordon, *The Idea Invaders*, 17-9.

general levels of literacy helped to give stimulus to the development of mass propaganda throughout Europe during the sixteenth century. From the 1520s, literary propaganda in the form of tracts, pamphlets, broadsheets and books was produced by leading protestants who were in the vanguard of the reformed movement to reach a wider spectrum of European society ranging from the nobility to the gentry to merchants, artisans and craftsmen to small landholders, tenant farmers and the peasantry when elements of the established élites in both church and state proved intractable to their programme of ecclesiastical reform. Among the most successful polemicists in this regard was John Foxe in England whose work, *Acts and Monuments*, – or, the *Book of Martyrs*, as it was more commonly known – appeared in English in 1563 and thereafter exerted an enduring influence as an accessible history of protestant martyrology that was valued by the protestant establishment for its propaganda potential. With its interpretation of the Reformation as an apocalyptic struggle; its narrative accounts of the Marian martyrs; and, its linking of nationalism with religion, the work struck a responsive chord in the popular imagination: an appeal which was immeasurably enhanced by its inclusion, in the 1570 edition, of 1500 woodcuts depicting these themes. Its popularity as a gloss on the protestant version of history, however, was equally attributable to its wide-spread dissemination and availability; for, the English, protestant establishment's calculated promotion of the *Book of Martyrs* as propaganda resulted in its purchase by all cathedrals and most parish churches in England where it was often placed on prominent display alongside the Bible in churches.⁷

It was in response to this type of success by the protestant reformers in their efforts to inculcate the people with reformed thinking that the catholic church made the decision in 1622 to cultivate popular support by utilising largely aural and literary propaganda in a more systematic manner. The establishment of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, then, marked a departure for the catholic church as an institution, in that, previous efforts to maintain the support of layfolk had been only piecemeal and haphazard; dependent, as they were, on individual initiatives. Although prior to 1622, priests throughout Europe had warned their parishioners against the heretical beliefs of the protestant reformers, their attempts to undermine the reformed faith lacked direction and co-

⁷. R. O' Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (London, 1988), 16-30.

ordination from the Vatican. Moreover, while there were scattered and isolated incidents of mobilising public opinion in some regions through the distribution of books, tracts and hand-bills considered "good and Catholic",⁸ the use of literary propaganda was generally the preserve of protestants in the mass debate on the Reformation up until the creation of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.⁹ As such, the concept of mass propaganda on a large-scale was itself a product of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation struggle for control of the souls and minds of the general populace.

The view of propaganda as an élite mechanism for influencing public opinion underlies the recent work of a number of historians specialising in the analysis of propaganda and its impact on early-modern politics, religion and culture.¹⁰ To a considerable extent, such a methodology is a natural outcome of the material surveyed. Since any sustained, large-scale propaganda campaign launched at this time was a consequence of momentous change – whether real, perceived or projected – often involving a challenge to the fundamental, societal institutions of church or state, a large proportion of the propaganda studies to date tend to cluster around major historical water-sheds and events involving revolutionary upheaval or the potential for political and civil disorder. In general, too, the political exigencies of high politics concomitant with a clash between competing factions, most typically of an institutional or ideological élite for power and influence, acted as precipitants for orchestrated propaganda campaigns whose main objective was to cultivate public opinion and harness it to the cause which they espoused. This impingement of the concerns of high politics on the public consciousness through a war of words was but one, non-martial strategy employed by opposing elements of the élite to extend their projected vision of managing institutional change and, ultimately, of winning control; of imposing ideologies; and, of preventing rivals from attaining dominance in

⁸ R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989), 188–9.

⁹ O' Day, *English Reformation*, 27.

¹⁰ T. Harris, *London Crowds in the reign of Charles II: Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis* (Cambridge, 1987); T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991); Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People*, esp. ch. 10 and 11; D. Hoerder, *Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1765–1780* (New York, 1977); J. Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976); J.A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge, 1979).

church or state. Controversies which, in the first instance, actively engaged only the institutional or ideological élite who constituted a small, minority of their respective societies thus became the concern of a more socially, geographically and culturally diverse segment of the general populace through a deliberate attempt to manipulate public opinion. Such efforts to bring about attitudinal changes involving the transmission of ideas from above to below and the creation of mass debate are therefore a crucial part of any understanding of how propaganda was formulated and how it was disseminated in the early-modern period.

Most recent, historiographical studies of propaganda are shaped, to a certain degree, not only by considerations of the propagandists or their objectives but also by the audience for whom the propaganda was intended. This approach marks a shift in the historiography of the subject. Whereas monographs centring on propaganda have been concerned, traditionally, with the propagandists' message by analysing the motivations of the writers along with the style and content of their polemical material,¹¹ this methodology has been increasingly supplemented by questions related to the reception of propaganda in major surveys. How the political, religious and cultural preoccupations and concerns of an élite were communicated to the public-at-large; the relationship between high and low culture; and, the replacement – or, indeed, the accommodation – of traditional beliefs and accepted values with less orthodox modes of thought are the central, historiographical problems which dominate these more recent works. Indeed, a broad spectrum of analysis exists ranging from monographs which focus on the production, dissemination and impact of visual and aural propaganda aimed primarily at the popular level to those which attempt to examine more diverse types of polemical material including literary propaganda produced for both mass and élite consumption. One of the main criteria used in this differentiation is the question of literacy, although there are exceptions depending on the nature of propaganda material under review. For those monographs which focus exclusively on

¹¹ See, for instance: J. Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV* (Princeton, 1976); O.W. Furlley, 'The Whig Exclusionists: Pamphlet Literature in the Exclusion Campaign' in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 13 (1957), 19–36; M. Steele, 'Anti-Jacobite Propaganda, 1701–1715' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, LX, (1981), 140–55; H. Erskine Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: Was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism' in *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689–1759*, ed. E. Cruikshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), 49–69.

symbol and visual propaganda, for example, such a distinction is of little relevance.¹² However, a number of studies concentrating on mass propaganda in pre-literate, oral cultures tend to rely on visual propaganda such as prints, woodcuts and caricatures; and, aural propaganda including plays, rituals and sermons to determine how attitudes, beliefs and values were transmitted from above to below. These "mediate influences", as Robert Whiting has termed them, offer a means of assessing the nature, extent and influence of propagandists' efforts "in the battle for men's minds".¹³ Whiting's work on the reception of the Reformation in Devon and Cornwall up to 1570 at the popular level deals, in part, with an examination of aural propaganda including plays, pageants and sermons and visual propaganda as expressed in religious art including wall-paintings, church carvings and glass. Although he concludes that "immediate Influences", that is, personal relationships, were of greater significance in accounting for the continuing strength of catholicism at the popular level in southwestern England, recognition is given to the important rôle played by propaganda in, on the one hand, inculcating traditionalist, catholic thinking in the populace and, on the other hand, in making the polemical work of the godly preachers in their promulgation of protestant thought more widely accepted over the long-term.¹⁴ Similarly, Robert Scribner's detailed examination of woodcuts and prints fashioned in Germany primarily during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries allows him to reconstruct the changing religious beliefs, values and attitudes of the German people in response to the Reformation.¹⁵

But, the criteria used by Whiting and Scribner in defining mass propaganda as essentially visual and aural, while adequate for their particular frames of reference, is less appropriate for other historiographical problems related to early-modern propaganda produced after 1550. This is, largely, because the movement from a culture of orality to a culture of print in much of western

12. See, for instance: R. Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry (London, 1977); M.D. George, English Political Caricature to 1792: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda (Oxford, 1959); H.M. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A study of the Ideological Representation of Politics (Oxford, 1974); M. Wynn-Jones, A Cartoon History of the Monarchy (London, 1978).

13. Whiting, Blind Devotion of the People, 188.

14. Ibid., esp. ch. 10 and 11.

15. R.W. Scribner, For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge, 1981).

Europe meant that there was a deeper penetration of print into popular culture.¹⁶ Tessa Watts' assessment of popular, religious belief relies on literary propaganda as expressed in cheap printed wares such as broadside ballads and chapbooks as well as visual propaganda as depicted in religious images found in domestic wall painting, painted cloths and woodcuts to examine the extent of the changes in popular culture brought about by the Reformation in England between 1550 and 1640.¹⁷

This methodological approach of utilising visual, aural and literary propaganda to determine how the concerns of high politics and culture impinge on popular attitudes and to what extent they modify public opinion is taken a step further by other early-modern scholars whose work concentrates on the importance of propaganda for activating popular, political involvement. Tim Harris's work, on the interplay between propaganda and politics during the Restoration in London to establish the political assumptions of the populace and how those were acted on, offers a fresh perspective on the dynamics of crowd politics and mass debate.¹⁸ Moreover, his more comprehensive analysis of the political propaganda produced by both Whigs and Tories during the Exclusion Crisis is a valuable supplement not only to existing scholarship on the same theme¹⁹ but to a broader understanding of how seventeenth-century political culture operated and the "extent to which the issues of 'high politics' were debated in the public arena, permeating all levels of London society". This leads him to conclude, rightly, that the inclusion of the masses as active participants in matters of state was much more common than is usually recognised.²⁰ Indeed, Harris's research breaks new ground in mapping out the importance of propaganda as an élite mechanism for the politicisation of the people.

16. P. Collinson, The birthpangs of Protestant England. Religious and Cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (London, 1988), 99; T. Harris, 'The problem of "popular political culture" in seventeenth-century London' in History of European Ideas, 10, (1989), 43-58; N. Zemon Davis, 'Printing and the People' in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford, 1975); W.J. Ong, Orality and Literacy: the technologising of the word (London, 1982); F.A. Yates, The Art of memory (London, 1966).

17. Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety.

18. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II.

19. See, for instance: Furley, 'The Whig Exclusionists: Pamphlet Literature in the Exclusion Campaign', 19-36 and J. Miller, Popery and Politics in England (Cambridge, 1973).

20. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II, 218.

Therefore, studies of propaganda constitute a hybrid field which has attracted the interest, among others, of social critics, political scientists, sociologists and historians. The cross-fertilisation of methodologies employed by the academic disciplines represented which are, in turn, incorporated into the historiography has resulted in a number of stimulating and thought-provoking studies. Of particular interest, is the approach utilised by historians to assess the nature of propaganda in the early-modern period and how it was relied on by elements of the *élite* to elicit mass support for major political and cultural developments. Inclusion of the general populace in matters of what is conventionally viewed as 'high politics' invariably occurred in periods of political uncertainty and instability when rival factions of the *élite* competed to make their particular, polemical vision paramount. Deliberate efforts to manipulate popular opinion were an integral part of an *élite's* campaign to reconstruct or, conversely, preserve institutions to reflect their political, religious and cultural concerns. Given these determinants, the study of propaganda has much to offer scholars interested in exploring how contemporaries reacted and coped with the cataclysmic changes which beset early-modern Europe. Propaganda can be relied on for the reconstruction of the early-modern beliefs and attitudes held by the general populace, for their own sake, to determine how traditional assumptions were modified to accommodate political, religious and social change which was initiated from above. It can also be used by historians to help determine the nature of popular politics and how propaganda was utilised by an *élite* to influence the thought and action of the general populace, resulting in the politicisation of the people. Critical assessments of propaganda, therefore, have proved invaluable for historians interested in early-modern political culture; the transmission of ideas from above to below; and, the relationship between contemporary political thought and political action.

II.

Much of the methodology employed by these scholars would prove fruitful for an investigation of the development, function and impact of covenanting propaganda. Yet, despite the wealth of material

available to analyse the historical problem, it has attracted only limited attention from early-modern, Scottish historians. Although major works on aspects of the covenanting movement are punctuated by occasional references to the most well-known examples of literary propaganda and recognition is given to the importance of controversial, paper disputes involving covenanting propagandists and their opponents which occurred between 1638 and 1689, such references are usually made in an effort to delineate the political narrative.²¹ As well, when the subject of propaganda itself is explored in any detail in political surveys, it tends to be examined in terms of its content and impact with little consideration given to its formulation and dissemination or, indeed, its reception by the Scottish people. Peter Donald's study of Charles I's administration and its handling of the "Scottish troubles" from 1637 to 1641 contains periodic discussion of the "battle by words"²² that was engaged in by the covenanters and the royalists. Thus, as a means of extending the narrative on high politics, Donald makes mention of some pamphlet literature produced on the eve of the first Bishops' War in 1639; as critiques of the "English prayer book and other church practices in which Scot and English could share"; in relation to the popish plot in 1639; on the question of the episcopacy; and, to discredit Archbishop Laud.²³ But, in keeping with the main themes of this book, emphasis is given almost exclusively to literary propaganda "for outside readership"; that is, polemical literature of particular relevance for Anglo-Scottish relations.²⁴ Of central importance, then, are questions about which royalist and covenanting tracts, papers and newsletters were directed to England; what Scottish papers Englishmen collected; how the English political nation reacted to covenanting propaganda; and, how that

21. See, for instance: D. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters (Newton Abbot, 1973); D. Stevenson, Revolution and Counter-revolution in Scotland 1644-1651 (London, 1977); A.I. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641 (Edinburgh, 1991); W.L. Mathieson, Politics and Religion, A Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1902); I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688 (London, 1976); E.J. Cowan, Montrose For Covenant and King (London, 1977); W. Makey, The Church of the Covenantants: Revolution and Social Change in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1979); J.K. Hewison, The Covenanters: A History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1908); J. Buckroyd, Church and State in Scotland 1660-1681 (Edinburgh, 1980).

22. P. Donald, An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish troubles, 1637-1641 (Cambridge, 1991), 131, 226.

23. Ibid., 130-3; 175; 187-8; 226; 280; 230.

24. Ibid., 186.

propaganda impinged on English policy.²⁵ Similarly, Caroline Hibbard's extensive survey of anticatholicism and court catholicism as major factors in the outbreak of the English Civil Wars examines important aspects of covenanting propaganda, particularly literature concerning the 'popish plot', insofar as it relates to high politics and the political climate in England primarily from 1637 to 1642.²⁶

In more specialist monographs dealing with the writings, sermons and speeches produced by the ideological élite of the covenanting movement, the approach and methodology employed allows for an analysis of the material not so much for its propaganda value but for the light it sheds on seventeenth-century political thought and theology. Studies concentrating on the political philosophy of the early covenanting movement tend to focus on the questions related to the origin and development of theories legitimising civil disobedience against absolutist régimes. In general, these works fall into two categories: those which stress religious motivation and those which give prominence to more secularised influences. On the one hand, a summary of the competing political theologies and doctrinal clashes between the 'Aberdeen Doctors' – the group composed of three academics and three ministers from Aberdeen who all held the degree of Doctor of Divinity – and the covenanters which were articulated in a series of published papers in 1638 is provided by David Stewart.²⁷ From a broader perspective, J.B. Torrance's work calls attention to the biblical and historical importance of the theological concept of a covenant for the evolution of the social contract theory of government as espoused by leading covenanting ideologues in justifying the right to resist Caroline rule.²⁸ This analysis owes much to earlier studies of the covenanting movement by G.D. Henderson and Sidney

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 176–7; 186–9; 223; 229–30; 287.

²⁶ C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983), esp. ch. 5–7.

²⁷ D. Stewart, 'The "Aberdeen Doctors" and the Covenanters' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, XXII-pt.i (1984), 35–44.

²⁸ J.B. Torrance, 'The Covenant Concept in Scottish Theology and Politics and its Legacy' in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, XXXIV (1981), 225–43; J.B. Torrance, 'Covenant or Contract? A Study of the Theological Background of Worship in Seventeenth Century Scotland' in *Scot.J.T.*, XXIII, i (1970), 51–76.

Burrell.²⁹ Of the two, Burrell offers a more thought-provoking and thorough treatment of the origins of the covenant concept to demonstrate, convincingly, its potential and later use by the covenanters for generating a revolutionary dynamic in seventeenth-century Scotland. Similarly, the significance of Federal Theology in providing a religio-political impetus for rebellion is delineated further with some useful discussion in David Stevenson's brief survey of the covenanting movement.³⁰ More extensive background for an appreciation of the development of Federal Theology itself, however, is provided by Gordon Marshall. His analyses of seventeenth-century, pastoral theology while primarily designed to illustrate the applicability of Weber's thesis on the relationship between the protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism to early-modern Scotland, contains a lucid discussion of neo-Calvinist teaching and the doctrine of the covenants as expressed in the work of Robert Rollock, William Cowper, David Dickson, John Abernathy, William Struther and James Durham.³¹ In a more recent study, the origins of Federal Theology; its acceptance and advocacy by Scottish intellectuals; and, its significance in providing the political morality articulated by covenanting propagandists to justify civil disobedience is analysed in some depth.³²

On the other hand, Ted Cowan's discussion of the intellectual and political influences which marked early covenanting political thought on popular sovereignty lays greater stress on more secular influences; in particular, the importance of the early seventeenth-century, polemical work of Johann Althaus which was inspired by the Dutch Revolt. It is his contention that Althaus's *Politica Methodice Digesta* not only provided the ideological basis for justifying resistance to absolutist monarchy, but also the rhetorical methodology for covenanting literature since it was "employed in pamphlet after

29. G.D. Henderson, 'The Idea of the Covenant in Scotland' in The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History, ed. G.D. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1957) and 'The Covenanters' in Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland (Cambridge, 1937); S.A. Burrell, 'The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol in Scotland, 1596-1637' in Church History, XXVII (1958), 342-4 and 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early covenanters' in SHR, XLIII (1964), 1-24.

30. D. Stevenson, The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland (Edinburgh, 1988), 30-44.

31. G. Marshall, Presbyteries and Profits, Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707 (Oxford, 1980), 65-112.

32. M. Steele, 'The "Politick Christian": The Theological Background to the National Covenant' in The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, ed. J. Morrill (Edinburgh, 1990).

covenanting pamphlet".³³ Like the Dutch Revolt, the French religious wars of the sixteenth century has been pinpointed as an event which generated treatises by political thinkers, especially the 'monomachs', that were, in turn, relied on by covenanting polemicists as important sources for the development of political theories for resistance. David Stevenson's article on the 'Letter on Sovereign Power' - which he ascribes here to Lord Napier - while largely concerned with royalist concepts of sovereignty and political obligation, makes mention of the use of Jean Bodin's work, *The six bookes of the commonweale*, by covenanting theorists, most notably, Archibald Johnston of Wariston and Samuel Rutherford, in their advocacy of popular sovereignty.³⁴ As Stevenson points out, Bodin's ideas on sovereignty as expressed in the *Six bookes* were the model for subsequent early-modern political theorists including ideological opponents like Althaus, Wariston and Rutherford since they were refashioned to argue the case for the right to resist a civil power.³⁵ Two, short studies by both I.M. Smart and Hector Macpherson also explore the political ideology espoused by prominent covenanters.³⁶ Thus, the writings of covenanting polemicists have been relied on by early-modern historians to explore, primarily, seventeenth-century theology and political theory.

Covenanting literary and aural propaganda, also, has proved fruitful for those historians interested in questions related to the development of national identity and political consciousness. Arthur Williamson, whose work concentrates largely on the development in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century of Scottish, intellectual concepts of nationhood as a response to increasing anglicisation, argues that the contemporary perception of the Scots as the new Israelites, the chosen people in covenant with God, as articulated by the ideological élite of the covenanters in their letters, tracts and sermons, constituted a major intellectual departure from earlier thinking and was merely derivative of English expressions of national identity. Indeed, he reaches the conclusion that the

³³ E.J. Cowan, 'The Making of the National Covenant' in Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 78.

³⁴ D. Stevenson, 'The "Letter on sovereign power" and the influence of Jean Bodin on Political Thought in Scotland' in SHR, LXI, (1982), 25-43.

³⁵ Ibid., 34-5.

³⁶ I.M. Smart, 'The political ideas of the Scottish Covenanters, 1638-88' in History of Political Thought, i (1980), 167-93 and H. Macpherson, 'The Political Ideals of the Covenanters, 1660-88' in RSCHS, I, iv (1962), 224-32.

absence of any notions of the centrality of the apocalypse in the formation of national identity in Marian and Jacobean Scotland meant that "an apoclayptic impulse could not form a central part of Scottish politics" in the seventeenth-century.³⁷ A critique of this view of the Scots as a covenanted nation and their belief in themselves as the successors to the legacy of the Biblical Israelites is provided by Williamson in a subsequent monograph to place it in its broader, historical context of the Judeo-Christian tradition.³⁸ While this aspect of Williamson's work focuses, primarily, on the ramifications of covenanting ideology for high political culture, a different approach is taken by Y. G. Kiernan to examine questions related to the impact of covenanting thought on popular, political culture. Citing the pamphlets produced by Alexander Shields and Sir James Stewart, Kiernan argues that there was a concerted attempt by the ideological élite of the covenanting movement after the Restoration to break down feudalistic notions of deference and obedience held by the peasantry and to instill a sense of class consciousness.³⁹ Thus, covenanting literature has served to elucidate historical problems of political culture from above and below.

Treatment of the polemical material generated by the covenanting movement from a bibliographical perspective has also been undertaken by scholars. James Ogilvie's provision of bibliographical lists of printed works produced by the Aberdeen Doctors in 1638 in opposition to the signing of the National Covenant; in response to the Glasgow Assembly of 1638; during the Westminster Assembly in 1641; and, those generated in the 1650s by the Resolutioner-Protestor debate are helpful guides for an examination of propaganda.⁴⁰ In addition, W. J. Couper's standard

37. A. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh, 1979), 143. See also: A.H. Williamson, 'Scotland, Anti-Christ and the Invention of Great Britain' in New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland, ed. J. Dwyer, R.A. Mason and A. Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1981).

38. A.H. Williamson, 'The Jewish Dimension of the Scottish Apocalypse: Climate, Covenant and World Renewal', in Menasseh Ben Israel and His World, ed. Y. Kaplan, H. Mechoulam and R.H. Popkin (New York, 1989), 7-30.

39. Y.G. Kiernan, 'The Covenanters: A Problem of Creed and Class' in History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé, ed. F. Krantz (Montreal, 1985).

40. J.D. Ogilvie, 'The Aberdeen Doctors and the National Covenant' in Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, XI (1919-20), 73-86; 'A Bibliography of the Glasgow Assembly, 1638' in Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society (1923), 1-12; 'Church and Union in 1641' in RSCHS, I, iii, 143-160; and, 'A Bibliography of the Resolutioner-Protestor Controversy, 1650-1659' in Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1926-1930 (1930), 57-86.

reference guide of bibliographical information on the periodical press⁴¹ has been amended and supplemented by contributions from David Stevenson and Julia Buckroyd on early Scottish newspapers. Stevenson identifies *Ane information of the publick Proceedings of the Kingdom of Scotland, and their Armies. In pursuance of this most necesar and pious Engadgement for Religion, King and Kingdome*, which was published in Edinburgh in 1648 by the covenanting régime, as the earliest, known example of a Scottish newspaper.⁴² As he points out, it was largely the product of the factionalism which had occurred in the ranks of the covenanting leadership over the issue of the Engagement which saw moderate covenanters and royalists close ranks through a formal agreement to seek an accommodation with Charles I and to provide the king with military aid against the English parliamentarians. While the Engagement won favour among the majority of the civil and lay covenanting leadership, it was largely rejected by the church establishment which was under the control of the more radical covenanters. The newspaper was, therefore, published by the Engagers in an effort to promote their political decision; to generate support for the civil administration and its army; and, to compensate for the loss of the pulpit as an instrument of propaganda.⁴³ Similarly, Julia Buckroyd's account of the pro-royalist, Restoration newspaper, *Mercurius Caledonius*, fills in some of the historical and bibliographical gaps left by Cowper.⁴⁴ Although only twelve issues of the paper were released between 31 December 1660 and 28 March 1661 before it was suppressed, nonetheless, Buckroyd's analysis of its nature and content, especially as anti-covenanting propaganda, and her discussion of Thomas Sydserf as the editor offers some valuable insights into the character of the Restoration régime.⁴⁵ In addition, useful bibliographical material and informed comment on the

41. W.J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press*, 2 vols. (Stirling, 1908).

42. Couper suggests that the first newspaper edited and published in Scotland by Scots was *Mercurius Caledonius*. *Ibid.*, I, 58-63, 178-83.

43. D. Stevenson, 'Scotland's First Newspaper, 1648' in *The Bibliothek*, 10 (1981).

44. Couper, *Edinburgh Periodical Press*, I, 178-83.

45. J.M. Buckroyd, 'Mercurius Caledonius and its immediate successors, 1661' in *SHR*, LIV (1975), 11-21.

seventeenth-century Scottish printing industry is provided in the works of R.H. Carnie and David Stevenson respectively.⁴⁶

Covenanting works have served, too, as a subject for literary criticism; however, more recent endeavours underline how much is left to be achieved in this field. Ronald Jack's assessment of the thematic changes in Sir William Mure's poetry as a reflection of his "ultra-Protestant position" and his covenanting sympathies gives some insight into the contemporary attitudes to the religio-political debate which occasioned the Scottish Revolution and the significance of religious enthusiasm as a major precipitant of civil disobedience; thus, it stands as a model of what might be attempted by other literary critics and, indeed, historians.⁴⁷ Certainly, Ted Cowan's survey of sixteenth and seventeenth-century ballads and folk tradition makes only passing reference to covenanting ballads as part of a "polemical tradition" and to Zachary Boyd, a prominent covenanting minister, as "one of Scotland's most prolific folk poets" but neither observation is pursued in any depth.⁴⁸ David Reid's article on seventeenth-century Scottish literature is even more dismissive of the voluminous writing generated by the covenanting cause, in that, he barely acknowledges its existence.⁴⁹ Elsewhere, in a collection of extracts of seventeenth-century prose which were chosen mainly for their literary value and style to illustrate the "development of urbane and reasoned discourse",⁵⁰ covenanting ideologues including Archibald Johnston of Wariston, Samuel Rutherford and Alexander Peden are represented by extracts from their diary, letters and sermons respectively; however, covenanting pamphlet literature gets short-shrift by Reid. Although, according to its sub-title, the book ostensibly relates to tensions between church and state in the seventeenth century, no examples of covenanting tracts are found in this volume. Having dismissed the printed papers in his introduction as "utilitarian",

46. R.H. Carnie, 'Scottish printers and booksellers, 1668-1775: a study of source material' in *Bibliothèque*, IV (1966), 213-27 and D. Stevenson, 'A revolutionary regime and the Press: the Scottish Covenanters and their printers, 1638-51' in *The Library*, 6th ser. VII, No. 4 (1985), 315-37.

47. R.D.S. Jack, 'Sir William Mure and the Covenant' in *RSCHS*, XVII, i (1969), 1.

48. E.J. Cowan, 'Calvinism and the Survival of Folk' in *The People's Past*, ed. E.J. Cowan (Edinburgh, 1980), 52, 53.

49. D. Reid, 'Prose after Knox' in *The History of Scottish Literature, Vol. I. Origins to 1660*, ed. R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen, 1988), 183-97.

50. D. Reid ed., *The Party Coloured Mind: Selected Prose relating to the conflict between Church and State in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), 7.

"dreary" and "intellectually impotent", Reid then makes the editorial decision to utilise a portion of Gilbert Burnet's *Memoirs* to summarise the "high Presbyterian line on sovereignty and the right of insurrection".⁵¹

While covenanting writing as literature has not been particularly well-served by scholars to date, royalist and anti-covenanting prose, poetry and ballads have undergone more rigorous analyses for their literary and historical significance. Royalist theories of monarchy and sovereignty have been explored in some detail through examinations of the work of the seventeenth-century Scottish poet and man of letters, William Drummond of Hawthornden.⁵² Ian Rae's contribution on this subject is especially noteworthy. His study of Drummond's political pamphlets, which were addressed to Charles I, fully delineates the contemporary belief in a cosmology of an ordered and hierarchical universe which dictated that sovereign power and obedience to monarchs rested as much on moral obligations as it did on divine right.⁵³ Moreover, his subsequent monograph on Drummond's historical writing - especially his meticulously researched analysis of *The History of the Five James* which he terms "pro-monarchic propaganda" - contains insightful commentary not only on Drummond's approach, influences and methodology as a political historian but on Drummond's view of the established order and good kingship.⁵⁴ Anti-covenanting sentiment as expressed in the folk tradition is a subject which has also attracted the attention of scholars. In a survey of Scottish Gaelic vernacular poetry and folksongs, Allan MacInnes argues that the covenanting revolution in church and state of the 1640s had a significant impact on the traditional form, purpose and thematic concerns of the genres, with "political propaganda and social comment" supplanting "artistic standards" so that "their function was to disseminate topical information and to formulate public opinion rather than to

⁵¹. *Ibid.*, 8, 13.

⁵². T.I. Rae, 'The political attitudes of William Drummond of Hawthornden' in *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honour of Ronald Gordon Cant*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1974); T.I. Rae, 'The historical writing of Drummond of Hawthornden' in *SHR*, LIV (1975), 22-62; I.M. Smart, 'Monarchy and Toleration in Drummond of Hawthornden' in *Scotia*, IV, (1980), 44-50. Aspects of Drummond's political attitudes are mentioned by R. Mason, 'The Aristocracy, Episcopacy, and the Revolution of 1639' in *Covenant, Charter and Party*, ed. T. Brotherstone (Aberdeen, 1989) and R.H. Macdonald, 'A disputed maxim of state in "Forth Feasting" (1619)' in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXXII, (1971), 295-8.

⁵³. *Ibid.*, 132-45.

⁵⁴. Rae, 'The historical writing of Drummond of Hawthornden', 54.

preserve classical metres".⁵⁵ Such studies help to elucidate the close relationship between early-modern politics and literature,⁵⁶ enhancing our comprehension of political culture in the seventeenth century.

What is clear, then, from this survey of more recent secondary literature, is that while aspects of covenanting political propaganda have received some attention from historians, no systematic analyses of the historical problem has been undertaken to date. The methodological approaches employed by a substantial number of early-modern, Scottish specialists to the large reservoir of research material produced by the covenanters has served to illuminate our understanding of high politics, political theory, theology and literature, but less light has been shed on it as propaganda; that is, as an élite mechanism for influencing mass debate. Nor, for that matter, has any broad survey been attempted of the propaganda of the covenanting movement in its entirety from 1638 to 1689. Rather, analyses have been confined to particular episodes and events: singular occurrences which offer only a snapshot look at the movement and its use of propaganda – with all of the limitations that this metaphor implies – with no sense of its evolutionary changes or continuity over the five decades of the political movement's existence. Moreover, little is known about the mechanics of the propaganda; that is, its function, formulation, transmission and dissemination. Questions related to why the ideological élite attempted to influence mass opinion and what function they believed their propaganda output served need to be addressed. With respect to literary propaganda, the nature and extent of the material; its formulation and production; and, its transmission and distribution are subjects which require further elucidation. Such considerations also must be viewed against a backdrop of the political successes and failures of the movement; the contrasting conditions which shaped its propaganda output according to its years in power as opposed to its years as a dissident voice in the political wilderness. Perhaps, most critically, the fundamental issue of reception must be undertaken to determine what audience the propaganda – whether literary,

⁵⁵ A.I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaelic, 1638-1651: The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic' in *New Perspectives*, 76.

⁵⁶ A thought-provoking and rigorous discussion of the relationship between politics and culture in England is provided by K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The politics of literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1990).

aural or visual – was actually aimed at and to what extent propagandists were successful in the dissemination of their ideas. Therefore, a systematic analysis of the function of covenanting political propaganda followed by, in subsequent chapters, an examination of its formulation, transmission and reception, offers a fresh perspective on how the covenanting movement managed to maintain a political presence, impinging on Scottish political culture for over fifty years.

III.

Between 1638 and 1689, the ideological élite of the covenanting movement produced a substantial body of polemical material in a variety of formats with the ultimate aim of influencing Scottish politics through the cultivation of public opinion and the stimulation of mass debate. The literary propaganda that the covenanters created for mass, domestic consumption, which is still extant, amounts to thousands of written papers in the form of pamphlets, declarations, position papers, broadsheets, circulating letters, newssheets, advertisements, newsletters and poems. Part of this literature is comprised of printed works while part of it exists as handwritten copies of covenanting polemical material. This *corpus* of literary propaganda was matched by an outpouring of aural propaganda which was presented to contemporaries in speeches and sermons delivered at a diverse number of public gatherings; most commonly, at worship services, market crosses, the sites of executions, churchyards, funerals, inns, taverns and, as well, during the Restoration period, at coffeehouses. Moreover, the ideas, beliefs and attitudes expressed in both the literary and aural propaganda were further reinforced through the covenanting polemicists' use of visual propaganda which encapsulated in ritual some of the underlying concepts to be propagated on a mass scale. Reliance on public oaths with their ritualistic ceremonies for cultivating popular support and expressing both individual and communal, political commitment – as occurred, for instance, with the National Covenant of 1638, the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, the Hamilton Declaration of 1679, the Rutherglen Declaration of 1679, the Sanquhar Declaration of 1680, the Lanark Declaration of 1682, the Apologetical Declaration of 1684 and the Sanquhar Declaration of 1685 – served as

important instruments of propaganda. Indeed, these oaths along with the use of public fast days called in support of the cause constituted the principal types of visual propaganda used by the movement. Through an assiduous application of these three, principal modes of propaganda, a concerted attempt was made by the ideological élite to inculcate a wide spectrum of Scottish society in the political beliefs and values of the covenanting cause.

The concept of mass propaganda as an instrument for cultivating public opinion was viewed with a certain degree of ambivalence and distaste, especially by the socio-political élite, largely because it was antithetical to the feudalistic nature of early-modern Scotland. In a highly stratified, hierarchical society in which obedience and deference to rank was deeply ingrained and the duties of ruler and ruled were, theoretically, immutable and divinely fixed, the notion of the inclusion of the masses in 'high politics' even in a peripheral manner ran contrary to the natural order. Political rhetoric aimed at cultivating mass opinion was regarded, too, as reprehensible because of the common assumption that it might incite social and political disorder. Moreover, given the early-modern belief that any manifestations of political dissent contained the seeds of subversion, propaganda informed by contemporary, political commentary was judged unacceptable for its implicit criticism of the *status quo*. Yet, regardless of its negative connotations, mass propaganda was utilised, widely, by both covenanters and anticovenanters throughout the life of the movement because it was deemed politically expedient, serving the primary function of maximizing support among the people and marginalizing that of the ideological opposition. Covenanting propaganda aimed at portraying Charles I as a catholic sympathiser, for instance, was denounced by the king himself in 1642 as an attempt to "infuse an apprehension in the breasts of our Scottish subjects of a danger can be no otherwise expressed than under such a generall notion able reallie to make it appeare other in intention or fact". It was due to its potency in this regard that Charles, on this occasion, demanded that the provisional government publish his latest declaration along with "our letters to you in answer therof" to help redress the balance. In addition, he believed that the wide dissemination of this royalist, propaganda would ultimately, dilute the impact of the original, covenanting propaganda effort against him. If the literature was sent "through all the severall parishes of our kingdom of Scotland", it was his view that

"our subjects there will perceave the subtle wayes which is used to corrupt their fidelities and alledgeances, which otherwayes being at so great a distance they cannot possiblie be informed of".⁵⁷ Similarly, when the king defended his government's pre-revolution policies by giving repeated assurances that there had been no intention of altering anything established in church and state, he made the point of remarking that such statements were necessary to counter covenanting propaganda to the contrary. As he declared in letters to the town councils of Edinburgh and Aberdeen in 1643, he felt obliged to write to them "knowing what industrie is used (by scattering seditious pamphlets and employing privat agents and instruments to give bad impressions of ws and our proceidings, and under pretence of a danger to religion and government) to corrupt their [the people's] fidelitie and affection, and to ingadge them in ane unjust quarrell against ws their King".⁵⁸

Contemporary ambivalence towards the use of populist appeals meant that the work of propagandists tended to be portrayed as either honourable or scurrilous depending on the political affiliation of the observer. As we shall see, propaganda was touted as an important didactic tool which justified political action and informed the people as a counterweight to 'false newes' by the like-minded while that produced by opponents was invariably dismissed as incendiary and irresponsible rhetoric meant only to mislead and 'stir up the people' thereby disrupting the established order. What is observable, as well, is that both covenanters and anticovenanters were all too eager to denounce their opponents' reliance on propaganda as a means of discrediting them. A pamphlet distributed by the English administration in 1650 to coincide with the arrival of the invasionary forces under Oliver Cromwell was condemned by the committee of estates as a blatant attempt "to steal away the hearts of the People from their necessary duties" and to "delude" them.⁵⁹ In the same vein, Andrew Cant, a prominent radical and covenanting minister, in a pamphlet entitled *A Letter from the Protestors, with an Answer Thereunto, from an Asserter of the Authority of the two late General Assemblies, at Dundee*

⁵⁷. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. P. Hume Brown, 2nd series (38 vols., 1905-33), VII, 372-3.

⁵⁸. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, ed. M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1931-67), Vol. 1642-55, 28-9; Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1625-1747, ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh, 1871-2), 7-8.

⁵⁹. An Answer from the Committee of Estates, To a Printed Paper directed to the people of Scotland, and signed in name of L.G. Cromwel, and his Officers (Edinburgh, 1650), 1-6.

and Edinburgh, which was issued in 1653 as part of the ongoing Protestor-Resolutioner controversy, accused the more moderate Resolutioners of launching a public defamation campaign against the Protestors. He claimed that the Resolutioners had read pronouncements against them from the pulpits; "spread Declarations at home"; and, sent "Printed Informations abroad into England" which, in turn, had the effect of "grievously traduceing your Brethren as Seperatists, as enemies to the work of Reformation, and promoters of their designes who invade this Land". He made the further accusation that the "Malignant Party attempted to stir up the people against them" through a co-ordinated campaign against the Protestors involving the use of the pulpits; the dissemination of letters to the presbyteries; and, the issuance of a printed letter "to Noblemen and Gentlemen".⁶⁰ Thus, for all of the socio-political implications of mass propaganda which made it objectionable, it functioned, nonetheless, as a necessary instrument of political discourse.

The exploitation of popular sentiment was a common feature of the propaganda generated by the covenanting movement and its detractors. As a propaganda device, it was often relied on to rally wide-spread support when the political stability of the country was under threat. In 1639, for instance, prior to the outbreak of the first Bishops' War, newssheets such as *A copie of an advertisement to a friend* appeared which urged the king and his supporters not to seek a military solution – a "violent cours" – to the ongoing political crisis by contending that "this countrie & people will defend to the uttermost" and invoking a warning against "Statesmen" who worked against the best interests of the people and tried to divide them through bribery.⁶¹ Broadsheets were dispatched to every parish with one calling for "all that loves the good of this cause" to attend the general musters in preparation for the war and declaring that "They that sall be found wanting now ar enemies to this cause and their countrey ... Bot let none stay at home when straingeurs are hyred for three shillinges a weik to make us all slaves They ar not worthie to be friemen that will stay at home & neglect ther countrey".⁶² Appeals to populism played their part, too, in cultivating a broad consensus for government policy

⁶⁰. A. Cant, *A Letter from the Protestors, with an Answer Thereunto, from an Asserter of the Authority of the two late General Assemblies, at Dundee and Edinburgh* ([Edinburgh], 1653), 7-8.

⁶¹. Scottish Record Office, Ms GD 45/1/61, Dalhousie Muniments, 'A copie of an advertisement to a friend' [1639].

⁶². S.R.O., Ms GD 124/10/376, Mar and Kellie Muniments.

during the years of covenanting rule. In 1643, for instance, when the régime entered in to a formal alliance, the Solemn League and Covenant, with the English parliamentarians against the king, declarations were issued in the form of tracts urging "true hearted Scottish men, and good Patriots" to support the pact and the Scottish military commitment which it endorsed.⁶³ The religious provisions of the Solemn League and Covenant calling for a presbyterian establishment were lauded by one prominent, covenanting propagandist as a means of attaining political stability through a populist consensus: "Nothing so powerfull to divide the hearts of people, as division in religion; nothing so strong to invite [sic] them as unity in Religion: and the greater zeale in different religions, the greater divisions, but the more zeal in one religion the more firme union".⁶⁴ The propagandists' manipulation of populist sentiment was especially pronounced, however, in the latter part of the century. After the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion in 1679, when a small but highly vocal faction of the covenanting movement, the Cameronians, declared open war against the state, propagandists frequently referred to the rights and duties of the people in order to justify active civil disobedience. A portioner, Alix Hume, who was sentenced to death for his participation in the Rebellion declared to those in attendance at his execution, "I wish the lord may help the king to do his duty to the people and the people to do their duty to the king".⁶⁵ Such rhetoric reflected that of the covenanting leadership. At the public unveiling of the Sanquhar Declaration at the market cross of Sanquhar in 1680 by which the king and his administration were disowned and war against the state was declared, Richard Cameron, a leading presbyterian radical, justified this militancy by maintaining that Charles II had broken the contract, the Covenant, with the people, adding "Honest Lex Rex pleads that the people are free, If the King break the Covenant betwixt him and them".⁶⁶ Invocations of populism commonly featured in the radical, covenanting manifestos of the early 1680s as the moral basis for rebellion.

⁶³. The Declaration of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland: Concerning The present expedition into England, according to the commision and order given from their meeting at Edinburgh August, 1643 (London, 1643), 13-4.

⁶⁴. A. Henderson, Arguments given in by the Commisioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty, perswading Conformity of Church government as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations ([n.p.], 1641), 2.

⁶⁵. University of Glasgow - Special Collections, MS GEN 1009/8, Covenanting MSS.

⁶⁶. National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MSS Oct. V, f. 356v.-7, Copies of miscellaneous letters, 1679-88.

Ane act and apologetick declaratio/ne of the trew presbyterians of the church of Scotland which was issued in December of 1681 was typical in its vigorous defence of the natural rights of the ruled to control the excesses of rulers: "Shall the end of govt be lost throw the weaknesse tyranny and wickednes of governours? and must the p[eo]ple be come objects of reproach to the present generations ... have they not in such an extremity, good ground to make use of the naturall and radicall power they have to shake off the yoake".⁶⁷

Systematic cultivation of public opinion to gain broad adherence to the cause was carried out by the covenanting ministry. From the inception of the movement in 1638, radical clergymen acted as an integral component of its ideological élite by taking full advantage of the unique public forum afforded by the pulpit to exhort their congregations to political action in the name of the covenant. Their capacity to influence others through their rhetoric was well appreciated. In the alledged, death-bed testament of Alexander Henderson which was published in 1648, it was declared that it had been printed "to the intent that all those (especially of the ministry) who have been deluded with me may, by God's grace, and my example, (though a weak and mean instrument), not only be undeceived themselves, but also stirred up to undeceive others with more alacrity and facility".⁶⁸ Anticovenanters were especially alarmed by the efficacy of evangelising as a propaganda device. In 1638, the earl of Traquair reported that in Edinburgh the "pulpits are dayly filled with thos ministers that ar laityly putt out of Ireland who ... preaches nothing but foolish and seditious doctrin".⁶⁹ Indeed, the efforts of propagandists, often, were singled out by those hostile to the covenanting cause as constituting one of the major obstacles they faced in obtaining any broad-based acceptance for their political objectives. An English newspaper of 1649, *The Moderate Intelligencer*, which carried an account of Charles I's trial, reported that in Edinburgh in reaction to this event, "The Ministers preached against the Army in England, the usuage of the king, and a toleration, and stir up

⁶⁷. S.R.O., Ms GD 34/759, Hay of Haystoun Papers. For a slightly different version of the same manifesto see: S.R.O., Ms GD 157/1861, Scott of Harden, Lord Polwarth.

⁶⁸. A. Henderson, *The Declaration of Mr Alexander Henderson, Principal Minister of the Word of God at Edinburgh, and Chief Commisioner from the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England, made upon his Death-bed* (n.p., 1648).

⁶⁹. Draft letter from the earl of Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton dated [17 May 1638] in *Historical Manuscript Commission, 9th Report Appendix* (1885), Pt. II, No. 275, 259.

the people to joyne as one".⁷⁰ Similarly, in a tract issued by Oliver Cromwell on 4 September 1650 – the day after his military success at Dunbar – the covenanting ministry as a group were identified as enemies of the English régime whose activities as polemicists contributed to the people's continuing resistance to the invasion of Scotland by the English military force.⁷¹

Official apprehensions about the covenanting ministry's ability to act as polemicists for the cause and to influence mass opinion ran high, particularly, during the Restoration period. In his well-known address to the presbytery of Edinburgh of August 1660 which was, in turn, "communicated to the rest the presbyteries of the kirk" in which he hinted that the presbyterian ascendancy in the church would be unaltered, Charles II ordered that "special notice [be taken] of all such who by preaching or private conventicles, or any other way, transgress the limits of ther calling by endeavours to corrupt the people, or sow seed of disaffection to us or our government". The king expressed his concern that ministers "keep within the Compass of their Stations, meddling only with matters Ecclesiasticall and promoting our Authority and Interest withall our Subjects against all oppressors".⁷² After the movement was outlawed in 1662, identifying and prosecuting "seditious preachers" for their "scandalous and treacherous preaching" and for the "seditious and factious doctrin and practises" which they engaged in through nonconformity and conventicling became a major preoccupation of the state up until the late 1680s.⁷³ Even as early as 1663, the refusal of large numbers of radical presbyterian ministers, estimated to represent almost a third of the ministry, to recognise and comply with the episcopal church settlement by obtaining episcopal confirmation to take

⁷⁰ The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially communicating Martiall Affairs to the Kingdom of England. From Thursday, January 25, to Thursday February 1. 1649 (London, 1649), 10.

⁷¹ A Letter from the Lord General Cromwel from Dunbar containing A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Parliament Army under his Command in Scotland; and the Success God was pleased to give them against the Scots Army, in a Battle at Dunbar the 3 of September, 1650. Together with a List of the Scottish Officers then taken (London, 1650), 3-16.

⁷² U.G.S.C., MS Murray 70, f. 5-8, '(Copy of) King Charles 2d Letter Directed to the Presbitery of Edinburgh. And by them to be communicated to the rest the presbyteries of the kirk. Received the 3d of September 1660'. For a slightly different version, see: 'Copy of Charles II's letter to presbytery of Edinburgh dated Whitehall 10 August 1660' in The Melvilles: Earls of Melville and Leslies Earl of Leven Vol. II - Correspondence, ed. W. Fraser (Edinburgh, 1890), 24-5.

⁷³ S.R.O., CH 2/722/7 f.106, Presbytery of Stirling 1662-1688; S.R.O., PA11/13 f. 4b, Register of the Committee of Estates 9 October 1660 - 8 December 1660; RPCS, IX, 587-8.

up their charges was of particular concern to the authorities. Although some retired from public life altogether, other nonconformist ministers continued to preach illegally at parish churches and conventicles. It was the government's view that these activities promoted disaffection amongst the people and encouraged them to defy the law through nonconformity as expressed in non-attendance at the parish churches and conventicling. Ministers were cited by the privy council for their contempt of the government's directive of December of 1662 ordering them to vacate the manse which they still occupied or face charges of being declared a rebel. Outed ministers in Galloway were cited in February of 1663 because they "persist in their wicked practises, still labouring to keip the hearts of the people from the present government of the church and state by their pernicious doctrin".⁷⁴ Conversely, orders were issued in 1667 by the government for the protection of the orthodox clergy, in the aftermath of the Pentland Rising of the previous year, in the hope of "reclaiming the people from those phanatick and treasonable principalls with which they have been poysoned by factious preachers".⁷⁵

Covenanting political activists who made seditious speeches in "tavernes and in other places and meittings" were denounced by the authorities for the influence they exerted on the general populace since, as Charles II put it, they "take upon them the boldness to utter and relate false newes and reportes, and to censure and misconstrue our proceedings of state, indeavouring therby to alienat the affections of our subjects and to pervert them from that duety and alledgeance they owe to us".⁷⁶ Persuading others to join the covenanting cause in defiance of the law became an integral part of the movement after adherence to the Covenant was made illegal in 1662. Some coventicling preachers stressed in their sermons that layfolk had an obligation to act as recruiters for the dissident movement. In 1677, William Gilkrist, an ousted minister, at a "publick ffast in the fields" presided over by a number of nonconformist clergymen, invoked a biblical precedent to urge the laity gathered to perform their duty as proseletisers. It was reported that he "did preface upon the fourtieth of Gen[esis] [verse 5] anent Joseph and his brethren, how his brothers wer pressing th[ei]r father

74. *RPCS*, IX, 328-9.

75. *Ibid.*, XI, 284.

76. *Ibid.*, XII, 539.

Jacob to send Benjamin the younger brother to Joseph, because he had s[ai]d you shall not see my face except you bring yor brother with you ... for the Lord was saying no less to us this day".⁷⁷ Moreover, lay covenanters involved in illegal conventicling at this time were regarded as political incendiaries by the administration not only because of their own participation in the outlawed prayer meetings, but because of their concerted attempts to convert others. An anonymous conventicler who had also been involved in the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion the previous year was reported to the earl of Linlithgow in 1680 for his seditious activities as "a violent promotter of that caus having indust a grait manie of his neighbours and comrads and does daylie foment and stir up poor ignorant people to follow his illegal courses this he does not onlie here att hom bot goes to all places about to meit with persons of his persuatione and givs advertisements for field meittings". These attempts to involve others in the region were viewed as particularly alarming because, the dissidents, "both by their own example and advyce so draw away their nighbors to those feild meittings who are the nursaries of Rebellion".⁷⁸

What these official apprehensions reflected most of all, then, was the contemporary recognition that propaganda had the potential to function as a powerful mechanism for influencing mass opinion. Both covenanters and anticovenanters were well aware of the advantages and disadvantages of 'stirring up the people'; yet, political expediency dictated that their rival visions for settling the problems of church and state throughout the middle years of the seventeenth century be understood by the general populace and, equally, that of their opponents' be politically discredited in the eyes of the people. Covenanting propaganda efforts which were directed towards engaging populist sympathies and arousing grass-roots support for the cause were viewed by their opponents as among the most disturbing and radical aspects of the movement because of fears about the repercussions they might have for the established order. But, they were either matched by similar campaigns launched by their opponents in the hopes of diffusing any escalation in popular backing for the covenanters or, after 1660, accompanied by a government crackdown on such dissident activities. While political authority

⁷⁷. Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo: written for his own satisfaction to keep in some Remembrance the Lord's Way Dealing and Kindness towards Him 1654 - 1709, ed. W.G. Scott-Moncrieff (Scottish History Society, 1889), 11.

⁷⁸. S.R.O., Ms RH 15/12/81, Livingston Papers, 'Letter from A. Hepburne to the earl of Linlithgow at Edinburgh dated Chrichtoun 22 of Apryll 1680'.

for the majority of covenanters and anticovenanters alike - with the clear exception of political militants such as the Cameronians - did not derive from populism, it nonetheless served as a useful device for reinforcing their competing claims for the right to refashion the institutions of church and state in accordance with their political principles and beliefs. Thus, the successful manipulation of public opinion through mass propaganda was regarded as a necessary part of seventeenth-century, Scottish political culture, in that, it provided one means for helping to convey and affirm a modicum of political legitimacy.

IV.

While the political propaganda generated by the movement between 1638 and 1689 had the primary function of inculcating a broad spectrum of Scottish society in covenanting beliefs, attitudes and values, its secondary functions tended to alter over the course of five decades to reflect the changing political circumstances of the day. During the years of covenanting rule from 1638 to 1651, control of the means of production for propaganda including the printing presses and the pulpit for the dissemination of literary, aural and visual propaganda enabled the movement to mobilise popular opinion in a systematic and effective manner. Much of the polemical material produced at this time was aimed at justifying government decisions; eliciting a broad consensus for the administration's policies; and, influencing political action in accordance with the political objectives of the régime. Occasionally, explicit acknowledgement was made by propagandists of their own function in this regard as was evident in a pamphlet based on a sermon given at the Glasgow General Assembly in 1638 by the moderator, Alexander Henderson, which contains an "Advertisement" offering a brief explanation of why it was published. After stating that this version of the sermon was culled from notes taken by someone present at the assembly and thus might, unintentionally, contain errors or omissions, nonetheless, "mank as such a fragment is", it was considered "worthy of being preserved" to justify the general assembly's rulings of abolishing the episcopacy;

excommunicating eight of the bishops; and, deposing the remaining six of them.⁷⁹ In the wake of political controversies which had the potential to threaten the stability of the régime or the unity of the movement, major propaganda campaigns were mounted in an effort to control the political outcome. One indication that propaganda was utilised by the covenanting ideological élite as a form of a crisis management is provided by the proliferation of literary propaganda and the clusters of tracts printed in reaction to major political developments such as the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, the Bishops' Wars, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Engagement and the Resolutioner-Protestor debate: each of which occasioned about one to two dozen pamphlets.⁸⁰

Management of the news to shape public opinion in accordance with the interests of the state became an integral part of the covenanting régime's style of governance. Newsletters, broadsheets and advertisements were regularly circulated which provided detailed information on matters of high politics including the progress of parliamentary business; changes in government policy; and, the inner workings of the committee of estates. However, these accounts were often biased in their depiction of the régime and its opponents. Typical was a newsletter that was printed in London and issued in September of 1641 in the form of a pamphlet which narrated the activities of parliament. While its account of the proceedings included factual reports that the earl of Morton and his son-in-law, the earl of Argyll, were in competition for the chancellorship and that acts had been passed against the possession of idolatrous pictures or images; prohibiting soldiers from serving abroad; and, requiring officers of state appointed by the king to resign their positions, it also made more dubious

⁷⁹ A. Henderson, The Bishop's Doom: A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly which sat at Glasgow anno 1638. On occasion of pronouncing the sentence of the greater excommunication against eight of the bishops and deposing or suspending the other six. By Mr Alexander Henderson, moderator of that and several subsequent assemblies. With a Postscript on the present decay of church discipline. (Edinburgh, n.d.).

⁸⁰ This estimate is in keeping with those of James Ogilvie in his bibliographical works on the Resolutioner-Protestor Debate of the 1650's, the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 and the controversy with the Aberdeen Doctors of 1638. See: Ogilvie, 'A Bibliography of the Resolutioner-Protestor Controversy', 57; 'A Bibliography of the Glasgow Assembly, 1638', 1-12; 'The Aberdeen Doctors and the National Covenant', 73-86.

claims about the king's visit and Charles's "delight in hearing Sermons there".⁸¹ Similarly, in the late 1640s, when the movement was factionalised by the Engagement, both moderate and radical covenanters produced literary propaganda to justify their rival positions. A newssheet, *Intelligence from Edinburgh as to Scottish Affairs*, which was published in Edinburgh on 13 June 1648 by the Engagers, offered a synopsis of the parliament which began on 1 June by reporting on the session's handling of the petitions and counter-petitions received in reaction to the prospect of war with England. Special mention was made here of the anti-Engagers' personal attack on the duke of Hamilton, a leading Engager, which was described in some length:

some of them did poynt blank fall upon Duke Hamilton and upon his family, ripping up whatsoever had been done or attempted by that family against religion at the first reformation or by his father in the parliament of 1621 whairin he was then the kings commissioner, or by himself in the tyme of his beeing Commissioner, butt more specially remembering how he did come downe commanding in cheef of a fleet to suppress religion, and to styfle the late reformation if he had prevailed.

This episode was then utilised by the anonymous writer to attribute the general fractiousness of the parliament to the "Commissioners of the Church" who, as anti-engagers, "were said to be the source and fountains of all disaffection and dissatisfaction to the resolutions and proceedings of Parliament".⁸² Such partisan versions of the news were matched by the competing faction of the anti-Engagers. One newssheet produced in Edinburgh which, ostensibly, narrated the latest developments in state affairs for the week of 22 February to 29 February of 1648 contained an item about a meeting of the committee of estates which was slanted to discredit the Engagers. Entitled, *A copy of a letter from Mr William Rosse, concerning the Affaires of Scotland*, it reported that "some of the saids Lords" denounced the activities of more moderate covenanters in seeking accomodation with the king through the Engagement and warned that it would precipitate a disastrous confrontation with the English

⁸¹. A Declaration of the Proceedings in the Parliament of Scotland Expressing 1.The Cause of their Delay 2. The Election of Officers of State 3. Their choyse of the Lord Chancellor deserted 4. and 5.Three Acts - 1 Concerning the Palatinate 2 Concerning Images 3 Concerning the resigning of old Officers of State - 6. The Reason of the probability of his Majesties long stay 7. His Majesties delight in hearing Sermons there. Whereunto are annexed certain other occurences about the Earle of Montrose, and other Delinquents, with other Parliamentary Affaires, September 30, 1641 (London, 1641). 1-6.

⁸². 'Intelligence from Edinburgh as to Scottish Affairs dated Edinburgh 13 June 1648 and signed AB [from MSS Proceedings of the Committee of Estates]' in Edinburgh Burgh Records, Vol. 1642-55, App.III (i), 401-3. See also: Ane Information of the publick Proceedings of the Kingdom of Scotland, and their Armies. In pursuance of this most necessar and pious Engadgement for Religion, King and Kingdoms Edinburgh, 1648.

parliamentarians that would be the "ruine of both"; a decline in the two nations' international reputation "if divisions should come to a nationall quarrell" making them the "scorene of Christendome"; and, an opportunity for the "Antichristian party to come in again, and Tyrannize over the Church and People".⁸³ Moreover, officially sponsored broadsheets and newssheets were distributed to justify the state's military activities and to fashion a consensus for their political objectives. Topical coverage of the Scottish army's invasion of England in 1644, for instance, as found in newssheets such as *A faithfull Relation of the Late Occurrences and Proceedings of the Scottish Army* described the attack on Newcastle in heroic terms and thus were designed both to engender national pride and cement the alliance with the English parliamentarians.⁸⁴ The propaganda value of publicising Scotland's martial prowess to strengthen and vindicate the alliance between the covenanters and the English parliamentarians found expression, too, in *An Exact Relation of the Last Newes from the Quarters, of His Excellency, The Lord Generall of the Scottish Army*. Here, an in-depth report of the army's activities in England for the fortnight of 27 February to 12 March 1644 was supplemented by an allegedly, eyewitness account appended to it for circulation which declared "we are Masters of a vast quantity of Coals belonging to this Port, most of it appertaining to Delinquents, which wilbe (I hope) a comfortable supply to London".⁸⁵

Fast days were held in support of the provisional government to publicise its policies; cultivate political commitment; and, identify opponents. When both the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 were initially adopted as ideological manifestos, they were accompanied by major publicity campaigns involving fast days. Religious services devoted to fasting and prayer were held throughout the country in which ministers read out these documents;

⁸³. 'A copy of a letter from Mr William Rosse, concerning the Affaires of Scotland: Dated at Edenburgh, Feb. 29 1648' in A Message from the Estates of Scotland to the English Commissioners at Edenburgh, By the Lord Lotherdale, the Lord Lanerick, Sir Charles Erskin, and Mr Kennedy. Also the Answer of the Earl of Nottingham and the rest of the English Commissioners, to these Propositions from the kingdom of Scotland. A Declaration by the Scotch Ministers against warre and raising of Forces. And a Proclamation from the Estates of Scotland, published at the Market Crosse in Edenburgh (London, 1648).

⁸⁴. A faithfull Relation of the Late Occurrences and Proceedings of the Scottish Army: Dated from His Excellencies the Lord Generall Lesley's Quarters before Newcastle 25 February 1644. Together with a List of Noblemen, Commanders and other Officers of the Army (London, 1644), 1-6.

⁸⁵. 'Letter by W.R. dated Sunderland 12 March 1643' in An Exact Relation of the Last Newes from the Quarters, of his Excellency, The Lord Generall of the Scottish Army (n.p., 1644), f. A2.

lectured on their purpose, content and import; and, urged those gathered to declare publicly their adherence either through subscription or a show of hands with severe penalties including excommunication imposed for recalcitrants.⁸⁶ Such ritualistic, public ceremonies aimed at promulgating official policy and influencing mass opinion were held, periodically, throughout the years of covenanting rule but they were especially prevalent during times of political crises. The Scottish people were expected, for example, to participate in fast days called in October of 1638 in preparation for the Glasgow General Assembly; in July of 1646, to pray for an end to the internal divisions "both in kirk and state", to preserve the "Kingdomes in Union" as specified by the Solemn League and Covenant, and to win divine favour to help reverse the defeats of the Scottish army in Ireland; in October of 1648, for renewing the Solemn League and Covenant in response to the Engagement; in June of 1650, "for victory" in anticipation of a war with England and "for the Commisioners negotiations with the king to be successful"; and, in August of 1650, for "cause and kingdom" in response to the English military invasion of the country.⁸⁷ Thus, a mixture of literary, aural and visual propaganda was one strategy employed by the covenanting ideological élite to help reinforce the political dominance of the covenanters between 1638 and 1651.

After 1651, when the covenanters fell from power and became a highly factionalised, dissident movement, the function of their mass, domestic propaganda underwent a marked change to reflect their reduced, political influence. Although a vacuum existed in the leadership of the movement, partly, because of the waning of aristocratic support after 1651 and, partly, due to the infighting between Resolutioners and Protestors which also drained the movement of its political vitality, it was filled, initially, by a minor element of radical, covenanting ministers whose dedication to the perpetuation of

86. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston 1632-1639, ed. G.M. Paul (Edinburgh, 1911), I, 319, 320-5, 327; R. Douglas, A Phenix or the Solemn League and Covenant, of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland England and Ireland: for Reformation and Defence of Religion. Sworn to in the Three Kingdoms. With Some Acts of the Church and State. Authorizing the Same ([n.p.], 1662), 3-4.

87. Ibid., 397; Causes of a solemne fast and humiliation, appointed by the Generall Assembly, to be kept in all the Congregations of this kirk, upon the second Thursday of July next, being the ninth of that Moneth, in this year 1646 (Edinburgh, 1646), 1; Douglas, A Phenix, 1-8; Causes of a Publick and Solemn Humiliation appointed by the Commission of the General Assemblies to bee keeped through all the Congregations of this kirk, upon the last daie of June instant (London, 1650), 23; S.R.O., PA7/24 f. 12, Parliamentary and State Papers 1531-1651.

covenanting principles gave momentum to the cause after it had become politically marginalised. Although their propaganda output was limited and more circumscribed than that of their predecessors due to the loss of state sanction coupled with their inability to galvanise nation-wide support at the popular level because of the English military presence, nonetheless, this cadre of propagandists' continued their efforts unabated in the early years of the Interregnum.

Generally speaking, much of the material produced at this time was negative propaganda in which the politics of resentment were offered up to a demoralised country; thus, it had the secondary, propaganda function of offering a harsh critique of the régime and its policies. Dissident ministers in Glasgow and Edinburgh preached to their congregations about the political and moral degeneracy of the country under martial rule and expressed their opposition to foreign domination.⁸⁸ Radical covenanting ministers such as George Hutcheson lamented the political condition of the nation, calling for divine guidance "in the day of my trouble" while, another, Hew Binning, citing Psalm 40 verse 12 as the basis for his lecture at a church service, centred his critique of English rule on the text that "innumerable evils have compassed me about".⁸⁹ Hopes for a change in political circumstances and an end to the political subjugation of Scotland were expressed in other sermons amidst predictions that divine intervention would lead to the ultimate deliverance of the "saints" and calls for a "David" to save the nation by Hew McKaill and Patrick Gillespie respectively.⁹⁰ Pamphlets critical of the administration and its policies were disseminated to reinforce this dissident campaign. Archibald Johnston in *Causes of the Lords Wrath against Scotland Manifested in his sad late dispensations* roundly condemned the régimes' "arbitrary way" of imposing taxation and deplored the financial burdens incurred by the peasantry due to the quartering of the English soldiers in the localities and the exaction of the "whole Monethly Maintenance and Sesse", the tax collected for the upkeep of the military.⁹¹ The economic hardship endured by the Scots during the occupation was portrayed not only

⁸⁸. Strathclyde Regional Archives, Ms T-PM 114/4, f. 1-11, Records of the Maxwell family of Nether Pollok, subsequently the Stirling Maxwells.

⁸⁹. *Ibid.*, f. 11-8; f. 35.

⁹⁰. *Ibid.*, f. 18-22; f. 51.

⁹¹. A. Johnston, *Causes of the Lords Wrath against Scotland Manifested in his sad late dispensations. Whereunto is added a Paper, particularly holding forth the Sins of the Minister* (London, 1653), 37.

as a consequence of the nation's loss of political autonomy, but as a product of the socio-political upheaval occasioned by the execution of Charles I. As one tract published in 1652 claimed, Scotland's economic problems would not have occurred "if there had not been a turning of things up-side down".⁹² It was through the production of this type of aural and literary propaganda, then, that an element of the covenanting, ideological élite made a concerted, though largely futile, effort to undermine the Cromwellian régime.

However, the scope of covenanting propaganda objectives changed to accommodate the resurgence of the group's political importance as a subversive organisation during the Restoration period. Although the primary function of propaganda remained constant in attempting to win adherents and discredit the opposition, its secondary functions were expanded to mirror its status as a mass protest movement whose beliefs and activities were banned beginning in 1662. Considerable attention was paid by the propagandists to perpetuating the spirit of dissent through attempts to boost the morale of covenanting activists during the years of state repression. Of special importance was the material produced by dissident leaders including Robert MacWard, Robert Fleming, Sir Robert Hamilton, John Brown, Michael Shields, Thomas Lining and James Renwick who lived, at times, in exile, mainly, in the Low Countries. In addition to the pamphlets and tracts which they authored for more general distribution which offered detailed critiques of the Restoration governments' policies in church and state, circulating letters were written and widely disseminated among the hard-core of the covenanters between the 1660s and the 1680s. It was said of the *communiqués* of Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, the covenanting commander at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge who escaped to Holland after the Rebellion of 1679 failed, that they were "soul-refreshing letters of yours to our friends, which to them are very encouraging".⁹³ Hamilton's letters "to friends at home" which were read aloud at prayer meetings not only contained religious exhortations to the 'wrestling remnant' to overcome the obstacles of state repression, but they were filled with political commentary and

⁹². Observations upon the Chief Acts of the two late P[retended] Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee. the year of God 1651, and 1652 (Edinburgh, 1652), 25.

⁹³. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/32, 'Letter from J. Renwick to Sir R. Hamilton dated Edinburgh September 6, 1682'.

incitements to arms.⁹⁴ Typical was a letter dating from the early 1680s and addressed to "worthy cussine" in which he denounced the governance of Scotland "whereby persons known to be disaffected to the power of religion & our covenanted work of reformation may be receaved into places of power", calling on supporters to "strike at the root of that tree".⁹⁵ As early as 1664, the earl of Linlithgow decried the frequency of what he referred to as these "consolatory letters" which were thought to be smuggled between Scotland and Holland by "fanatick ministers": in this case, Robert Fleming.⁹⁶

Hagiographical literature was produced and distributed for its morally didactive value among the adherents of the protest movement. Much of it contained largely anecdotal accounts of the bravery and heroism of fellow covenanters in reaction to their capture, prosecution, sentencing and incarceration as rebels or, conversely, their narrow escapes from justice. One anonymous covenanter preserved some of this material in a commonplace book that was compiled during the 1670s; presumably for self-reflection and, perhaps, for reading aloud at prayer meetings.⁹⁷ The letters and poems of nonconformist preachers such as Robert Mercer, William Guthrie and Michael Bruce dealing with their incarceration figured prominently and were representative of a well-developed, covenanting martyrology. Typical was a letter from Mercer to Lady Skene - written originally in 1650 - which offered comfort and sympathy for her husband's recent imprisonment for dissident activity. Mercer suggested that it would prove to be a good experience for him since prison is a "schooll of Christ"; providing time for study and meditation of religious doctrine and morality. This theme of purposeful suffering and the dominant message that the covenanting movement would gain strength from adversity was reiterated in the poetry found in the commonplace book such as "a poem upon the Imprisonment of Mr Calamy in Kewgait wreit by Doctor Wyld June 30 1671". Similarly, copies of letters like those written by Bruce from a London prison in July of 1669 are full of rousing exhortations to "stand fast for religion". There was a more unusual document, as well,

⁹⁴ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/15, 'Letter from T. Lining to Sir R. Hamilton dated Utrecht, 25 March 1687'; U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/38, 'Letter from J. Renwick to [R. Hamilton] dated 9 July 1684'.

⁹⁵ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/11, 'Letter from Sir Robert Hamilton to "worthy cussine" [n.d.]

⁹⁶ 'Letter from the earl of Linlithgow to a Lord (whose name is not mentioned) dated Linlithgow, May 7th, 1664' in HMC 4: 5th Report Appendix, (1876), 651.

⁹⁷ S.R.O., Ms GD 49/515, Barclay Allardice Papers and all subsequent references.

entitled, "The Covenant off redemption betwixt the father & the sone by Mr W[illia]m Guthrie", which provides some insight into the seriousness of purpose with which this type of material was viewed. Patterned after a notarial instrument with phrases such as "Be it kend till all men that in the pr[esence] of the ancient of dayes" and "Daited at the throne of heaven in the ancient yeire of eiterntie" and set out as a contractual agreement between God and Christ for the latter to "suffer in your name And to adopt you in the place off children", it combined the gravity of religious commitment with the weight of the law. This pool of hagiographical material designed for the rank and file to draw on to stiffen their commitment to nonconformity was rooted, firmly, in the presbyterian tradition of compiling "tales of martyrdom" as established by presbyterian historians such as John Rowe in his late-sixteenth century work, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, and continued by David Calderwood in his contribution to the genre, *History of the Church of Scotland*: a work compiled beginning in the late 1620s but not published until 1678.⁹⁸

However, both the 'consolatory letters' and the hagiographical material were intended, consciously, as a means of minimising defections from the cause in the face of successive, government operations launched as massive state offensives against dissent. James Renwick, a radical presbyterian minister, in his regular correspondence with Sir Robert Hamilton dating from the early 1680s occasionally berated him for the unacceptable tone and content of his circulating letters which were read out at meetings and the "trouble if not discouragement to be held forth" in them.⁹⁹ Moreover, shortly after the failure of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion, Renwick proposed that Hamilton compose a suitable piece of propaganda which would put forward his version of the Rebellion in an effort to revitalise the movement, urging him to "write to the remnant the way and realitie thereof expressing your own sense thereof together with your willingnesse to make acknowledgement thereof ... And if we had these we could then stop the mouths of slanderers".¹⁰⁰ The ideological élite's recognition of the political necessity of maintaining a public show of confident solidarity also informs

⁹⁸. Burrell, 'Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters', 14.

⁹⁹. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/39, 'Letter from J. Renwick to R. Hamilton dated 12 August 1684'. See also: U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/32, 'Letter from James Renwick to Sir Robert Hamilton dated Edinburgh September 6, 1682'.

¹⁰⁰. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/46, 'Letter from [J. Renwick to R. Hamilton] n.d. [early 1680's]'.

the work produced by Robert McWard. As an outed Glasgow minister who fled to the continent to avoid prosecution and became a minister at the Scots Kirk in Rotterdam, McWard regularly dispatched 'consolatory letters' to both Scotland during his years in exile and to his congregation in Holland during his periodic, clandestine visits home. While in his public writings he spoke invariably about the efficacy and endurance of nonconformity in promoting a credible opposition to Charles II's administration, he was much less assured in his private correspondence with other leading dissidents, revealing to them his deep misgivings about the prospects of success.¹⁰¹

Covenanting propaganda created during the Restoration period also served, in a secondary function, as an instrument for initiating acts of resistance to specific state initiatives aimed at curbing nonconformity. A co-ordinated propaganda campaign urging civil disobedience was precipitated, for instance, by the government crackdown on non-church attendance at local parish churches which resulted in the quartering of 8,000 troops, the 'Highland Host', on disaffected shires in 1678 to administer oaths for conformity and to collect fines for irregular church attendance. Attempts to form a coalition against these policies was organised by a *cadre* of lay covenanters including the lairds of Allanton, Hartwood, Coltness and Pollok who were largely heritors in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire.¹⁰² To that end, they produced a series of newsletters which were clandestinely distributed to orchestrate opposition to the oath, the band for public peace, by which landowners personally denounced conventicling and became liable for their dependents' and tenants' loyal behaviour.

With respect to their contents and purpose, in essence, the newsletters were a mixture of political commentary and practical information on the necessity of participating in a campaign of united opposition to the government's imposition of the loyalty oath. What was seen by the political dissidents as the illegality and the moral injustice of the band for public peace was discussed with

¹⁰¹ Archives of the Scots Church at Rotterdam, Ms Consistory Registers - Scots Church Rotterdam 1643 - 1700, Vol. I-III 1, 43-5. This letter is also reprinted in W. Steven, The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam (Edinburgh, 1832), 350-5. See also: N.L.S., Ms Folio LVIII/15, Wodrow Mss - Correspondence of Robert McWard, 1648-81, 'Letter from R. McWard in Utrecht to J. Brown in Rotterdam dated 20 October 1666'.

¹⁰² Although all the newsletters were anonymously written, one contained instructions for circulation which names these heritors as well as advice to correspond with "Glanderstoun & dunlop kirk" for more information. See: S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/327, 'Anonymous letter to be circulated to lairds of Allanton, Hartwood, Coltness and Pollok dated 7 February 1678'.

arguments presented to bolster this position. Taking this "unjust imposition" was denounced as collaborationist and it was said to be lending unwarranted legitimacy to the administration's strategy against nonconformity and conventicling; for, as it was put in one newsletter, it would only "strengthen the evildoers in their framing of mischeiff by law".¹⁰³ Whether heritors in other parts of the country were complying with the directives or if they had refused to take the oath was of particular concern. Rumours that the reaction of landowners at earlier, shire meetings held in Fife, Ayrshire, and Refrewshire had been negative were passed on in the newsletters.¹⁰⁴ As well, a regular information network was to be created and maintained among like-minded heritors as a means of sustaining the resistance campaign because, as it was suggested, "all men are verie desyrous to know how others behave and you know that several other shyres are yet at this tyme to the same test with yours & wold gladly have good example where they have so litle inclination to determine them".¹⁰⁵ This emphasis on the importance of communal opposition was viewed as crucial; for as one newsletter put it, the "more unanimity the less it be feared".¹⁰⁶

What is more, the procedures of the Highland Host in administering the oaths and fines for nonconformity as well as the conduct of the soldiers quartered in the southwestern shires were to be closely monitored by the dissident network. As one anonymous writer expressed it, "neither is it of less importance to understand [particularly] the motions deportment & condition of our host with the actings of the committee ... and you have lades enough among you only instruct them well & let nothing save pure mater of Fact be written for really I wold gladly have a journal of this expedition which is indeed so rare and may be of so good use".¹⁰⁷ Landowners, therefore, were instructed to arrange for information to be gathered which could not only be passed on in subsequent *communiqués* circulated amongst themselves but, presumably, could prove politically damaging to the administration if made

¹⁰³. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/325, 'Anonymous letter of friend to friend dated 31 January 1678'.

¹⁰⁴. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/327, 'Anonymous letter to be circulated to lairds of Allantoun, Hartwood, Coltness and Pollok dated 7 February 1678'; S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/328, 'Letter to [M. Stewart], Lady Pollok, younger from anonymous dated 8 February 1678'.

¹⁰⁵. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/325, 'Anonymous letter of friend to friend dated 31 January 1678'.

¹⁰⁷. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/327, 'Anonymous letter to be circulated to lairds of Allantoun, Hartwood, Coltness and Pollok dated 7 February 1678'.

public. Furthermore, the general thrust of Charles II's government's approach to eradicating nonconformity came in for sharp criticism. The state of emergency introduced by the administration to suppress conventicling involving free quartering of soldiers; the ban on travel outwith Scotland; disarming the peasantry; and, the seizure of horses were all cited in one newsletter as infringements of civil liberties, especially since it was imposed in peace time.¹⁰⁸ Thus, propaganda was relied on to mobilise a citizen's revolt against what was one of the most controversial and extensive operations initiated by the government to induce conformity to the Restoration Settlement in church and state.

Therefore, while there was a remarkable degree of continuity in the primary function of covenanting political propaganda between 1638 and 1689, its secondary functions altered to accommodate and reflect the movement's changing political influence on high politics and the variability of its success in commanding the broad-based support of the Scottish people. Ancillary propaganda concerns were thus closely related to the organisational needs of the movement as they evolved over the course of five decades. Political expediency played a large part, too, in determining the type of propaganda produced at any one time and the material was designed, specifically, to initiate the appropriate political response. That the quantity of mass propaganda fluctuated in accordance with political necessity with an increased output of literary, aural and visual propaganda efforts during those times of controversy and crises which threatened the viability of the movement further underlines how propaganda functioned as an integral part of early-modern, political culture. Thus, the mass, domestic political propaganda generated by the covenanters was not merely empty rhetoric; rather, it was a mechanism consciously adopted by the ideological élite of the movement to affect political action and, ultimately, to manage institutional change in church and state. But this begs the question of how propaganda was formulated to meet these objectives during both the years of covenanting dominance in church and state and the post-1651 period when ideologically, hostile régimes branded covenanting propaganda as seditious.

¹⁰⁸ S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/329/2, 'Newsletter inclosed in letter from lady Cochran to the laird of Nether Pollok dated 22 May 1678'.

Chapter IV

Covenanting Propaganda and State Censorship

I.

Between 1638 and 1689, covenanting, mass political propaganda was formulated under a variety of political circumstances that helped determine its quantity, volume and frequency of output. During the years of covenanting rule from 1638 to 1651, literary, aural and visual propaganda appeared under the aegis of a government which actively promoted and sponsored its production as one means of maintaining its dominance in church and state at the expense of the royalists. With the instruments of a control system over the pulpit and the printing presses firmly in the hands of the covenanters backed by the weight of the law and the resources of the state, the movement's propaganda thus flourished unfettered for fourteen years. However, such unrestricted access to the means of production coupled with the strategic advantages of sanction by the *status quo* was never again to be replicated during the life of the movement. After 1651, under the Cromwellian Commonwealth and Protectorate administrations and, then, subsequently, after 1660, under the rule of Charles II until 1685 and James VII until the Revolution of 1688-1689, the covenanters' ability to produce mass political propaganda was severely limited by the political and legal conditions which prevailed. Control over the production of propaganda as provided by the machinery of the state and the church during both the Interregnum and Restoration periods placed limitations on the promotion of covenanting views. The outright government ban on the movement and its activities imposed in 1662 made any manifestations of pro-covenanting sentiment seditious thereafter. Above all, legal restrictions related to sedition, assembly and nonconformity which were relied on by the state to silence the public articulation of dissent and limit opportunities for mass protest affected the production of covenanting propaganda. Yet, despite these disparate political circumstances, attempts to formulate mass domestic propaganda continued, albeit at variant degrees of intensity, throughout the five decades of the movement's existence. Through an examination of official attitudes to the public articulation of dissident opinion along with a review of the principal mechanisms relied on by the state

for controlling propaganda, the impact of state censorship on the formulation of covenanting propaganda can be better understood.

Official reaction to public expressions of political dissent remained constant throughout the seventeenth century in Scotland, regardless of the character of the ruling régime. Any manifestations of political commentary which questioned or castigated the government of the day were treated in an uncompromising fashion by officials as seditious with no differentiation made between critical and subversive comment. It was a commonplace, too, that, as part of its primary, administrative function to maintain law and order, the state felt obliged to suppress any views contrary to the *status quo* in order to preserve political stability. Ancillary to this belief was the assumption that the public articulation of dissent was not to be tolerated because of its inherent potential for upsetting the natural order in society by giving encouragement to the lower ranks to riot and rebel. Thus, the suppression of dissident opinion was accepted as a natural corollary of good governance.¹ Such attitudes informed a royal declaration of 1642 which was issued, initially, in England but subsequently printed in Edinburgh for distribution in Scotland. In response to a spate of anti-royalist propaganda aimed at portraying him as a catholic sympathiser, Charles I gave orders that the judicatories "proceed with all Speed against such, and their Abettors, who either by writing or words, have so boldly and maliciously violated the Laws, disturbed the peace of the Commonwealth, and, as much as in their lies, shaken the very foundation upon which the peace and happinesse is founded and constituted". His concern for the maintenance of good order was motivated as much by the social as by the political implications of this propaganda campaign; for, as he declared:

Wee cannot without grieffe of heart, and without some tax upon our Selfe, and our Ministers for the not execution of Our Laws looke upon the bold License of some men, in Printing of Pamphlets, in Preaching and printing of Sermons, so full of bitterness and malice against the present Government, against our Lawes established, so full of sedition against Our Self, and the peace of the Kingdome, that Wee are many times amazed to consider by what eyes these things are seene and by what eares they are heard.²

¹ F.S. Siebert, Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control (Urbana, 1952), 5-6.

² His Majesties Declaration To All His Loving Subjects: Published with the advice of His Privie Councell (Edinburgh, 1642), 5.

Charles' apparent anxiety about the spread of ideas that were critical of his kingship; his perception that they could help to trigger a deterioration of his political position; and, his concern that his opponents' views be suppressed before they were given wide exposure, neatly encapsulated the authoritarian approach taken by early-modern, governments to the public airing of dissident opinion.³

In theory, critics of the state were afforded few opportunities to organise public protests through the use of aural and visual propaganda since the full weight of the law could be brought to bear by the government of the day to deal with malcontents. In addition to the standing laws against sedition with their attendant penalties ranging from fines to forfeiture to imprisonment to execution, legislation was periodically implemented throughout the middle decades of the seventeenth century to suppress public expressions of disaffection. In the early years of both covenanting and royalist rule, for instance, the law against lease-making – that is, the malicious encouragement of disaffection among the people for their king through seditious speeches or literature – was revived. Under the covenanters, it was re-enacted in 1639 by parliament and, in 1640, the committee of estates was ordered to summon all lease-makers to appear for examination before the next parliament.⁴ At Charles II's first parliamentary session in 1662, an act was passed declaring that "If any person by speaking or writing stir up the people to a dislike of the king's prerogative and supremacy, he shall be incapable of holding any public office, and shall on conviction be liable to the pains due by law".⁵ In June of 1686, James VII ordered the privy council to issue a proclamation reasserting the 1584 'Act anent slanderers of the King'.⁶

³. Discussion of state regulations and the issue of censorship in early modern England is provided by A. Bellamy, 'Raylinge Rymes and Vaunting Verse': Libelous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603-1628' in Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England, ed. K. Sharpe and P. Lake (London, 1994); A. Bellamy, 'A Poem on the Archbishop's Hearse: Puritanism, Libel and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference' in Journal of British Studies, 34 (1995), 137-64; J. Walker, 'The Censorship of the Press during the Reign of Charles II' in History, 35 (1950), 219-38; C. Hill, 'Censorship and English Literature' in The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill, I, (Brighton, 1985); and, R.B. Manning, 'The Origins of the Doctrine of Sedition' in Albion, 12, No. 2 (1980), 99-121.

⁴. The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (12 vols., 1814-75), V, 604b, 607a; 289.

⁵. Ibid., VII, 378b.

⁶. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. P. Hume Brown, 3rd series (38 vols., 1905-33), XII, 253. For the original act of 1584 see: APS, III, 286.

The organisation of public forums and the holding of public meetings for imparting aural and visual propaganda to shape public opinion were also subject to strict, legal limitations. Attempts to prevent communal protest were grounded on two, sixteenth-century laws prohibiting public assemblies and the formation of private, political collectives or pacts: an act of 1584 made it illegal to "convocate, convene or assemble" for "councils, conventions or assemblies on matters of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without the king's special licence" and, an act of 1585, outlawed the making of leagues and bands "among the lieges on any colour or pretence without the king's consent under pain of being held as movers of sedition".⁷ Both of these laws were overturned by the covenanting parliament of 1640 in order to legitimise the movement's political activities since 1637 when it was declared that they were not intended to refer to "bands, leagues, councils, conventions, assemblies, committees or meetings held for maintaining the king's majesty, the religion, laws and liberties of the kingdom" ; thus, all meetings which had been convened "since the beginning of the present troubles" were lawful.⁸ While the repeal of these prohibitions allowed pro-covenanting views to be freely aired and individuals were encouraged to participate in communal acts of covenant-taking which were supportive of the government, such freedom of convocation and expression was not extended to the régime's critics. In 1643, the earl of Carnwath was fined £10,000 after accusing the Scottish commissioners to England of sedition: a charge which led to his subsequent forfeiture two years later.⁹ For making "certain reflections on the government", one Dr. Sibbald was imprisoned in the Edinburgh tolbooth in 1649.¹⁰ In addition, bands such as the King's Covenant of 1638 and the Cumbernauld Bond of 1640 which were issued without its approval were actively denounced by the administration.¹¹

7. *APS*, III, 293, 376.

8. *Ibid.*, V, 269.

9. *Ibid.*, VI, 6a; VI, i, 345.

10. *Ibid.*, VI, ii, 391.

11. Discussion of the King's Covenant is provided by P. Donald, *An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish Troubles 1637-1641* (Cambridge, 1990), 92-4; 100-2; 107; 112; 117; 122-3; 127; 128; 130; 225; 89-91; A.I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641* (Edinburgh, 1991), 185-6; and, D. Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 104, 108, 109, 110-12, 123, 147. The significance of the Cumbernauld Bond and the reaction to it is dealt with by Donald, *Uncounselled King*, 243-4; 292-3; and, Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, 207, 224, 225, 227, 236.

But, such opportunities for manipulating public opinion which were afforded the movement during its years in power were drastically diminished after 1651. During the Interregnum, all public gatherings were outlawed in November of 1651 as a measure to maintain law and order; thus, open public forums which facilitated the dissemination of covenanting views were curtailed.¹² In 1653, an injunction was issued by the government banning all meetings, especially those held in Edinburgh, "tending to disturb the peace", when it forcibly dispersed both the general assembly dominated by the Resolutioners and a rival gathering held by the Protestors.¹³ Further restrictions were implemented under the restored monarchy when the acts of 1584 and 1585 against assemblies and the making of leagues and bands were ratified in 1661 and the covenanting parliament of 1640's subsequent interpretation of these laws was declared "false and disloyal".¹⁴ More general legislation was enacted that same year to prevent public assemblies which were held to "treat, consult and determine in any matter of state civil or ecclesiastical, without the king's special consent and approbation" and, in the following year, an act was passed which stipulated that participation in public banding was to be dealt with as treasonable.¹⁵ Some of these prohibitions became part of the litmus test of loyalty for civil and ecclesiastical officials who served as officebearers and members of the political nation including parliamentarians and electors when the Test Act was introduced in 1679. Although it was designed primarily as a means to safeguard the hereditary right of accession to the throne of a catholic, James, duke of York, the loyalty oath required under the provisions of the Test Act not only made its subscribers acknowledge the Confession of Faith of 1560 and royal supremacy in church and state, but it also involved the renunciation of covenants, leagues and meetings pertaining to any civil or religious matters held without state sanction as defined by the 1661 law.¹⁶ Moreover, with a proclamation of 1685, subjects who had information about any illegal meeting that might

12. G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V - James VII (Edinburgh, 1978), 344.

13. APS, VI, ii, 749b, 804b.

14. Ibid., VII, 12. A new law was also introduced in 1661 specifically prohibiting the meetings of religious extremists and political radicals such as quakers, anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy Men. See: Ibid., 16.

15. Ibid., 45b, 378b.

16. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 379-80.

promote civil disorder were required to contact the authorities immediately.¹⁷ Thus, the covenanters' ability to generate support through the use of aural and visual propaganda was hampered after 1651 by a series of prescriptive laws against public meetings and banding.

A further impediment to the spread of dissident thought, in general, was the control exercised by the state over the pulpit in the latter's capacity as a forum for mass communication. Since church services offered one of the few approved venues for frequent, public assembly and attendance, often, was compulsory under the threat of heavy fines thereby encouraging a relatively high rate of mass participation at local parish churches, the pulpit served as a unique venue for the shaping of public opinion. The unrivalled potential that ministers had for exerting influence over the thinking of their parishioners was well-recognised; for, as Robert Baillie aptly put it, they had "command of their mind".¹⁸ Control of the pulpit proved to be one of the covenanters' greatest assets for mobilising popular opinion during their years in power. As we will see,¹⁹ from 1638 to 1651, the structure of the presbyterian church courts was utilised as a national, communications network linking the localities with the political centre for the formulation and the dissemination of propaganda. Political conformity to the covenanting régime was enforced by local kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods and the general assembly through their respective, jurisdictional authority over the laity and ministry to examine, discipline and excommunicate renegades with special powers to depose recalcitrant ministers. As well, the mechanism of evangelising constituted an integral component of the movement's production of aural propaganda and it served, too, to propagate the ideological concerns of the movement as expressed through the ritual and ceremony of its visual propaganda. In addition, sermons and *ex tempore* lecturing at worship services provided an important venue for the public reading of declarations, advertisements, petitions and pamphlets authorised by the covenanting administration; hence, the mechanism of evangelising also helped to promulgate literary propaganda.

17. APS, VIII, 479.

18. The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M. Principal of the University of Glasgow, (2 vols., Bannatyne Club, 1841), I, 23.

19. For fuller discussion of these points see Chapter V: 'The Transmission and Reception of Covenanting Propaganda'.

Thus, as an instrument for mass communication, the pulpit proved invaluable for generating adherence to the covenanters during their years of political dominance.

In the wake of the English, military occupation of the country after 1651, the facility with which the rump of the covenanting movement could use the pulpit as a vehicle for propagandising was diminished. This was, in part, a consequence of the movement's loss of political influence and the erosion of the broad-based support it had enjoyed prior to 1651, especially among the nobility. The subjugation of Scotland as a conquered nation also precluded the covenanters from promulgating their views since martial law acted as an effective deterrent to the frequent expression of dissident opinion as voiced through the pulpit. Additionally, the termination of meetings of the general assembly after 1653 removed the central, church forum through which radical presbyterians had organised themselves on a national basis since 1638. But, equally, it was attributable to the internal wranglings polarising adherents between moderates and radicals, the Resolutioners and the Protesters, who, insofar as their chief propagandists were concerned, expended as much intellectual energy in attacking one another as was invested in promulgating the covenanting cause.²⁰ What is more, covenanting polemics were blunted because of the political dynamics of the Cromwellian period which caused each of the two, competing factions of the movement, eventually, to develop different attitudes towards the English conquest. Granted, common ground existed between the two parties insofar as both viewed the administration's religious policies – as distinguished by their erastianism, their promotion of toleration and their exclusion of the ministers from civil affairs – as an anathema. But this consensus became more fragile after 1653. On the one hand, the Protesters' general acceptance of the dictatorship as evidenced by the promotion of some of their leaders to prominent, public positions including the appointment of Patrick Gillespie to the principalship of Glasgow University in 1654 and that of Archibald Johnston of Wariston to the office of Lord Clerk Register in 1657 meant collaboration not resistance ultimately distinguished this faction's relationship with the state. Although they represented a minority opinion, the Protesters were more politically compatible with

²⁰ A list of the papers generated by the rival factions is provided by J.D. Ogilvie, 'A Bibliography of the Resolutioner-Protester Controversy, 1650-1659' in Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1926-1930 (Edinburgh, 1930), 57-86.

the régime in their antiroyalism and thus encouraged to hold sway over the church. On the other hand, the Resolutioners as monarchists were predisposed to conflict with the new political order and their royalist inclinations generally precluded them from holding positions of public trust. Their hostility to the republican, foreign administration was indicated by the Resolutioner ministers' support for the Glencairn Rising of 1653-54: a royalist rising denounced by a number of Protesters, especially those in the west of Scotland. Favourable references to the king, Charles II, in the sermons of the Resolutioner ministry including the practise of offering prayers for him at worship services also underscored this faction's enmity towards Cromwellian rule. While this practice became less prevalent after 1655 when lord Broghill as president of the council of state negotiated a compromise with the Resolutioners in which they agreed to abide by the ban on such prayers if the attendant penalties for disobedience were not enforced, in general, the monarchist tendencies of the Resolutioners resulted in their political marginalisation.²¹

Although their exclusion from the decision-making process in church and state helped to undercut the significance of the Resolutioner party, attempts were made by the administration to further restrict their influence on public opinion. The Resolutioners' reluctance to acquiesce to the conquest induced the administration to design measures aimed at limiting their ability to utilise the pulpit as a propaganda organ. Such intentions lay behind the council of state's introduction of an ordinance in August of 1654, popularly known as Gillespie's Charter, which pertained to the regulation of the universities and the ministry.²² Under one provision, for instance, the suitability of ministerial candidates and the political acceptability of preachers was to be more closely monitored under the auspices of the commissioners for visiting the universities, an administrative body dominated by Protesters. The appointment of ministers to livings was to be approved by a committee

21. Discussion of the Cromwellian administration's handling of religious issues in Scotland is provided by F.D. Dow, Cromwellian Scotland, 1651-1660 (Edinburgh, 1979), 195-210; J. Buckroyd, Church and State in Scotland 1660-1681 (Edinburgh, 1980), 7-21; F.N. McCoy, Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation (Berkeley, 1974), 180-4; W.L. Mathieson, Politics and Religion: A Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution (2 vols., Glasgow, 1902), II, 172-5; H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'Scotland and the Puritan Revolution' in Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (London, 1967), 433-6.

22. A text of the Charter is found in APS, VI, ii, 831-2. See also: J. Nicoll, A Diary of Public Transactions (Edinburgh, 1836), 164-7.

of 'triers', modelled on an English system inaugurated earlier that year, and it was to be restricted to those of "holy and unblameable conversation, disposed to live peaceably under the present government".²³ Using the same criteria, the commissioners were given the task, too, of determining the acceptability of preachers already established in their livings with the authority either to continue or deny the provision of maintenance for such ministers along with the power to remove those considered scandalous and profane. While enforcement of these conditions proved impracticable,²⁴ nonetheless, their enactment gives some indication of the government's concern about the Resolutioners' use of the pulpit as a vehicle for dissent. Therefore, public articulation of covenanting ideology through evangelising was muted under Cromwellian rule.

With the return of the monarchy and the entrenchment of the episcopal establishment in the church in 1661 as provided by the Restoration Church Settlement, control over the kirk and the pulpit as a channel for the communication of ideas passed, firmly, into the hands of the royalists. This change was signalled in 1660 when Charles II's response to a petition from the presbytery of Edinburgh, soliciting his support for a presbyterian establishment, was dispatched throughout the country - along with copies of the original petition - and distributed ~~via~~ the presbyteries. Both missives were then read aloud at presbytery meetings like that held in Stirling on 13 September 1660 with additional copies "delyverit to each brother heire and ane to Mr Tho[mas] Lug The which being read in the pr[es]b[it]rie wes recomendit to the severall brethren to make use of as they think expedient".²⁵ Thus, the new régime was quick to re-establish its use of the church court network as a vital communications link between the central government and the localities. However, the state also made clear its intention to impose political and religious conformity through more intrusive regulation of ministers and worship services thereby denying covenanting propagandists the use of the pulpit as a forum for their views. Measures were adopted which were similar to those brought in under Charles I during the 1630s to contain dissent which had included the requirements that

23. *Ibid.*

24. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 198.

25. Scottish Record Office, Ms CH 2/722/6, 'The presbytery book of Stirling 3 March 1654 - 20 June 1661'.

ministers obtain a state licence and receive final confirmation of their appointment to a living from the diocesan bishop. The Caroline administration's promotion of these changes along with the prescriptive use of a set liturgy concomitant with bans on lecturing *ex tempore* during the worship services, which it tried to impose, were criticised by radical presbyterians as an attempt to prevent ministers from using their sermons as vehicles for political comment or criticism.²⁶ After the Restoration, similar mechanisms were put into place to limit access to the pulpit. With the Act for Presentation and Collation of June 1662, there was the requirement that ministers on presentation of their lay patrons receive collation from the diocesan bishop: a stipulation – along with the new condition that the king and the bishops authorise synodial and presbytery meetings – which almost a third of the ministry refused to accept, resulting in their deprivation for non-compliance after the final deadline of February of 1663.²⁷ What was said at the worship service, also, was closely regulated by banning *ex tempore* lectures and making the reading of the scriptures, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed and the doxology a central part of it.²⁸ Official concern for ecclesiastical conformity during the Restoration period thus inhibited the covenanters' use of the pulpit as a platform for dissent insofar as the regime was able to implement its policies.

II.

One of the foremost expressions of the post-Restoration governments' drive for political and religious orthodoxy through state control of the pulpit was played out in their efforts to suppress conventicling. Whereas the established church functioned as a channel for the dissemination of royalist propaganda during the Restoration, insofar as the covenanters were concerned, an alternative pulpit emerged through the development of nonconformist prayer meetings. As a forum for the dissemination of mass, covenanting propaganda, conventicling was of vital importance for the

26. S.R.O., Ms GD 18/ 3957[a], Clerk of Penicuik, 'The Scots Reasons against the Service Book'.

27. I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688* (London, 1976), 50-63; Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 365. Estimates of the number of ministers who were deprived range from 270 to 300 out of about 952 parish ministers.

28. Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 364.

perpetuation of the movement up until the Revolution of 1688-89. As a large-scale, populist phenomenon, conventicling became more widespread after 1662 when radical presbyterians, sometimes led by their former parish ministers who had been deprived for failing to comply with the requirements of the new establishment, demonstrated their hostility to the Restoration Settlement in church and state, in general, and to the state-backed 'curates' who succeeded the deposed ministers in some parishes, in particular, by declining to worship solely at their local, parish church in favour of attending illegal prayer meetings.²⁹ Although, largely, a regional phenomenon of the central Lowlands, conventicling attracted lay support from coast to coast in some of the most densely populated parts of the country with participants especially active in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, Fife and Lothian.³⁰ While conventicles remained a minority interest and their popularity fluctuated to a considerable extent during the Restoration period, they were regarded, nevertheless, as a potential threat to political stability; labelled by government officials' as 'rendevouses of rebellion' or, as the Secretary of State, the earl of Lauderdale, phrased it, more of a "rendevous for rebellion than any pretense of religious worship".³¹ Nonconformist ministers presiding over the clandestine, worship services were viewed as dangerous radicals preaching sedition and subversion. Appraisal of their function in this regard was evident in Charles II's complaint that the ministers "instill into the myndes of our good people seditious principles to the prejudice of us, our lawes and government".³² As early as 1665, it was declared that conventicles were "seminaries of seperation and rebellion" which provided "opportunities for infuseing those pernicious and poysonous principles" held by the covenanters which, it was said, would result in "no lesse then the confusion and ruine of church and kingdome".³³ For Charles II, conventicling constituted the "most unreasonable and schismaticall seperation of many from the publick and established worship and ... disaffection to the established

29. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 56-7.

30. For an analysis of the patterns of conventicling see Chapter V: 'The Transmission and Reception of Covenanting Propaganda'.

31. National Library of Scotland, Mss 597 folio 212, Watson Collection, 'Papers of the Earls of Lauderdale'.

32. *RPCS*, 2nd series, XIII, 95-6.

33. *Ibid.*, XI, 108-9. See also: *Ibid.*, XII, 204-5, 347.

religion and [an] undutifull aversion to our authority and government".³⁴ Thus, participation in conventicling was characterised as a symptom of dissatisfaction, disrespect and disobedience with grave implications for the established order.

The rhetorical vehemence of the administration in its condemnation of conventicling was matched by its legislative and judicial efforts to suppress it. Although the strategies launched by the government to achieve political and religious conformity, marked by periodic crackdowns, are well-known,³⁵ a review of some of the principal tactics adopted by the state gives emphasis to the degree of difficulty and to the number of obstacles faced by the propagandists in their perpetuation of covenanting ideology through clandestine prayer meetings. Granted, government policy on nonconformity between 1662 and 1689 was not a seamless web; nor, for that matter, was it always informed by a methodical approach or even a cohesive strategy. Nonetheless, it is true to say that, in terms of codification and enforcement of the law, succeeding administrations adopted approaches to nonconformity that were as reflective of the political exigencies of the day and the character and personalities of the ruling régime as they were of the fluctuations in conventicling activity itself. Thus, in their drive for political and religious conformity, the Restoration governments of Charles II and James VII experimented with a variety of tactics to combat conventicling ranging from military repression to conciliation to coercion to accommodation.

According to the legal definition, conventicles were gatherings at which "any not licenced, authorized or tolerat" by the local bishop "presume to preach, expound scripture or pray" with an exception made for family worship.³⁶ Private meetings held under the "pretense of religious exercises" thus were prohibited on the grounds that they were prejudicial to the "public worship of God" and they alienated the "people from their lawful pastors".³⁷ Official attempts to contain

34. *Ibid.*, XIII, 547.

35. The best, general accounts of the Restoration governments' handling of nonconformity are provided by Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters* and Buckroyd, *Church and State*. Less analytical and impartial in their narratives are Mathieson, *Politics and Religion* and J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters: A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1908).

36. *RPCS.*, XII, 545.

37. *APS*, VII, 379b.

conventicling began in 1662 when the activity was legally proscribed, but active suppression of it commenced in the summer of 1663 when the earl of Rothes became Lord High Commissioner. Under his guidance, the administration undertook a programme of concerted action against what were regarded as political and religious dissidents. In July of that year, attendance at the local, parish church was made compulsory by law with fines levied as a penalty for non-attendance. This policy was enforced through the quartering of troops on delinquents until they met their legal obligations by paying their fines in full: a military solution that marked the repressive character of the government crackdown of 1664-65.³⁸ What is more, as a precautionary measure to prevent the organisation and spread of conventicles, all outed ministers – that is, those deprived for their refusal to comply with the conditions of the new establishment – were ordered to leave their former parishes and take up residence in less populated regions of Scotland in 1663 since they were instructed to live not only twenty miles outside of their former parishes but six miles outside of the capital, Edinburgh, and three miles away from any royal burgh.³⁹ Even though not all outed ministers were active conventiclors, this sweeping enactment was aimed at enforcing universal compliance with the law. Further enforcement of these policies was attempted through the re-establishment of the court of high commission in January of 1664; for, part of its brief, was to handle ecclesiastical offences including nonconformity, absenteeism from the established church and incidents involving the rejection of intruded curates.⁴⁰ However, it was not until December of 1665 that conventicling itself was banned as a subversive activity by a royal proclamation which prohibited all unauthorised prayer meetings. It was declared, at this time, that “withdrawing from and not joyning in the said publick and ordinary meitinges for divyne worship is to be accompted seditious” with the participants to be treated thereafter as “seditious persons” by the state.⁴¹ The importance of policing conventicling at the local level was underlined by a proclamation of October 1666 which made heads of households, landlords and magistrates liable for any church irregularity on the part of their dependents, servants, tenants or,

³⁸. Cowan, Scottish Covenanters, 59

³⁹. Ibid., 58; Buckroyd, Church and State, 54; Donaldson, James V-James VII, 367.

⁴⁰. Ibid., 58-9; Buckroyd, Church and State, 55, 59-61; Mathieson, Politics and Religion, II, 208.

⁴¹. RPCS, XI, 108-9.

indeed, anyone within their jurisdiction.⁴² Thus, generally speaking, between 1662 and 1666, the state's legislative approach to the suppression of conventicling was comprehensive, in that, it involved the implementation of prescriptive measures aimed at making rank and file participants as well as the leaders of the prayer meetings culpable for their actions and at making local heritors and masters carry out their legal responsibilities for their dependents, tenants and servants good behaviour. To these ends, official directives were issued which endorsed compulsory church attendance for the laity as well as regional exile for recalcitrant ministers backed up by the quartering of troops and injunctions to local heritors and masters to perform their duties in accordance with the laws.

The outbreak of the Pentland Rising in mid-November of 1666 resulted in the alteration of the government's policy on nonconformity.⁴³ This was, largely, because the means used to contain conventicling were shown to have acted as precipitants for civil disorder and thus they became discredited. The popular revolt was triggered by the government's reliance on the military in the southwest to impose religious conformity. It began as a local dispute between a contingent of foot guards lead by Corporal George Deanes - who were collecting fines for absenteeism from the established church at St John's Clachan in Dalry, Ayrshire on 13 November 1666 - and a handful of vigilantes who objected to the soldiers' methods. Its escalation into a more broad-based revolt, led by conventicle preachers and small heritors, eventually attracted over 3,000 dissidents who were determined to have their grievances as nonconformists redressed by marching on the capital, Edinburgh. That populist hostility against the state's concerted attempts to induce obedience in church and state fuelled the uprising was indicated, too, by the dissidents' success in attracting adherents as they traversed the country. After the initial skirmish with Deanes' troops, most joined the rebel army during its steady but erratic progress from the southwest to the east as it passed in a loop from Dalry to Irongray, Dumfries, Glencairn and, then, back to Dalry; proceeded northwest to Carsphairn, Dalmellington, Bridge of Doon and Ayr; and, at that point, moved in a eastwardly direction through Tarbolton, Cumnock, Muirkirk, Lanark, Biggar, Bathgate, Torphichen and Colinton. The rebels were

⁴² Cowan, Scottish Covenanters, 63.

⁴³ For a full account of the Pentland Rising see: C.S. Terry, The Pentland Rising and Rullion Green (Glasgow, 1905).

forced to make a final, abortive stand against the government troops lead by General Thomas Dalziel at Rullion Green.⁴⁴

Moreover, the flaws in the administration's system of containing nonconformity through a heavy reliance on local heritors to police their respective localities were exposed during the course of the rising. Whereas the privy council on 17 November ordered local heritors in the disaffected areas of the southwest as well as the earl of Lothian to defend their localities and suppress the insurrection as a supplement to the mobilisation of troops under General Dalziel,⁴⁵ this conventional solution to disorder proved insufficient because of the depth of antagonism engendered by opposition to the government's ecclesiastical policies. The landowners' lack of enthusiasm in complying with the administration's orders to quell the disorder provided one indication that heritors in the western shires had considerable empathy with the rebels' cause, making them unreliable as state enforcers. Indeed, for these reasons, a general muster of fencible men was ordered which drew on the martial resources of the eastern shires from Mearns in the north to the southeastern Borders on 21 November.⁴⁶ Even this military strategy of bifurcating the Lowlands into two regions consisting of the loyalist east and the dissident west can be said to belie the falsity of the government's approach to nonconformity. So much is apparent if we examine the lists compiled by the privy council – in the aftermath of the rebel army's defeat at Rullion Green on 28 November – of those rebels captured or identified during the battle. As an analysis of their composition demonstrates, the uprising had attracted adherents from outwith what were considered the traditional, covenanting strongholds of the west.⁴⁷ Of the 145 persons named by the council as active rebels, 68 have verifiable places of origin or residence while the remaining 77 are untraceable in this respect. Whereas fifty-six percent of those whose geographical roots can be traced (38) came from the southwestern shires of Ayr (17), Dumfries (10) and Wigton (1) along with the stewartry of Kirkcudbright (10), forty-four percent (30) of the cited rebels were from outside the region; more specifically, from the shires of Perth

⁴⁴. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 64–9; Mathieson, *Politics and Religion*, II, 212–4; R. Mitchison, *A History of Scotland* (London, 1970), 253–4.

⁴⁵. *RPCS*, XI, 211–2.

⁴⁶. *Ibid.*, 214–6.

⁴⁷. The following figures are based on my own analysis of the privy council records.

(1), Fife (4), Dumbarton(4), Renfrew (5), Lanark (6), Lothian (6), Berwick (1) and Peebles (1) and, as well, from Ireland (2).⁴⁸ Despite the fact that a significant proportion of the captured rebels originated from outwith the region, it was the pacification of the southwestern shires that remained a key objective for the government in its reaction to the revolt. Public hangings of the convicted rebels - thirty-six in all - were staged not only in Edinburgh and Glasgow, but in the southwestern burghs of Irvine, Ayr and Dumfries as a means of deterrence and an assertion of authority by the central government. As well, the body parts of some of those executed in Edinburgh were subsequently cut off and sent to Kilmarnock and Lanark where, in the case of the latter, they were publicly displayed "upon the publick ports of that town being the place where they took the Covenant".⁴⁹ Restrictive measures involving the confiscation of arms, ammunition and horses along with the attendant fines of 2,000 merks for "gentlemen" and 500 merks for "every other person" for noncompliance were imposed by decree on the shires of Renfrew, Lanark, Ayr, Wigton and the stewartry of Kirkcudbright in March of 1667 and - apart from Wigton - troops were quartered throughout the region to enforce the directives.⁵⁰ The offensive against nonconformists was renewed by a second proclamation of June of 1667 which made heritors and parishioners culpable for any violence directed against the established ministry in their locality, rendering them liable to pay fines and compensation in the event of any such incident.⁵¹ In essence, then, under the firm belief that all of the southwest had colluded either actively or passively with the rebels, the government sought to punish the general populace of the area for the rebellion as opposed to the participants who, as we have seen, reflected the wider, geographical basis of dissent.

Despite the ultimate defeat of the rebels, the Pentland Rising stood as an indictment of the government's handling of nonconformity, in general, and the earl of Rothes' tenure as Lord High Commissioner, in particular; consequently, it resulted in a change in the personnel and policies of the Scottish administration. In 1667, a new administrative régime was installed which was headed by

48. *Ibid.*, 230-1; 235; 348-9; 451-4.

49. *Ibid.*, 235.

50. *Ibid.*, 272-3.

51. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 71.

John Maitland, the earl of Lauderdale and included such influential members as Sir Robert Moray, John Hay, the earl of Tweeddale and Robert Leighton, the bishop of Dunblane: all of whom were "notable for their humanity and by a lack of enthusiasm for episcopacy".⁵² Under their stewardship, the government sought to deal with nonconformity in a less confrontational manner than hitherto had been attempted by adopting a more conciliatory approach. This change was signalled in August of 1667 when orders were issued for disbanding much of the army; reducing the military to two troops of lifeguards and eight companies of foot soldiers.⁵³ As well, a general pardon was granted in October of 1667 for most of the rank and file participants of the Pentland Rising which offered them indemnity from prosecution as rebels on condition that they took a bond of peace.⁵⁴ Additionally, beginning in July of 1669, reconciliatory gestures were made by the government to those ministers who had been deprived as a consequence of their refusal to acquiesce to the Restoration church settlement. With the First Indulgence of 1669, deprived ministers who had not been active conventiclers became eligible to be nominated by the privy council to a vacant living under certain conditions which reflected the new flexibility of the state in its approach to nonconformity.⁵⁵ Regulations affecting these special ministerial appointments were made optional but not compulsory with incentives built in to encourage full compliance. For instance, financial incentives were tied to the reception of collation by the diocesan bishop to make it more attractive to the ministers affected by the Indulgence. If the deprived ministers received collation, then, they were entitled to their own stipends whereas those who refused were eligible only to receive the manse and the glebe attached to the living along with a small allowance. It was beneficial for ministers affected by the First Indulgence to accept church polity, too, by adhering to the stipulation that they attend the meetings of presbyteries and synods for, otherwise, they were obliged to remain in their own parishes where they were allowed only to perform the ceremonies of marriage, baptism and communion for their own parishioners. Any indulged minister who failed to comply with these regulations, engaged in "any seditious discourse" or

52. *Ibid.*, 73.

53. *Ibid.*, 71.

54. *RPCS*, XI, 348-9; 350-2.

55. *Ibid.*, 3rd series, III, 38-9.

used his sermons to preach unorthodox religious or political views was threatened with deposition.⁵⁶ Taken together, the tenor of these government initiatives between 1667 and 1669 belied a less hard-line and more discriminate approach to nonconformity than had characterised the period of 1662 to 1667, prior to the Pentland Rising, and it showed a willingness to learn from the mistakes of the past for the sake of the future.

But this "policy of conciliation"⁵⁷ proved impracticable, bringing few, tangible benefits for the state in its campaign against nonconformity; thus, it was short-lived. Despite the issuance of the Second Indulgence in September of 1672 which tried, once again, to accommodate the moderate, nonconformist clergy within the established church along the lines of the First Indulgence but under more restrictive terms,⁵⁸ the administration's conciliatory approach was largely abandoned after two years. More stringent government initiatives had to be adopted in response to the growing problem of illegal prayer meetings. As early as 1669, pressure was brought to bear on heritors to force their co-operation in suppressing nonconformity and in fulfilling their attendant legal obligations when a royal decree prescribed fines for landowners on whose property a conventicle had been held.⁵⁹ In the following year, parliament introduced a series of laws including a renewal of the prohibition on conventicles and new legislation against witnesses who would not co-operate with the authorities by giving evidence on conventicles.⁶⁰ Ministers, who were unlicensed but nonetheless worked as active preachers, as well as their congregations were made liable for fines and imprisonment as penalties for their participation in conventicling.⁶¹ In addition, the organisers and leaders of both house and field conventicles – which had become increasingly popular in the wake of the Pentland Rising of 1666 – were threatened with special punishment. This was accomplished in two ways: first, a royal decree

⁵⁶. *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵⁷. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 71; Mathieson, *Politics and Religion*, II, 204.

⁵⁸. Under the conditions of the Second Indulgence, vacant charges were to be filled by pairs of nonconformist ministers who were confined to their parishes; prohibited from performing baptism and marriage services except for their own parishioners or those from neighbouring parishes without a minister; and, instructed to celebrate communion on a prescribed day. See: *RPCS*, III, 586-91.

⁵⁹. Donaldson, *James V – James VII*, 369.

⁶⁰. *APS*, VIII, 7b.

⁶¹. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 80; Donaldson, *James V – James VII*, 369.

against house conventicles and conferences redefined them to designate those prayer meetings that attracted crowds exceeding the building capacity as a field conventicle in order to impose the attendant, harsher penalties; and, second, parliament passed a law allowing capital punishment as a sentence for those found guilty of holding - that is, organising or preaching at - field conventicles.⁶² Moreover, both the nonconformist laity and ministry were affected by legislative enactments of 1672 pertaining to baptism and the ordination of ministers. Baptism of communicants by members of the established ministry became compulsory and ministers who were illegally ordained could, if convicted, be incarcerated or banished.⁶³

Yet, despite these renewed efforts to contain conventicling, it has been suggested that by 1674 house conventicles "constituted a serious rival to the services of the established church in many quarters".⁶⁴ Government policy on nonconformity proved largely ineffectual in reducing the radical, presbyterians' proclivity to favour conventicle meetings over the worship services offered by the established church. Thus, in the face of an increasing escalation of conventicling, the state was forced to adopt a more innovative approach to the problem: a strategy which was launched in 1674. That year, a special privy council committee was struck whose mandate was to deal exclusively with conventicling.⁶⁵ Letters of intercommuning which sanctioned the legal ostracism of conventiclers were issued for the first time in 1675 as a weapon against nonconformist activity.⁶⁶ And, the privy council took the unusual step of offering anyone who apprehended a conventicler the gift of the fines exacted if the suspected individual was charged, tried and found guilty.⁶⁷ What is more, in 1676, a series of new measures were brought in to reinforce the state's campaign. The 'Act enforcing church attendance' with fines imposed on recalcitrant layfolk and imprisonment prescribed for conventicling ministers was introduced. This was accompanied by an ambitious, government plan for obtaining a detailed survey of the extent of the problem of political and religious nonconformity when orders were

62. *Ibid.*; *APS*, VIII, 9b.

63. Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 369.

64. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 83.

65. *Ibid.*, 87.

66. Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 370.

67. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 87.

issued for a census to determine who had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Special courts were set up, as well, in twenty shires to enforce the laws against conventicling.⁶⁸ To strengthen the existing body of legislation making heritors liable for their dependents' nonconformity, government bands were issued in 1677 whereby landowners had to vouch for the loyal behaviour of those residing on their lands: a reassertion of a strategy articulated three years earlier in a proclamation of 1674.⁶⁹

Essentially, it was the rise in nonconformist activity concomitant with the heritors' failure to contain it in compliance with the laws, particularly in certain regions, which resulted in the government's adaptation of a more "draconian approach"⁷⁰ to conventicling. This phase in policy - characterised as a "policy of coercion"⁷¹ - was marked by the invocation of a state of emergency in December of 1677 involving the imposition of martial law and it was heralded by the formation of the 'Highland Host', an army of 8,000 troops, who were quartered in disaffected areas, especially in the southwestern shires.⁷² Contemporaries including Gilbert Burnet, the archbishop of Glasgow, and John Blackadder, a nonconformist minister, were of the firm belief that this large-scale, martial initiative was part of a deliberate scheme by officials to force civil unrest in order to provide a reason for the maintenance of a standing army in England.⁷³ Certainly, when coupled with the punitive treatment of conventiclers such as transportation which had become a "recognised means of dealing with Conventiclers"⁷⁴ by 1678 and the additional financial burden on heritors with the levying of the cess tax - an imposition of £1.8 million which was brought in by the convention of estates in July of 1678 primarily as a means of generating revenue to meet the costs of suppressing conventicling including the expenses accrued in quartering troops on recalcitrants -⁷⁵ the presence of the Highland Host in the southwest fuelled disaffection. Whatever the motivation on the part of the state, the

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*, 91; J.R. Elder, *The Highland Host of 1678* (Aberdeen, 1914), 3.

70. Buckroyd, *Church and State*, 91.

71. Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 370.

72. The fullest account of the Highland Host is provided by Elder, *Highland Host*.

73. Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (2 vols., 1724-34), 277; *Memoirs of the Reverend John Blackadder*, ed. A. Chrichton (Edinburgh, 1832), 231. See also: R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (4 vols., 1828-30), II, 372.

74. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 92.

75. Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 370.

outbreak of the Rebellion of 1679 was precipitated, therefore, by the antipathy of radical presbyterians for the the state's coercive policies on nonconformity.

Tensions between the state and militant nonconformists came to a head in May of 1679 when the murder of the archbishop of St. Andrews, James Sharp, on Magus Moor in Fife occasioned a series of acts of armed defiance by conventiclers in different parts of the country which together constituted a rebellion.⁷⁶ But, it was the circumstances of the moment rather than any well-orchestrated conspiracy which forced a minority of disaffected nonconformists into an open confrontation with the state. If, for instance, the dozen men who met at Gilston and then travelled to Baldinnie on 2 May had not decided at the last minute to kill Archbishop Sharp on the following day - rather than the local sheriff-depute, William Carmichael of Easter Thurston, whose zeal in prosecuting nonconformists had aroused such hostility that it had marked him as the original target for assassination - it is doubtful if either the necessity or the determination to foment rebellion would have been so pressing. As it was, with the murder of a high-ranking and influential official, the group of assassins had provoked a national crisis that could only be settled by armed confrontation. Moreover, the fact that little activity occurred for the next three weeks to confirm the authorities' suspicions that the long-anticipated uprising was imminent serves to underline the spontaneous nature of the uprising. However, confirmation of their apprehensions occurred on 25 May when at Avondale in Lanark, at an ambulatory conventicle that had attracted 3,000 supporters, Robert Hamilton - the younger son of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston and Fingalton - advocated the necessity of a popular rising and, as a leader of the militants, declared war on the state.⁷⁷ This call to arms was legitimised by the creation of a radical manifesto, the Rutherglen Declaration, which was written in Glasgow, approved in Strathaven and, finally, published in Rutherglen on 29 May to coincide with the royal celebrations marking the king's birthday and restoration.⁷⁸ The government's response to the rebels belied the official view that apart from some limited support evident in Fife among more radical conventiclers, the rebellion

⁷⁶ Fuller discussion of the Rebellion is provided by Cowan, Scottish Covenanters, 94-9; Mitchison, History of Scotland, 260-5.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 96.

⁷⁸ RPCS., 3rd series, VI, 210.

could be contained within the boundaries of the western shires of Ayr, Dunbarton, Renfrew and Lanark.⁷⁹ To that end, a general muster was ordered to be held in nearly all of the shire, with the exception of those in the southwest; English troops were dispatched by sea to Berwick; the eastern burghs of Berwick, Stirling, Blackness, East Wemyss and Linlithgow were fortified; and, a ring of garrisons was placed around the capital, Edinburgh. During the next three weeks, between 1 June and 22 June, the rebels engaged the government troops in five major battles or skirmishes. While the rebel forces enjoyed initial success in the early military encounters fought at Loudoun Hill and Glasgow, they proved no match for the king's army both at Gala Water and West Calder and at the final confrontation at Bothwell Bridge on 22 June.

Insofar as the government's approach to nonconformity was concerned, the Rebellion of 1679 acted, ultimately, as a catalyst for renewed repression. Granted, there were initial attempts by the state to temper its policy. The Third Indulgence, authorised by Charles II in June of 1679 and reiterated three months later by the privy council, legalised house conventicles under certain conditions for areas south of the Tay and outwith a two mile radius of Edinburgh and a one mile radius of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Stirling. Deprived ministers who were not active participants in the Rebellion were eligible for a license to preach if they gave surety for their good behaviour. The purpose of this initiative, according to a royal proclamation of 13 November 1679 ordering indulged ministers to give in their names to the privy council, was to "reclaim all such as have been misled by ignorance or blind zeale, the pretexts of disorders, and to convince all indifferent persons that too great severity is as far from our designs as our inclinations".⁸⁰ Additionally, in July, individuals fined for nonconformity whose case did not involve treasonous acts had their fines cancelled and incarcerated nonconformist ministers who had not been involved in the Rebellion were to be pardoned and released.⁸¹ However, such leniency proved short-term, primarily, because it was overtaken by more pressing political considerations, attendant by major changes in the character of the ruling régime. The replacement of Lauderdale as head of the administration with the duke of Monmouth until

⁷⁹. For a full account of the government's response to the rebellion see: *Ibid.*, 207-53.

⁸⁰. *Ibid.*, 339.

⁸¹. *Ibid.*, XIV, 264-5.

the arrival in Scotland in November of 1679 of James, duke of York resulted in the launching of a new program which consisted, according to the presbyterian apologist, Robert Wodrow, of "barbarous laws" which were implemented "ruthlessly and arbitrarily".⁸² Moreover, the concessions granted by the Third Indulgence were revoked in May of 1680, largely, at the insistence of the newly appointed archbishop of St. Andrews, Alexander Burnet, whose "advancement at this time was a prime factor in the maintenance of repression".⁸³

In general, the extraordinary measures characterising much of the 1670s were expanded upon in the aftermath of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion. This was despite the fact that only a small proportion of presbyterian sympathisers were still active conventiclers and that militant covenanters, the Cameronians, constituted a minority of extremists.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, in an effort to undercut lay participation in conventicling, the capacity of the judicial system to process cases of nonconformity was enlarged by ordering sheriff deputies in the shires to preside over weekly courts.⁸⁵ A series of prescriptive measures were invoked as well in 1681 to deal with nonconformity. Some, such as enforcement of the laws against preachers conducting house and field conventicles and the requirement that heritors report all conventicle activity within their jurisdictions, were merely renewals of former injunctions.⁸⁶ Others, however, were less conventional. Under the 'Act for securing the peace of the country', masters and heritors were obliged to compel their servants and tenants to pay any fines they may have received on conviction of attending field conventicles or else they were to dismiss them or eject them from their lands.⁸⁷ Fines for attending the illegal prayer meetings were doubled and burgesses engaging in conventicling were threatened with a loss of their burgess status and privileges along with banishment from their town.⁸⁸ Traditional methods of administering justice were augmented further in 1682 with the creation of special local commissions

82. Wodrow, History of the Sufferings, III, 1.

83. Cowan, Scottish Covenanters, 107.

84. Ibid., 104.

85. Ibid., 91.

86. APS, VIII, 243b; RPCS, XV, 93-4.

87. Ibid., 242.

88. Ibid., 242b.

"to suppress religious disaffection" within a designated jurisdiction.⁸⁹ Warrants were given by the privy council to special commissioners to investigate and prosecute nonconformists in areas "where the magistrates and other officials have been remiss in the discharge of their duty".⁹⁰ While some of these special commissions respected traditional spheres of influence and were granted to heritors like the earl of Linlithgow in their own localities, others were awarded to professional soldiers including Captain Kenneth Mackenzie of Suddie who was authorised to act in conjunction with the sheriffs of Ross and Cromarty in the suppression of religious disaffection and Major Andrew White who received commissions for the suppression of dissidents in the shires of Lanark, Ayr and "neighbouring shires".⁹¹ Special circuit courts of justiciary to examine offenders for church regularity and conventicling were created in April of 1683.⁹² Although their operations were originally confined to the south and west of Scotland, the circuit courts proved so successful in harrassing nonconformists back into the established churches in these areas that their methods were extended to include Fife, Kinross, Lothian and the region between the rivers Spey and Ness in December of 1684 with further commissions extended to the shires of Berwick and Peebles in the following month.⁹³

Essentially, the extension of the special circuit courts of justiciary ushered in a phase of government policy against nonconformity marked by its acceleration of the judicial process; its swift dispensation of justice; and, its extremity of sentencing and punishment which came to be known as the 'Killing Times'. While some relief was offered with a royal indemnity issued in early March of 1685 by James VII soon after his succession to the throne which granted a pardon to all in the localities below the degree of heritors, life renters and wadsetters and to those in the towns other than royal burgesses facing sentences and fines for nonconformity, the restrictive conditions of the indemnity meant that few were eligible. For example, "in respect of past crimes", vagrant preachers; laymen whose fines had already been imposed by sentence; and, those implicated in the killing of public

89. *RPCS*, XV, 326-7; 333-4.

90. *Ibid.*, 572-4.

91. *Ibid.*, 373; 326-7; 333-4; 457-8; 624-5; *Ibid.*, XVI, 69.

92. *Ibid.*, XVI, 133-8.

93. *Ibid.*, 3rd series, X, 80-2; 105-8, 110.

officials including the murderers of archbishop Sharp were automatically exempt from the pardon. Prisoners refusing to renounce the Apologetical Declaration; to take the Oath of Abjuration; to swear to the Oath of Allegiance; to subscribe the Test Act; and, to promise never to take up arms against the king were likewise ineligible. Their refusal of any of these oaths was to be treated "as having committed a crime"; thus, they were to remain in detention.⁹⁴ However, most characteristic of the 'Killing Times' were the legislative changes introduced in 1685, at the first meeting of parliament under James VII's rule, when authorisation was given for the imposition of capital punishment – along with the confiscation of all moveable goods of the offender – as the penalty for attendance at illegal prayer meetings for both preachers and laymen.⁹⁵ Witnesses cited in cases of field or house conventicles who refused to give evidence in a deposition were liable to the same punishment as those guilty of the crime.⁹⁶ Although official channels for dispensing justice were maintained with justices of the peace ordered to enforce laws against persons guilty of conventicling,⁹⁷ summary justice administered by soldiers in the field against recalcitrants, also, was given state approval.⁹⁸

In combatting any signs of political or religious unorthodoxy as expressed through conventicling, emphasis was given to the punishment of offenders between 1684 and 1688 mainly because of the political extremism of the Cameronians who in their military and ideological battle with the state had evolved into a terrorist organisation bent on the destruction of the existing Stewart monarchy for its failure to adhere to the covenant ideal. The cumulative effect of their radical pronouncements as epitomised by the manifesto entitled, *The Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland* which was distributed in November of 1684 in which they declared war on the state; advocated regicide; promoted a plan for an alternative government; and, urged the use of physical force to these ends⁹⁹ was that the political militancy of this

94. *Ibid.*, 163-4; 43-4; 183.

95. *APS*, VIII, 461.

96. *Ibid.*, 460.

97. *Ibid.*, 472a.

98. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 119.

99. *A Source Book of Scottish History*, ed. W.C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and I.A. Milne (3 vols., 1958-61), III, 181-2.

minority of radical presbyterians was taken to be representative of presbyterian opinion in general. Moreover, despite the fact that the Cameronians were few in number and the tactics that they employed including the assassination of public officials and government agents – in practice, mostly soldiers – proved unacceptable to moderate presbyterian opinion, many of their ultimate objectives including the overturning of the Restoration Settlement in church and state and the restoring of the presbyterian establishment struck a responsive chord among other more moderate presbyterians. Like terrorist organisations of the twentieth century including the Irish Republican Army in Ireland; the Red Army Faction in Germany; *Action Directe* in France; *La Fronte de Libération du Québec* in Canada; and, the Red Brigade in Italy, the Cameronians were a small number of zealous extremists whose advocacy of violence in the pursuit of a radical change in government was met with general condemnation with few willing to actively participate in their guerilla war against the established order. Yet, again like their modern counterparts, it was their means rather than their ends which were the chief object of public opprobrium. Additionally, their ultimate objectives as extremists had the potential to elicit broad-based sympathy, exerting a greater influence than their numbers ever warranted. For these reasons, the activities of the Cameronians in common with all terrorist groups constituted a threat to national security by openly challenging the state's sovereignty with armed resistance. The militant group's rhetoric of violence concomitant with their campaign of terror bred equally extreme measures on the part of the state. Thus, the arbitrary repression of nonconformity, initiated in 1684 and maintained by the state until 1688 which subsequently achieved its mythical status as the 'Killing Times' in presbyterian consciousness, was a natural response to the threat of civil disorder.

What fuelled the state's repression of presbyterian dissenters at this time, too, was a long-held, royalist belief that presbyterianism could be equated with subversion.¹⁰⁰ Although at the same time, members of other protestant religious sects such as the quakers as well as individual catholics practising private worship were prosecuted for nonconformity, they were never subject to the kind of highly co-ordinated crackdowns initiated by the state against radical presbyterians. As the *bête noir* of the Restoration governments, radical presbyterianism was subject to more rigorous scrutiny not

¹⁰⁰ Buckroyd, *Church and State*, 2.

only because of the present danger to authority it represented in terms of the numbers involved, but because of its past associations with rebellion and its future potential for civil disobedience. Certainly, the distinction became clear when political expediency made James VII officially acknowledge the acceptability of nonconformity and religious plurality with the first Toleration Act of 1686. Although the proclamation extended freedom of worship to quakers and catholics under certain conditions limiting public displays of their religiosity with prohibitions on services held outdoors or in protestant churches and on public processions in the high streets of royal burghs, presbyterian nonconformists were specifically excluded from the policy.¹⁰¹ Moreover, in a royal letter issued in conjunction with the proclamation, the king singled out radical presbyterians for condemnation, referring to them as "those enemies of Christianity ... the field conventiclers, whom we recommend you to root out with all the severities of our laws".¹⁰² This general attitude towards field conventicles continued to dictate government policy; however, in June of 1687, a second proclamation offered some relief for house conventiclers by granting toleration to all subjects insofar as it became legal to hold and conduct nonconformist, religious services in private houses, chapels or meeting halls.¹⁰³ Even though a small number of radical presbyterians were disinclined to accept these provisions and remained disaffected, for all intents and purposes, the policy of toleration spelled the end of conventicling as a populist phenomenon. Whereas almost twenty-five years of coercion and repression had proved ineffectual in containing conventicling, a final solution to the problem was accomplished with the stroke of a pen guaranteeing open accommodation. For our purposes, though, what this review of the principal initiatives related to conventicling underlines most are the difficult conditions under which the covenanting leadership maintained the momentum of the movement during the Restoration. It offers some indication, too, of the obstacles that had to be overcome in utilising prayer meetings as a forum for the articulation and dissemination of covenanting aural and visual propaganda.

101. RPCS, XII, 434.

102. Wodrow, History of the Sufferings, II, App. cxxviii; S.R.O., Ms GD 16/51/57, Airlie Muniments, 'Letter from James VII to privy council dated Whythall, 12 Feb 1686'.

103. RPCS, XIII, 156-8.

Therefore, the state's uncompromising approach to public dissent and the articulation of dissident opinion varied little during the seventeenth century irrespective of the character of the ruling régime. Successive covenanting, republican and royalist administrations attempted to maintain law and order in the interests of good governance by relying largely on legislative enactments related to sedition, assembly and nonconformity to silence public criticism and to limit the opportunities for mass protest. What this meant in terms of covenanting political propaganda was that its formulation, specifically of aural and visual propaganda, was so dependent on the political climate that it fluctuated accordingly. Clearly, between 1638 and 1651, when the covenanters were anxious to maintain their political and religious dominance, the state had a vested interest in encouraging any manifestations of favourable propaganda and, equally, of suppressing that which was unfavourable. Since the public articulation of pro-covenanting views was regarded as a patriotic endeavour while anticovenanting opinion was seen as seditious, the widest range and greatest volume of the propaganda produced by the movement dates from this period. Whereas after 1651, when covenanting propaganda no longer enjoyed state sanction and its producers were labelled as political outsiders and subversives, its opportunities for public exposure were drastically diminished and its production declined accordingly. Even though the adverse reaction to the Restoration Settlement in church and state among an important segment of the more militant presbyterians – as evidenced by the rise in nonconformity – proved to be a stimulus to the production of aural and visual propaganda for the movement, it never regained, in quantitative terms, the same level of output achieved during the covenanters' years in power because of the state's vigilance in protecting its sovereignty.

III.

Of special concern for all administrations was the production of literary propaganda since, potentially, it could exert a wide influence, reaching a geographically and socially diverse audience. Indeed, one of the first acts of each, succeeding administration during the period under review was to issue declarations establishing its authority over the print industry and its exclusive right to the use

of the presses. When the covenanters engineered the final collapse of the Caroline administration in 1638 at the Glasgow General Assembly, an injunction was endorsed by those in attendance to ban all printed material "concerning the Kirk and Religion, except it be allowed by those whom the Kirk entrusts with that charge".¹⁰⁴ Similarly, in 1655, once the apparatus of government had been established during the Interregnum, the privy council was given the authority to erect printing presses for the publication of proclamations and the discretionary power to prohibit their use.¹⁰⁵ Three years later, the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, instructed the council that, if necessary, it could make exclusive use of the printing presses in Scotland for the public service.¹⁰⁶ With the Restoration, a royal proclamation was issued in 1661 "discharging all printers or companies from printing any book or papers whatsoever nature without liberty from the Parliament".¹⁰⁷ The tenor of this regulation remained in effect during the kingship of James VII. In 1686, the privy council prohibited the printing of unlicensed books and pamphlets.¹⁰⁸ And, in February of 1686, this regulation for a licence to print or sell books was extended on orders from the privy council to prevent the sale of any seditious literature.¹⁰⁹ New directives were introduced, as well, to accommodate and promote the key Jacobean policy of toleration for catholics through government control of the printing presses when the legal sanctions against publishing catholic literature were lifted for the first time. Consequently, after the Revolution of 1688-1689, one of the initial acts of the convention of estates in 1689 was to repeal the permission granted by James VII to "print and disperse popish books" since it was "one of the reasons for which the Estates declared the throne vacant".¹¹⁰ Thus, control of the printing presses was viewed as an essential mechanism for helping to bolster political authority.

104. Record of the Kirk of Scotland, Containing the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies, 1638-1654, ed. A. Peterkin (Edinburgh, 1838), 39.

105. APS, II, 827a.

106. Ibid., 876.

107. RPCS, IX, 119.

108. Ibid., 3rd series, Misc. Papers, XI, 514, 519.

109. Ibid., 557.

110. APS, IX, 33b.

What is more, "access to the press"¹¹¹ was viewed as an imperative for the shaping of public opinion. Both covenanters and 'discovenanters' – as anticovenanters were sometimes termed by contemporaries¹¹² – were all too aware of the importance of putting forward their version of events in order to win broad-based support for their policies and general approval for their political activities.¹¹³ Dissemination of print material outlining their political positions was seen as a key determinant in helping to ensure their political fortunes. Such thinking informed the assessment of the political situation made by the Lord Treasurer, John Stewart, the earl of Traquair, in mid-February of 1639 on the eve of the first Bishops' War. Alarmed by the covenanters' success in making elaborate and well-co-ordinated preparations for war including the creation of shire committees of war for the mustering of troops and the collection of finances and armaments,¹¹⁴ Traquair urged that Charles should issue an official statement clarifying his position on the present political controversies. By making a "full and clear declaration of his pleasure", Traquair believed that the king could undercut covenanting support and generate a royalist backlash in the country. The propaganda value and rhetorical quality of the proclamation was seen as being of greater importance than its substance; for as Traquair put it,

what ever it be wightie it be wel digested, and In clear wordes, This is desyred by many and if it be right and hartie altho it grant not muche more then seames to have bein yeilded unto alreadie be former proclamations I am most [con]fident it will draw from the Covenanters hundreds, if not thousands.¹¹⁵

Recognition of the power of literary propaganda to shape political circumstances meant, too, that rival political factions often blamed their own short-comings on their ideological opponents' control of the printing presses. In August of 1652, moderate Resolutioners who dominated the general assembly

¹¹¹. S.R.O., Ms GD 157/1861, Scott of Harden, Lord Polwarth, 'The Act and Apolgetick Declaration of the true presbyterians of the Church of Scotland' [dated 15 December 1681].

¹¹². See, for instance, A Necessary Warning to the Ministrie of the Kirk of Scotland, from the meeting of the Commissioners of the General Assembly at Edinburgh 4 Jan. 1643 (Edinburgh, 1643), 10.

¹¹³. D. Stevenson, 'A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: The Scottish Covenanters and their Printers, 1638-51' in The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 6th ser., VII, No. 4., (1985), 320-3.

¹¹⁴. Stevenson, Scottish Revolution, 127-38.

¹¹⁵. N.L.S., MSS 81 Vol. 9/96, Morton Papers, 'Letter from earl of Traquair to earl of Morton dated 16 February 1639'.

made a broad appeal in a letter printed as a tract – addressed to the “Nobility, Gentry and all other wise and pious Persons in every Presbyterie” – for supporters to actively campaign against the more militant Protestors in their localities; claiming

our Dissenting Brethren have the advantage of the Presse for the present, and are too diligent and painfull in gathering of hands and subscriptions to their Protestation, of young men or elder, masters or servants, without any triall of their qualification, to make the world think that the generality of the godly (as they in their papers presume to call themselves) and that in great number do stand for their devisive way.¹¹⁶

Similarly, in a radical, covenanting manifesto produced in December of 1681, *The Apologetical Declaration of the true presbyterians of the Church of Scotland*, allegations were made that government-backed attempts at news management through the distribution of black propaganda – “throw mis-information or false Copies as there are many of what wee act and doe” – distorted the Cameronians’ political and religious objectives so as to make them appear more militant. Here, concern was expressed that the official version of the radical group’s political activities would receive wide acceptance; thus, the general populace was cautioned by the manifesto “not [to] take Up a wrong opinion of us or our proceedings”. Moreover, it was the militants’ frustration at their inability to counter such a campaign through the production and dissemination of covenanting literature “because we have not access to the press as they have” in order to set the record straight and justify their political position that had prompted them, in part, to issue the declaration.¹¹⁷ Therefore, the accessibility of the printing presses and facility to produce literary propaganda were viewed as critical components in the shaping of public opinion in general and in the struggle for political credibility by covenanters and ‘discovenanters’ in particular throughout the seventeenth century.

The impulse to limit ‘access to the press’ underlay the development of an official, control system over the production of print material. State regulation of printing, ultimately, was controlled through the office of a civil administrator which, in addition to performing its more primary functions, acted in an ancillary capacity as, what was in effect, the official censor. All of the

¹¹⁶. An Act and Overture of the Generall Assembly, for the Peace and Union of the Kirk, With a Letter to the Nobility, Gentry and all other wise and pious Persons in every Presbyterie, to promote the same, (Leith, 1652), 7.

¹¹⁷. S.R.O., Ms GD 157/1861, ‘The Act and Apolgetick Declaration of the true presbyterians of the Church of Scotland’.

administrations in power between 1638 and 1689, whether covenanting, republican or royalist utilised high-ranking, civil officials to examine and approve any literature printed in Scotland as well as any material imported from outwith the country. Monitoring the publication of papers, books and tracts was deemed necessary because of the contemporary belief that the print industry should act as an instrument for the maintenance of good order. Such thinking informed the parliamentary ban of 1646 against the printing and importation of books that had not been "seen and revised" by the Secretary of State as required by law. The prohibition was enacted because of the "prejudice that do ensue through the uncontrolled liberty that printers take to themselves to print and publish books and papers at their pleasure without any warrand". Moreover, as was pointed out, "in all well-governed kingdoms it is expressly prohibited that any subject take upon hand to print or publish books of whatsoever discipline or science, but specially libels or chronicles concerning the state of the kingdom or ages past, without warrand or allowances for that effect".¹¹⁸ Generally speaking, during the 1630s and 1640s, chief responsibility for overseeing the printing industry was in the hands of one officer of state passing from the Lord Advocate under Caroline rule to the Secretary of State during the covenanting years of power. But, from the 1650s to the 1680s, it gradually became a collective duty of, first, the privy council under the English occupation and, second, *ad hoc* sub-committees of the council during the Restoration which, in turn, evolved into a formal committee, the committee for public affairs, by the 1680's.¹¹⁹ However, with the exception of the 1650s, the vetting of tracts and books was also carried out by church officials both clerical and lay; thus, it was often on the recommendation of the archbishops and bishops under royalist rule and the clerk of the general assembly under the covenanters that works could be officially approved or banned by the chief, civil official or committee.¹²⁰ Moreover, under the covenanters, the general assembly's right to authorise print material, its "liberty of printing", allowed it to censor opposition views in almost as an effective manner as the prerogative court, the court of high commission, had done after 1634 during Charles I's

118. APS, VI, 551.

119. Ibid., V, 57; Ibid., VI, ii, 827a; Ibid., 876; RPCS, XII, 265; Ibid., XIV, 571-2.

120. Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1625-1747, ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh, 1871-72), Vol. 1643-1747, 294; RPCS, XIII, 487; Ibid., IX, 272; APS, VI, i, 551.

rule.¹²¹ Policing of the print industry was done, too, at the local level in the burghs by the town council which regulated local printing establishments and had the authority to grant licenses for printing. Burgh magistrates, town councils and sheriffs worked in tandem with parish ministers to ensure that the directives issued by the central administration were honoured and enforced.¹²²

One of the principal means relied on by the state to control which works were published or made available for distribution in Scotland was a licensing system. This was apart from the generous monopoly of printing granted to the king's printer for all government printing, school texts and standard religious and theological books.¹²³ Throughout the early-modern period, the legal right to print specific books and pamphlets was predicated on the acquisition of a licence from the relevant local or central authority with warrants given to authors or their dependents as well as to printers to publish approved material which had been vetted by the pertinent secular or ecclesiastical officials.¹²⁴ Authorisation for a work was indicated, often, by the inclusion of the *imprimatur* of the presiding official which was "to be prefixed to the severall printed copies of the said book".¹²⁵ Under the covenanters, printers were required to obtain official sanction prior to the publication of a broad range of literature. Beginning in 1638, warrants issued by the clerk of the general assembly and advocate for the church, Archibald Johnston of Warriston, had to be obtained for the publication of "any act of the former assembly, any Confession of Faith, any protestations, any reasons pro or contra anent the present divisions and controversies of this time, or any other treatise whatsoever which may concern the kirk of Scotland or God's cause in hand".¹²⁶ A similar injunction was introduced in

¹²¹ Discussion of the use of the prerogative court to censor dissidents is found in G.I.R. McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission, 1610-38' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XV, iii, (1965).

¹²² RPCS, XIV, 571-2; Ibid., XI, 375-6; Aberdeen Records, vol. 1643-1747, 294; The Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale 1589-1596, 1640-1649, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1977), 211.

¹²³ Ibid., XII, 597; APS, V, 52.; Ibid., VI, i, 257; Ibid., VIII, 206-7. Discussion of the rôle of the King's Printer between 1638 and 1651 is provided by Stevenson, 'A revolutionary regime', 317-20, 323-35. See also: H.C. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: Including those Printed furth of the realm for Scottish Booksellers. With Brief Notes on the Printers and Stationers (Edinburgh, 1970) and R.H. Carnie, 'Scottish Printers and booksellers, 1668-1775: a study of source material' in Bibliotheca, IV, (1966), 213-27.

¹²⁴ APS, VI, i, 323; Ibid., V, 57; RPCS, XIII, 60, 487; Ibid., IX, 446; Ibid., XI, 378-9.

¹²⁵ RPCS, XIII, 60.

¹²⁶ Peterkin's Records, 39.

1646 by parliament banning the publication of literature which dealt with religion except with a licence from the general assembly along with a second act prohibiting the printing of any "book, libel or history concerning the state of the kingdom" without a licence from "one of the supreme judicatories" or the Secretary of State.¹²⁷ After the restoration of Charles II, a proclamation was issued which placed a comprehensive ban on the printing of "any book or papers whatsoever nature without liberty from the Parliament". This blanket decree was modified, however, after the printers and booksellers of Edinburgh petitioned the parliament of 1661 asking for clarification "that they might know what to print"; for, as it was expressed, "they feel themselves bound up from printing or venting of bibles and schoolbooks". In providing an explanation, parliament weakened the force of the royal decree by suggesting that "their meaning was only to discharge the printing of new books never heretofore printed or allowed to be sold in this kingdom or the reprinting of other books elsewhere before they have been revised by warrant of the Council".¹²⁸

Recipients of a licence, also, were granted the monopoly to publish a particular work with the "competent tyme" for exclusive printing rights often assessed for as much as nineteen years.¹²⁹ However, the duration of these licences varied widely. The standard, nineteen-year licence was sometimes extended as in 1671 when two Edinburgh printers, George Swintoun and James Glen, successfully petitioned the privy council for a renewal of their warrant for printing Andrew Gray's sermons and William Guthrey's work, *Christian Interes*. They appealed on the grounds that they possessed sole rights to the works having paid a "considerable soume" for the first copies of them to the ministers' widows and "sensyn hath bein reprinted to the petitioners prejudice, bot now are near worn out of print".¹³⁰ Also, the "sole and only priviledge of printing" was granted, occasionally, for shorter periods ranging from seven to eleven years.¹³¹ Moreover, in 1645, parliament under the covenanters passed a law forbidding the publication and importation of certain books for fifteen years

127. *APS*, VI, i, 551.

128. *RPCS*, IX, 119.

129. *Ibid.*, XI, 593, 602; *Ibid.*, XII, 306, 219; *Ibid.*, XIII, 292.

130. *Ibid.*, IX, 542.

131. *Ibid.*, XII, 306; *APS*, VII, 334; *Ibid.*, App. 81b.

without the consent of the author including Zachary Boyd's *Commentary on the Ephesians* and *The Continuation of the History of the Kirk*.¹³² Printers claimed that the lengthy duration of their monopolies on licensed books was necessary for them to recoup their costs. When Robert Sanders, a Glasgow printer and bookbinder, petitioned the privy council during the Restoration for the rights "to print and finish the History of the Civill Warres of Britane and Ireland", he stated that "his great expense both in money and time cannot be repaired except the sole privilege of printing the said book is granted to him for some years, and also lest others be discouraged in a like necessary work".¹³³ To reinforce the efficacy of the system of monopolies, penalties were imposed for infringing the conditions under which printing licences were granted. For the revision of a work, entitled *Historicall and Politicall Observations of the Warr of Hungary*, Sir James Turner received an author's license from the privy council in 1669 which stipulated that a fine of £200 would be imposed on "others printing or importing" the work over the next ten years.¹³⁴ In 1673, Samuel Colville successfully petitioned the privy council for a warrant to print a book he had written, *Ane Historicall Accompt and Disput anent the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome*. In the licence giving him the exclusive rights of choosing a printer along with the sole privilege of printing, selling and reprinting the book both within and outwith Scotland, it was specified that the penalty for publishing unlicensed copies would be "confiscation of all such books as shall be so printed, reprinted or dispersed to the said Mr. Samuel his use, and farder punished as the Lords of Council order".¹³⁵ Similarly, in November of 1675, Margret Muir, the widow of James Durhame who had formerly been a minister at Glasgow, was granted a licence by the privy council allowing for the revision of a book by Durhame, *A practicall exposition of the ten commandments*, which had already been printed in London and prohibiting all printers, stationers and merchants in Scotland from reprinting or importing copies under threat of confiscation and any other penalty as determined by the privy council.¹³⁶ Heavy regulation of the

132. *APS*, VI, i, 323.

133. *RPCS*, IX, 542.

134. *Ibid.*, XI, 602.

135. *Ibid.*, XIII, 60.

136. *Ibid.*, 486-7.

print industry through a system of licensed books theoretically allowed the state, then, to maintain a modicum of control over what literature legally circulated in Scotland.

Government scrutiny of the printing industry was intended, ultimately, to help ensure that politically seditious and religiously unorthodox literature was not available in the country. This proved to be problematic for the state since, as we will see – in the case of the covenanters after 1651 – much of the dissident literature was produced for propaganda purposes by clandestine networks of committed supporters, located both within and outside of Scotland, which were difficult to detect. Nevertheless, succeeding régimes attempted to censor their critics by banning print material that threatened to undermine the *status quo* in church and state and by categorising its authors and promoters as traitors. In terms of enforcement, however, both the covenanters and the royalists were much more aggressive in prosecuting offenders than the government of the Interregnum. No doubt, the state of martial law backed by the strategic presence of troops throughout the country facilitated the detection and suppression of dissident opinion. What this meant, when taken together with the covenanting movement's factional infighting, political emasculation and general demoralisation, was that the Cromwellian régime had less need to do so. Indeed, apart from a "treatise against an ordinance of the Commonwealth" by the Protestor, James Guthrie, which was sent to the Protector, Oliver Cromwell,¹³⁷ in 1655 presumably for vetting, the central administration was not engaged in this type of overt state censorship. It was generally the case though, for the years when the covenanters and royalists were in power, that a book or tract was judged seditious if it was produced "purposelie to alienate the hearts and affections of the subjects from thair due obedience and alledgiance" or if it would "infuse the principalls of rebellion in the mynd of many good subjects".¹³⁸ Although they were rarely implemented, the legal penalties prescribed for the production and dissemination of subversive material were severe. According to the law, the printing, selling or distribution of seditious material was a capital offence that was punishable by death from Charles I's rule to the Revolution of 1688–89 and there was the attendant penalty of forfeiture and confiscation of all

¹³⁷. *APS*, VI, ii, 899b.

¹³⁸. *RPCS*, VI, 537; *Ibid.*, IX, 527.

moveable goods and possessions for the convicted offender.¹³⁹ In general, then, state suppression of subversive literature involved proscriptive measures with outright bans on the publication and distribution of seditious material concomitant with punitive sentences for its producers and distributors.

Under the covenanters, the drive for political and religious conformity resulted in the censorship of a variety of polemical material including pro-royalist propaganda, anti-nationalist writings, catholic literature and counter-revolutionary papers. The author and "spreaders of the book", *Large Declaration*, were singled out in 1640 for punishment when it was ordered that they be proceeded against as "raisers of sedition".¹⁴⁰ A more general directive was issued by parliament in 1641 calling for the suppression and destruction of all books and printed papers "against the Scots" which were available in England and Ireland.¹⁴¹ Similarly, the circulation of catholic literature in Scotland prompted a meeting of the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in August of 1644 to recommend "to the commission of the kirk that they will have a case of restraining the homecoming of hereticall books and pamphlets, for they are informed that there ar some of them come home already and ar publicklye sold in chops".¹⁴² This was in line with an official, conformity drive that was renewed in the wake of the earl of Montrose's pro-royalist military campaigns, but it had been initiated the previous year when the Solemn League and Covenant had split the covenanting movement. Moreover, it was exemplified in an injunction of the commissioners of the general assembly of 1643 for ministers especially those "upon the coasts, or where there is harbourie and Port" to search for and to examine any imported literature.¹⁴³ Counter-revolutionary material such as the marquis of Montrose's declaration which was issued in January of 1650, on his arrival from the continent in Orkney - in an attempt to foment a royalist insurrection that never materialised and led, in turn, to his execution in

139. *Ibid.*, XI, 138; *APS*, VI, iii, 135b, 136a.

140. *APS*, V, 263.

141. *Ibid.*, 339b.

142. *Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, 211 f. 46, 46v.

143. *The principall Acts of the Generall Assembly, Conveened att Edinburgh the second day of August 1643* (Edinburgh, 1643), 6.

May of that year – was denounced as traitorous by the government.¹⁴⁴ This quest for political and religious orthodoxy reached its apotheosis in 1649 when the general assembly attempted to tighten its control over the printing presses by recommending the death penalty for disenfranchised printers who published any unlicensed material.¹⁴⁵

Equally, under the restored monarchy, the imperative of establishing political and religious conformity naturally coloured the state's approach to the treatment of subversive print material. Of special concern was the proliferation of covenanting, literary propaganda that circulated throughout the country for it was regarded as a grave threat to national security. As early as 1660, the newly constituted administration took steps to control the dissemination of this dissident literature. As part of the campaign it launched against political extremists which involved the arrest and detention of leading Protestors including Patrick Gillespie and James Guthrie – the latter of whom was subsequently executed in June of 1661 – the committee of estates ordered that any written material found in their possession should be confiscated to prevent its use “for convocating all of their owne judgement” and for its potential in generating disaffection and the “raiseing of more tumults and (iff possible) rekyndlying a civill warr amongst his Maj. good subjects”.¹⁴⁶ For the same reasons, in October of 1660, Samuel Rutherford's treatise, *Lex Rex*, and James Guthrie's tract, *The Causes of God's Wrath*, were ordered to be burned by the public hangman at Edinburgh's market cross in compliance with the Committee of Estates' injunction of July to destroy them.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, a warrant was issued for Rutherford's arrest in St. Andrews along with the further directive that *Lex*

¹⁴⁴. S.R.O., PA 12/5, Committee of Estates 2 January – 29 June 1649; Committee of Estates 3 January – 20 December 1650.

¹⁴⁵. *APS*, VI, ii, 135b, 136a.

¹⁴⁶. S.R.O., PA 12/8, Committee of Estates 23 August 1660 – 31 October 1660, 'Act for securing Mr James Guthrie and others' [c. August 1660]. The Committee of Estates' orders to the governor of Edinburgh Castle regarding Patrick Gillespie, which were issued on 14 September 1660, also stressed that Gillespie not be allowed “to disperse papers or that any be permitted to speik with him, but in presence of the said Governor or his deputy”.

¹⁴⁷. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, ed. M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1931–67), Vol. 1655–65, 217.

Rex be publicly burned at St. Andrews by the hangman.¹⁴⁸ When the covenanting tract written by John Brown of Wamphray, *Ane apologetik relation of the particular sufferings of the faithful ministers and professours of the Church of Scotland since august 1660*, began to circulate in 1666, after being published the previous year, it was banned by the privy council on the grounds that it was "found to be full of seditious treasonable and rebellious principalls, contrived of purpose to traduce the Kings authority and government, the proceedings of the late Parliament and Kings Privy Council, contrar to the truth of the Protestant religion as it is profest within this kingdom and established by law, and therby to seduce the leidges from their alledgeance and obedience and to strenthen the disaffected in their rebellious principalls and practises".¹⁴⁹ That the prospect of renewed civil strife and the concern that political instability might be engendered by seditious literature preoccupied the monarchical government was evident, too, in the privy council's decree of April of 1664 reissuing the ban on George Buchanan's sixteenth-century treatise on kingship, *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos* - which had been imposed eighty years earlier - in response to its publication and distribution by covenanting propagandists. Here, articulation of this official anxiety was patent when it was declared that,

notwithstanding it has pleased Almighty God to restore the kingdome to the great blessings of peace and prosperity under the protection of his Majesties royall government After the late grievous sufferings and bondage under usurpers, yet some seditious and ill affected persons indeavour to infuse the principalls of rebellion in the myndes of many good subjects of purpose to dispose them to new troubles, and for that end have adventured to translate in the English tongue an old seditious pamphlett, intituled *De Jure Regna apud Scotos*, ... and have dispensed many copies of the said translation which may corrupt the affections of the subjects and alienat their myndes from their obedience to the laws and his Majesties royall authority, and from the present government, if it be not tymously prevented.¹⁵⁰

Even though, in an effort to prevent civil disobedience, all copies of the book were to be turned in to the authorities and, henceforth, its production, dissemination and possession was to be treated as

¹⁴⁸. S.R.O., PA 11/13 f. 6, Register of the Committee of Estates 9 October 1660 - 8 December 1660, 'Committee of Estates' order for the arrest of Samuel Rutherford in St. Andrews dated Edinburgh, 16 October 1660'.

¹⁴⁹. *RPCS*, XI, 138-9.

¹⁵⁰. *Ibid.*, IX, 537-8.

sedition, Buchanan's work continued to be circulated, surreptitiously; making it the subject of special investigations by subcommittees of the privy council like those held in 1671 and 1680.¹⁵¹

Standard procedures were used to combat the influx of seditious pamphlets and books formulated as propaganda by leading covenanters which, like *Naphtali or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*, - a work co-authored by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and John Stirling - were "printed and dispersed into severall parts of the kingdome".¹⁵² To deter those suspected of dealing in treasonous print material, the privy council issued orders with specific deadlines directing the local, judicial officials headed by magistrates in the burghs and sheriffs in the shires to seize the papers. All copies were to be handed in to the local authorities so that they, in turn, could submit the papers to the clerk of the privy council. The confiscated works were ordered to be burned in prominent public venues - often at the market cross of the capital, Edinburgh, or that of a relevant burgh - in a ceremony presided over by the public hangman so that "nane pretend ignorance" with penalties imposed for non-compliance, usually fines and imprisonment, which, as one privy council decree put it, "shall be inflicted without mercy". This was in addition to the threat of prosecution for the "authors, printers, importers, ventners, or disposers of seditious and infamous lybells": illegal activities "punishable by death, confiscation of moveables, and diverse other hie paines and punishments".¹⁵³ However, during the Restoration period, some official procedures were enlarged in an attempt to strengthen enforcement of the law. Punitive fines of £2,000 were imposed, for the first time, for the possession of "infamous and scandalous lybells" such as the three, covenanting tracts *Ane apologetik relation of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers and professors of the Church of Scotland since august 1660*, *Naphtali or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* and *Jus Populi Vindicatum or The People's Right to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion* - which were banned in 1666, 1667 and 1671 respectively.¹⁵⁴ The ceremonial burning in 1682 of copies of covenanting declarations by the public hangman in Edinburgh including the Solemn League and

151. *Ibid.*, XII, 265; *Ibid.*, XIV, 571-2.

152. *Ibid.*, XI, 375.

153. *Ibid.*, 138-9.

154. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, 375-6; *Ibid.*, XII, 296-7.

Covenant, the Rutherglen Declaration, the Sanquhar Declaration, the Lanark Declaration and the Queensferry Paper occasioned a special display for royalist, visual propaganda when members of the town council were ordered to attend *en masse*.¹⁵⁵ Their presence infused this public ritual with greater solemnity than would usually accompany the procedure. Although the public destruction of seditious papers was designed, mainly, as an official means for the communication of government edicts, in this case, with the burgh councillors present, it had ancillary benefits as a spectacle to impress the general populace with the states's authority and efficacy in maintaining law and order; as a show of strength to illustrate the united determination of all levels of government to suppress dissident literature; and, as a ceremonial avowal of the gravity of the crime in an effort to deter covenanting adherents from engaging in such seditious activities.

Further measures were proposed and implemented to stem the supply and circulation of seditious tracts and books. In a report of the committee of public affairs dating from November of 1680, it was recommended that new legislation be devised to prevent stationers from importing seditious material. In addition to having their inventory vetted by the state, they were now to obtain official clearance for the literature listed in their catalogues:

that hereafter, when they receive home their catalogues of books, they show the same to and have the approbation of one of the Officers of State or the Bishops of Edinburgh before they bring home or vent any of their books, with certification to such as failzie, the saids book shall not only be seized and confiscated, bot the person guilty severly fined.¹⁵⁶

This condition, which was put forward at a time of political uncertainty in the aftermath of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion in Scotland and the Exclusion Crisis in England, was extraordinary insofar as it presupposed illicit activity and guilt *a priori*. Moreover, incentives were devised by the government, beginning in 1671, for more effective policing with rewards of £50 sterling promised for anyone reporting a seller or distributor of seditious material along with £100 sterling offered for anyone reporting the authors or importers of it to the authorities. Informers who had been involved in the production or dispersal of dissident literature were to be granted immunity from prosecution

¹⁵⁵. *Edinburgh Records*, vol. 1681-1688, 37; *RPCS*, XIV, 311.

¹⁵⁶. *RPCS*, XIV, 571-2.

for their co-operation with officials.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, special commissions were established in an attempt to discover the producers of seditious material. When a version of Archibald Johnston of Warriston's last testament appeared in 1664 "publicly vented and sold be booksellers and boyes in the street", the privy council gave one of its members, Sir Robert Murray of Cameron, a wide brief to investigate the matter. He was to determine "where the same hes been printed, who have bein the printers, importers, or principall ventners and dispersers therof" with the authority "to call before him and examin all booksellers and boyes, and if he shall sie cause, to commit them to prison till they discover the true way and meanes by which the saids pamphletts are so published and sold and what persons had the cheiff hand therein and to report".¹⁵⁸ Similarly, the availability of Sir James Stewart's of Goodtrees' treatise, *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, in 1671, two years after its initial printing, was met with an immediate ban by the privy council and a special subcommittee was struck consisting of the archbishop of St. Andrews, the earl of Argyll, the earl of Kincardine and the Lord Advocate which was instructed to "inquyre after the forsaide pamphlett and the wrytter, importers and dispensers of the same, and to seize upon any copyes of the saids books [that] can be found, and to imprison any person guilty of printing importing or dispersing theroff, and, after considering and examining the said matter, to report their opinion ther anent to the Council".¹⁵⁹

Yet, despite the legal restrictions and penalties for dealing in seditious print material, the full rigours of the law, particularly capital punishment, were seldom applied. It was much more common for lesser sentences involving banishment and exile to be levied against those convicted of producing, distributing and possessing banned literature. A case in point involved two women, Mistress Ramsey and Sophia Guthrey, who were the widow and daughter of the radical presbyterian minister, James Guthrie: the Protector leader who had been executed in 1661. They were sentenced *in absentia* by the privy council in February of 1666 to banishment in Shetland for possession of the banned, covenanting tract, *Ane Apologetic relation of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers and proffessours of the Church of Scotland since august 1660*, after they failed to appear when cited. The

157. *Ibid.*, XII, 296-7.

158. *Ibid.*, IX, 584.

159. *Ibid.*, XII, 265.

leniency of the judicial proceedings was tested, further, by the accused when they petitioned the council, subsequently, to have their place of banishment changed to the continent on the grounds that it would allow "for the more convenient managing their household venture, the only mean of their lyvlihood".¹⁶⁰ Others convicted of producing and distributing dissident literature were pardoned by the council as Archibald Hendry was in November of 1664 for selling copies of *Wariston's Speeches* and other seditious pamphlets. In exchange for his freedom, Hendry had to take an oath that he would never "sell or vent any of Warristoun's speeches or other seditious and factious papers or pamphlets under the pain of banishment and being burned on the cheek with a hot iron" and a bond was posted for his good behaviour.¹⁶¹ When two Edinburgh booksellers, George Swintoun and James Glen, were charged in 1661 with importing, selling and printing covenanting pamphlets – "severall seditious and scandalous books and papers such as 'Archbald Campbell's Speech', 'Guthrie's Speech', 'The Covenanter's Plea', etc". – they were imprisoned for a short time; their inventory of printed works was seized; and, their shop was closed by public order.¹⁶² The same punishment was meted out to John Calderwood, an Edinburgh stationer and bookseller, who after being interrogated during a general investigation involving "severall booksellers" confessed to the privy council in 1680 that he had imported seditious print material from Holland including David Calderwood's *History of the Church*, Buchanan's *Jus Regni Apud Scotos*, Stewart's *Jus Populi Vindicatum* and Stewart and Stirling's, *Naphtali or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* and sold it in his shop.¹⁶³ Thus, in the administration of justice, the treatment of offenders involved in producing, distributing and possessing seditious material, often, was more discriminate than the law itself might suggest.

Therefore, the communication of ideas through the printed word was subject to a number of political and legal restraints throughout the period of 1638 to 1689. Early-modern assumptions that the printing press should serve the state, reinforce the *status quo* and act as an instrument for the maintenance of good order ensured that the production of literature was, in theory, closely regulated,

¹⁶⁰. *Ibid.*, XI, 139, 148. However, there is no record of whether the petition was ever granted.

¹⁶¹. *Ibid.*, IX, 623, 696.

¹⁶². *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁶³. *Ibid.*, XIV, 571.

monitored and policed. What is more, the vigilance of the government in censoring books and tracts critical of the established order underlined the contemporary belief in the potency of the written word to help instigate and encourage dissent with the potential to trigger civil disobedience, political instability and social disorder. Such thinking had significant implications for the formulation of covenanting political propaganda. Clearly, the range and volume of the literary propaganda produced by the movement – contingent as it was on the political climate – was at its zenith during the years of covenanting rule from 1638 to 1651 when the state had a vested interest in the circulation of ideas complementary to its policy, governance and political objectives. But, after the covenanters' fall from power, the production of print propaganda was perforce much more piecemeal and sporadic; constrained as much by its own unorthodoxy as by the legal barriers erected to prevent it. Nevertheless, even in the political wilderness, propagandists continued to employ their pens in the name of the covenant and their works continued to appear for public consumption. In contrast to the covenanting heyday, this was on a reduced scale in terms of quantity with a comparative dearth of publications during the Interregnum followed by an increase in output after the monarchy was restored. However, with respect to substance and quality, neither the writers' political convictions nor their commitment to the covenanting cause were blunted; on the contrary, as we will see, they were as vehemently expressed as ever, especially after the Restoration. Politics dictated these changes in another manner, in that, they occurred in response to the fluctuations in the covenanting movements' popular support and the ability of the propagandists to strike a responsive chord among the Scottish people to evoke public sympathy and win adherents. Yet, this begs the questions of how this was achieved and how mass domestic propaganda was transmitted by the movement under such disparate, political conditions.

Chapter V

The Transmission and Reception of Covenanting Propaganda

I.

Historians interested in the transmission of ideology, the communication of ideas and the spread of polemical information and news from above to below in relation to the formation of political attitudes seldom concur on matters related to methodology; yet, all would agree that the significance and impact of such matters constitute, as Richard Cust suggests, "one of the more problematic issues currently being discussed by early seventeenth-century historians".¹ Studies related to English history – carried out, largely, by historians whose work centres on politics – which attempt to link rhetoric with political action have had mixed results in determining to what extent the increasing volume of political news and information in the seventeenth century actually influenced 'high politics'. While both Perez Zagorin and Lawrence Stone make the case that public exposure of the activities of central government officials in circulating literature and newsletters was a precipitant for political conflict, this view has to be modified, somewhat, in light of the findings of Derek Hirst and John Morrill which tend to minimise the importance of news as an agent for affecting political change because of what they see as its ephemeral and trivial nature.² However, other scholars, most notably Christopher Hill, have demonstrated that the impact of news helped shape political decisions in both the localities and on the national level by providing information on public issues and encouraging general discussion which, in turn, exerted public pressure on members of parliament.³ Additionally, in a detailed analysis of the transmission, content and reception of news in the early-

¹ R. Cust, 'News and Politics in early seventeenth-century England' in Past and Present, 112 (1986), 60.

² P. Zagorin, The Court and the Country (London, 1969), 106-8; L. Stone, The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642 (London, 1972), 91; D. Hirst, The Representative of the People? (Cambridge, 1975), 145; J.S. Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War 1630-1652 (London, 1980), 22-3.

³ C. Hill, 'Parliament and People in Seventeenth Century England' in Past and Present, 92 (1981), 115-8. See also: C. Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography' in Journal of British Studies, XIX, (1980), 54-73; A.L. Hughes, 'Warwickshire on the Eve of the Civil War: "A County Community?"' in Midland History, VII (1982), 56-9.

seventeenth century, Cust has shown, convincingly, that the ability of politicians to "manipulate and mobilize public opinion to a much greater extent than had been previously possible" concomitant with the "increase in the distribution of national news to the 'middling sort' and the lower orders" resulted in the shaping and developing of political opinion beginning in the 1620s in England.⁴ How crucial a rôle the dissemination of information and news played in acting as a stimulus for political action has been further demonstrated by Anthony Fletcher in his work on the outbreak of the English Civil War, especially in his analysis of the development of mass petitioning and public dissent.⁵ While none of these studies deal exclusively with propaganda, nonetheless, they offer some insight into the general importance of how public discourse through both the spoken and printed word could influence political events and actions.

What the bulk of these studies have failed to deal with adequately, however, is the subject of access to and the reception of polemical information in the early-modern period at the popular level. This is mainly because the focus of much of this research – with the clear exception of Cust, Hill and Fletcher – is fixed firmly on the impact of news on the political nation in the provinces. Indeed, for many political historians, little or no consideration is given to the wider influence exerted by polemical news and information in affecting grassroots, political responses. This is, partly, a reflection of their methodology given that their primary research interests centre on the people above and the interaction of men of substance along with the confluence of their political concerns at both the local and national levels. But, it is also, partly, a consequence of their approach to the study of early-modern politics which tends to assume that the social bifurcation between rulers and ruled meant, in general, that the former were always supposed to be actively engaged in the political life of the country while the latter were perforce always excluded. Early-modern political culture is projected, then, as systemically exclusive, élitist and oligarchical: a hermetically sealed, closed system which functioned and was operated by and for the people above, albeit in the interests of the commonweal, with the people below relegated to the ranks of the politically impotent, insignificant and, most importantly,

⁴ Cust, 'News and Politics', 89.

⁵ A. Fletcher, The Outbreak of the English Civil War (London, 1981), xxv-xxx, 192-227.

unengaged. At base, then, many political historians adhere to the premise that the social structure of early-modern society with its hierarchical stratification dictated active political involvement and, most importantly, that an attendant chasm existed between élite and popular participation in the political affairs of the nation.

Such assumptions are becoming increasingly untenable, however, in light of more recent work by social historians on the fundamental question of the nature of early-modern society. Although the concepts of élite and popular culture as opposing historical constructs has been increasingly abandoned by social historians as over-simplistic in their nature, the theory and terminology of different cultural spheres inhabited by different social ranks remains largely intact. Wide discrepancies exist, however, among scholars as to what extent the preoccupations and concerns of those above were shared and, more importantly, understood by those below. In Peter Burke's analysis of early-modern Europe, the educated élites are said to have enjoyed a separate "great" or learned culture while the "little" or unlearned tradition of the people was more inclusive, touching all ranks and degrees.⁶ This "assymetrical model" has been challenged on the grounds, primarily, that it is too narrow and fraught with cultural bias. Whereas Roger Chartier in his seminal work on the impact of printing on early-modern French culture is sceptical of the underlying assumption that "it is possible to establish exclusive relationships between specific cultural forms and particular social groups",⁷ Tim Harris in his analysis of popular politics in seventeenth-century London casts doubt on the validity of the two-tiered model because it does not reflect the complexity of a multi-tiered social hierarchy, particularly as it fails to account for the significant proportion of the populace of the 'middling' ranks.⁸ In a different vein, Bob Scribner in a thought-provoking article on the problematic nature of the study of popular culture criticises the paradigm for its "insularity" and for the "implication that 'popular culture' was merely residual".⁹ Rather, he argues, persuasively, that there was a

6. P. Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London, 1978), 28.

7. R. Chartier, The cultural uses of print in early modern France, trans. L.C. Cochrane (Princeton, 1987), 3. See also: R. Chartier, Cultural history, Between practices and representations trans. L.C. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1988), 30.

8. T. Harris, 'The problem of "popular culture" in seventeenth-century London' in History of European Ideas, 10 (1989), 43-58.

9. B. Scribner, 'Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?' in Hist. of Europ. Ideas, 10 (1989), 179.

reciprocity of exchange and interaction between the two cultures and, thus, popular culture should be viewed as a "total, unified culture", embodying a system of "shared values and activities and artifacts".¹⁰ That the model of binary opposition of patrician and plebian cultures proves inadequate as a tool for historians is suggested, too, by the findings of Martin Ingram in his study of popular traditions and rituals which underlined that "cultural homogeneities" were as prevalent as cultural divisions in the early-modern community, especially in the dispensing of rough justice.¹¹ As Ingram contends, here and elsewhere, there existed a cultural "consensus" which acted as a unifying force for all social ranks.¹² Moreover, as a number of scholars have shown, it is artificial to establish a dichotomy between élite and popular cultures since neither was ever monolithic in its values and beliefs; indeed, interaction between the spheres of élite and popular cultures, rather than a segregation of interests and preoccupations, was much more characteristic of the period.¹³ Even those social historians like Keith Wrightson who make the case that there was a "crisis of order" in the seventeenth century which divided society according to a new moral code, separating the respectable from the reprobates, are careful to stress that the polarisation which occurred cut across all social groups; dividing the social hierarchy vertically and creating fissures among individuals of the same social rank and degree.¹⁴

The concept of popular culture has proved to be particularly problematic for researchers interested in popular politics. General agreement exists among scholars of English history that there was the development and growth of mass political consciousness beginning in the seventeenth century, especially in London, which resulted in the increasingly important participation of ordinary people in early-modern political culture as expressed, primarily, through public demonstrations and mass

¹⁰. *Ibid.*, 181.

¹¹. M. Ingram, 'Ridings, rough music and the "reform of popular culture" in early modern England' in *Past and Present*, 105 (1984), 113.

¹². *Ibid.*, 79, 112-113; M. Ingram, *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987), 167.

¹³. See, for instance, the articles in S.L. Kaplan ed., *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, 1984) and B. Reay ed., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1985).

¹⁴. K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 1982); K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (New York, 1979).

petitioning.¹⁵ Whether this plebian political culture can be said to have been distinct from its élite counterpart, however, is a moot point. Georges Rudé, in his study of popular agitation and disturbances during the eighteenth century, argues that the "inferior set of people" - that is, wage-earners including lesser craftsmen, journeymen, apprentices, tradesmen, shopkeepers, labourers and servants - who were otherwise denied formal involvement in the decision-making process of the political community used street protests in London as an alternative means to voice their political concerns and opinions. Although Rudé's work shows that this crowd activity was not the exclusive preserve of this social sub-set since it was, at times, either generated or performed by the 'middling sort' and, occasionally, orchestrated by members of the political élite, nevertheless, he gives emphasis to the notion that the grievances underlying the disturbances were particularly plebian in character.¹⁶ This view of popular politics is shared by Nicholas Rogers who, in his analysis of mass protests in the early Hanoverian period, demonstrates how mob activity was reflective of populist grievances; thus, such political aspirations as were articulated by the mob were fuelled from below.¹⁷ Other historians, however, while agreeing that there was an emergence of mass political consciousness in the early-modern period, tend to stress that it was not a populist-led phenomenon for it received its greatest impetus from above. As the work of Anthony Fletcher, John Stevenson, Robert Ashton and Valerie Pearl has indicated and as Rudé himself has conceded, élite political dissidents who were anxious to promote popular support for their causes actively encouraged mass public protests - often to their cost - despite their visceral distaste and fear of the mob.¹⁸ Moreover, as analyses of the anatomy of the crowds involved in urban disturbances during the early-modern period have underlined, participation of a wide range of social ranks in street demonstrations was the norm rather

15. P. Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London' in Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England, 43-9; V. Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London' in London Journal, 5 (1979), 5.

16. G. Rudé, Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1970), 54, 299, 310-5, 321-4, 331.

17. N. Rogers, 'Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London' in Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England, ed. P. Slack (Cambridge, 1984), 263-93.

18. A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson, eds., Order and Disorder in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1985), 11; R. Ashton, The City and the Court (Cambridge, 1979), 210-15; V. Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1961).

than the exception.¹⁹ What such studies suggest, then, is that expressions of plebian politics cannot be readily partitioned from élite political culture; instead, the two often intersected at critical points and thus were interdependent on one another.

That a symbiotic relationship existed between élite and popular politics is especially evident, however, when consideration is given to the question of propaganda as an élite mechanism for affecting change. As we have seen, attempts by elements of the élite to manipulate, galvanise and win over public opinion to legitimise their political stances was an important feature of early-modern political culture.²⁰ Moreover, appeals to populism while often tainted with contempt and fear of the masses were relied on, nonetheless, by the élite as both upholders and critics of the *status quo* as a means of furthering their self-interests and shoring up their own position. As Tim Harris has observed, "throughout the Stuart period members of the ruling elite (and not just those in opposition) found it important to have demonstrable public support for their position, and thus they sought legitimation by taking politics to the streets".²¹ Deliberate calculation on the part of the élite, then, helped to encourage the transmission of political views through oral, visual and literary means to reach a broad-based audience. In doing so, the traditional spheres of political engagement inhabited by rulers and ruled began to overlap insofar as the formation and expression of public opinion was concerned. As John Brewer has aptly put it, "Political argument ... bound together, whether the elite liked it or not, the two political nations of those who were excluded from institutionalised politics, and those who dominated its formal structures. Men might not be entitled to vote, and might not exercise political power, but they could not be prevented from developing political attitudes, engaging in political arguments, and giving forceful expression to their views".²² Thus, politicisation of the masses was affected through public debate of contemporary events and issues with political rhetoric

19. B. Manning, The English People and the English Revolution (London, 1976), 13; Fletcher, Outbreak of the English Civil War, 15; V. Pearl, 'London's Counter-Revolution' in The Interregnum, ed. G. Aylmer, (London, 1972), 33, 43, 51, 56; G. Holmes, 'The Sacheverell Riots' in Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England, 250-8.

20. See: Chapter III: The Function of Covenanted Propaganda

21. Harris, 'The problem of "popular political culture" in seventeenth-century London', 46.

22. J. Brewer, Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III (Cambridge, 1976), 35.

and argument – often in the form of propaganda composed by members of an élite – being used as a stimulant for plebian political action.

Since élite efforts to shape public opinion, frequently, were conducted through the use of polemical literature, special consideration must be given to questions related to the reception of printed and handwritten propaganda. One indicator of how deeply these public debates might have permeated mass consciousness is literacy. Studies of literacy in pre-industrial societies differ as to the ways in which literacy can be most accurately measured, but all tend to stress that geographical, occupational, social and gender differences were important factors in determining the ability to write and read.²³ Generally speaking, full literacy is reflective of social and economic status. The highest levels are found, therefore, among males who were resident in the towns; employed in an occupation that required literacy skills; and, of higher social ranks. In an analysis of literacy in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, David Cressy shows that, by the 1640s, while 30% of adult males in rural areas could sign their names, up to 78% in London were literate. Moreover, whereas roughly half of the tradesmen and craftsmen in East Anglia could sign their names by 1600, – as compared to four-fifths in London – he estimates that, with respect to yeomen and husbandmen from the same region, three-fifths and one-fifth, respectively, were literate. However, in northern areas such as Northumberland, the level of literacy for yeomen and husbandmen is shown to be substantially lower at 23% and 13%. Although determining the ability of labourers to write their own names presents problems because of the relative absence of documentary records, Cressy finds that 15% had this capability in the diocese of Norwich between 1580–1700: a figure that is slightly higher than the estimation given for women of 11%.²⁴ Work on literacy in early-modern Scotland reveals a not widely dissimilar pattern. In Rab Houston's study of literacy, the proportion of subscribers to the

23. Techniques employed for measuring literacy in the early modern period are examined by R.S. Schofield, 'The measurement of literacy in pre-industrial England' in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. J.R. Goody, (Cambridge, 1968), 311–25; M. Spufford, 'First steps in literacy: the reading and writing experiences of the humblest seventeenth-century autobiographers' in *Social History*, 4 (1979), 407–35; R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1985), 162–92.

24. D. Cressy, *Literacy and Social Order. Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), 72, 146, 150, 152, 119.

National Covenant of 1638 who signed their own names suggests that the rates of adult male literacy between 1638 and 1644 ranged from 68% to 40% in the urban parishes and 30% to 10% in the rural parishes. The different levels of literacy achieved by urban and rural dwellers is, perhaps, best typified by St. Andrews where 12% of adult males in the landward parishes compared to 46% in the burgh itself were literate. After 1650, levels of literacy generally increased; however, the dichotomy between rural and urban literacy as well as the distinctions based on occupation remained intact. Whereas in the Lowlands perhaps as much as 61% of craftsmen and tradesmen, 63% of farmers, and, 33% of servants were literate, comparable figures for the Highlands were 41%; 30% and 17% respectively. By contrast, female literacy remained at between 5% and 10% prior to 1640 and, between 1640 and 1760, rose to perhaps as much as 19%.²⁵ While Houston's analysis reveals that by 1640 there was a comparability in the attainment of full, adult male literacy for members of the higher and middling ranks such as the lairds, merchants and professionals between Scotland and England, he speculates that "adult male illiteracy in England at the start of the Civil War is perhaps 5% better than for Scotland".²⁶ And he concludes that if the projected, national figures of 75% illiteracy in the Lowlands versus 90% in the Highlands can be taken as minimal estimates that, "Illiteracy in mid-seventeenth century Scotland was rather higher than that in contemporary England".²⁷

What levels of literacy were displayed by the general populace is, by itself, of limited use, however, in shedding light on the extent of mass awareness, broad interest or intellectual engagement in the contemporary public discourse by the middling and lower ranks. John Brewer, in a study of eighteenth-century popular politics, expresses serious doubts if the measurement of literacy is adequate for the "historian of press and politics" since the ability to sign one's name can offer no indication if polemical material was actually read.²⁸ Moreover, as Tim Harris in a monograph on the impact of propaganda on Restoration politics in London has pointed out, distinguishing which types of

²⁵. Houston, Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity, 91, 103-4, 72, 87.

²⁶. Ibid., 104.

²⁷. Ibid., 105.

²⁸. Brewer, Party Ideology and Popular Politics, 141-2.

propaganda – literary, aural or visual – were dependent on literacy is irrelevant, largely, because of the ready accessibility of printed information to illiterates through aural means.²⁹ This leads him to contend, rightly, that "It is a mistake to argue that written propaganda was invariably inaccessible to illiterates. Those who could not read gathered around one who could, and discovered through the aural medium political views which were issued by the propagandists in the written medium".³⁰ This communication of printed information through oral forms provided, as Brewer suggests, the "establishment of a link between the literate and non-literate":³¹ a process known as bridging.³² Central to this transference were the public and private institutions common to all early-modern communities; for, as Tessa Watt in her study of popular belief in post-Reformation England observes, "Texts and their effects radiated outward to local communities from certain focal points: the market place, the parish church, the godly household, the inn or alehouse".³³ Additionally, as the work of cultural historians has shown, the degree to which print culture penetrated pre-industrial societies was not simply a function of literacy. In an assessment of the development and impact of printing on the *menu peuple* in sixteenth-century France, Natalie Zemon Davies explores other major factors – in addition to literacy – to examine whether print material was accessible to the middling and lower ranks. Thus, she argues that consideration must be given to the cost and availability of books; access to print material; occasions for reading aloud; interest in attaining information from printed works that could not be acquired so readily elsewhere; and, the necessity to utilise the print media "to say something to someone else".³⁴ She reaches the conclusion, with respect to the relationship between printing and popular, political consciousness that, the "addition of printed pamphlets to traditional methods for spreading news (rumour, street song, private letters, town

29. T. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis (Cambridge, 1990), 99.

30. Ibid.

31. Brewer, Party Ideology and Popular Politics, 155.

32. Schofield, 'The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England', 312-3.

33. T. Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge, 1991), 5.

34. N. Z. Davies, 'Printing and the People' in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford, 1975), 189-226; esp. p.194.

criers, fireworks displays, bell-ringing and penitential processions) increased the menu people's stock of detailed information about national events".³⁵

All of these recent studies by early-modern historians have a direct relevance for a study of covenanting, mass political propaganda. Not only do they underline the interdependent nature of the relationship between élite and popular culture, in general, but they serve to delineate how the concerns of men of influence and 'high politics' filtered down the social scale to become more widely known and, at times, acted upon at the popular level. But, in examining this phenomenon with respect to the covenanters, there are a number of assumptions underpinning these studies which need to be tested. Whether politicisation of the masses and the development of a popular political consciousness in seventeenth-century Scotland can be said to have occurred as a result of the covenanting polemicists' efforts raises the issue of co-ordination and organisation in the creation and dissemination of mass, domestic propaganda on the part of the ideological élite of the movement. Moreover, in examining this process of politicisation, key determinants of the efficacy of the propagandists' transmission of ideas hinge on questions related to the access and availability of the political propaganda - whether aural, visual or literary - generated by the movement's polemicists. How deeply such propaganda material could have penetrated the social scale was reliant on a number of factors including the creation of opportunities and occasions afforded for transmitting ideology as well as the geographical spread of propaganda in its dissemination. By analysing the means relied on to transmit the covenanting propagandists' message, first, between 1638 and 1651 when they were sanctioned by the ruling régime and, second, during the Interregnum and the Restoration periods when they were unauthorised by the established order, these specific historical issues can be explored.

II.

Between 1638 and 1651, the cultivation of public opinion through the formulation, production and dissemination of aural, visual and literary propaganda formed an integral part of the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 219.

covenanters' style and method of governance. Eliciting broad-based support in order to both justify and legitimise its own political activities and, conversely, discredit those of its royalist opponents was one, important non-martial strategy employed by the covenanting régime to help maintain its political dominance. With the resources and machinery of the state and church to draw on to both promote their political propaganda and censor that of their opponents, the covenanters could expend considerable effort in co-ordinating and orchestrating their polemical, domestic output. Although much of the propaganda that was produced received its greatest impetus from individual initiative, especially, pamphlet literature, it was often through a process of interaction and consultation among members of the movement's ideological leadership that mass political propaganda was created. An integrated, communal approach to the shaping of public opinion was, as we have seen, an important element in the petitioning campaign of 1637-1638 as it was in the public subscription campaign for the National Covenant. Further attempts were made to sustain this co-operative approach to influencing the public discourse throughout the years of covenanting rule.

Take the case of Archibald Johnston of Wariston whose diaries offer one of the fullest, contemporary records of this phenomenon. As an influential member of the disaffected leadership, he was a prodigious writer of covenanting polemical material: some of which was printed and some of which was disseminated in handwritten copies.³⁶ For example, according to the diary entries, two position papers were drafted by him on the morning of 14 August 1638 when, under instruction from the Tables, he was "commanded to drau up som reasons in defence of one of burroues ratifying the Covenant and som reasons for chainge of moderators"³⁷ and, during a five day period in January of 1639, five different papers were worked on: two protestations, two supplications and a paper outling the "reasons of resistance".³⁸ The position papers, petitions, letters of advertisement, tracts and manifestos which he composed in the late-1630s - including the National Covenant - to rally the

³⁶. Two volumes and one fragment of Johnston of Wariston's diaries have been published by the Scottish History Society: *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639*, ed. G.M. Paul (Edinburgh, 1911); *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston Volume II 1650-1654*, ed. D.H. Fleming (Edinburgh, 1919); and, "Fragment of the Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston May 21-June 25, 1639" in *Wariston's Diary and Other Papers*, ed. G.M. Paul (Edinburgh, 1896).

³⁷. *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston*, I, 374.

³⁸. *Ibid.*, 408-9.

political nation and the country at large behind the opposition to Caroline religious reforms; and, the pamphlets, declarations and circulating letters that issued from his pen during the 1640s when he served as a commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, Lord Advocate and Lord Clerk Register, all attest to his central importance in the formation of covenanting propaganda. Even during the Interregnum, when Johnston of Wariston eventually acquiesced to Cromwellian rule by resuming the office of Lord Clerk Register in 1657, his production of polemical literature continued on behalf of the Protestors, the extremist covenanting faction. While he was executed in 1663 by Charles II's government for his political radicalism and his opposition to the Restoration, his last testament from the scaffold was printed as a pamphlet for general sale in Edinburgh.³⁹ Thus, even from beyond the grave, he managed to prove his worth as a covenanting propagandist.

As one of the movement's key ideologues, especially in its early stages, Wariston composed a number of polemical pieces in concert with other members of the disaffected leadership both lay and clerical.⁴⁰ For instance, in 1638, he collaborated with lord Loudoun, a leading covenanting noble, in June to produce "a draught of the Supplication"; with David Dickson, a prominent covenanting minister, in July to write "24 animadversions of the damnable points in the Proclamation"; with Alexander Ker, a covenanting minister, in October to pen *The Summons or Complaint, by way of libel, against the Bishops presented to several Presbyteries within whose bounds the Bishops respectively had their Cathedral Seats or residences*; and, with Alexander Gibson of Durie, one of the movement's advocates, in December to revise "my aunsuear to the Marquis his Declaration".⁴¹ Moreover, the polemical partnership forged between Wariston and Alexander Henderson with their joint drafting of the National Covenant in early 1638 was continued throughout that year when, for instance, on 27 March, they collaborated on the writing of the position paper, 'The eight articles' or *The least of our necessar desyrs to settle this church and kingdom in power*, for, as was noted in his diary, "first Mr. A.

39. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. P. H. Brown et al, 2nd series, (38 vols., 1905-1933), IX, 584.

40. Fuller discussion of the life, career and political activities of Archibald Johnston of Wariston is provided by P. H. Donald, 'Archibald Johnston of Wariston and the politics of religion' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XXIV-pt.ii (1991), 123-140; D.M. Forrester, 'Archibald Johnston of Wariston Especially as in his Diaries' in RSCHS, IX-pt.iii (1947), 127-41; W. Morrison, Johnston of Wariston (Edinburgh, 1901).

41. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, I, 353, 360, 394, 405.

Henderson dreu up ane draught, then thou revised it tuse or thryse": a paper which, in turn, was circulated as a handwritten broadsheet.⁴² Both worked on the "aught reasons sent doune to Counsellors against their ratification of it" on 4 July and, during the following month, in the midst of negotiations with the king's commissioner, the marquis of Hamilton, Wariston "dreu up betuixt the bells a narration of our proceidings anent the declaration of the Covenant, and our arguments preiving that the Commissioner was weal satisfied thairwith" which was utilised, subsequently, by Henderson as the "ground of Mr. Aler. his aunsuear to the Marquis his declaration".⁴³

Consultation among members of the radical leadership informed and shaped much of Wariston's polemical output, largely, because of his work as one of the covenanting, provisional government's principal legal advisors. The prospect of arranging for a general assembly to meet in order to deal with the opposition's criticisms of Charles's ecclesiastical policies, which occupied the attention of covenanters and royalists alike in the summer of 1638, occasioned extensive vetting of Wariston's written arguments as expressed in the party's official declarations and unofficial position papers. Over a two-day period in June when Wariston was involved in drafting a supplication "to schauie the legalite of our indyting ane Assembly" and a declaration "to satisfy the Kings in poynt of honour", he elicited opinions on his work directly from five other members of the covenanting leadership including lord Lorne, the earl of Southesk, Gibson of Durie, the earl of Rothes and lord Loudoun – some of whom urged him to tone down the rhetoric "to maik it more submissee and full of complements" – and, in the case of the supplication, he also read a "draught to the barons, burroues, and ministers" at a meeting of the representatives of the Tables.⁴⁴ Responsibility for appraising the Scottish ministry of the forthcoming general assembly fell to a committee of four comprised of Wariston and three of the leading, covenanting ministers – David Dickson, Alexander Henderson and David Calderwood – who on 27 August 1638 met privately in Edinburgh to produce public announcements and private guidelines for organising the convocation. According to Wariston, the committee "dreu up our directions, publick for presbyteries conteaning the draught of the Commission, and privat for trustie persons.

42. *Ibid.*, 330.

43. *Ibid.*, 360, 377.

44. *Ibid.*, 353.

Afternoone, we dreu up the publick letter to be sent to presbyteries, and reasons for ruling elders, and against constant moderators". Copies of these four directives - "on of the printed reasons for the assemblée, on of the publik, on of the privat directions, on of the reasons for ruling elders" - then were printed for immediate distribution to the ministers of each presbytery thereby disseminating the advertisements and instructions for the assembly throughout the country, beginning the next day.⁴⁵

To solicit broad support for the government's policy objectives, literary propaganda was formulated and produced, at times, as part of a major, public campaign. At critical points in the development of the movement, especially when questions of the viability or future direction of the régime came under close public scrutiny, concerted efforts were mounted, jointly, by covenanting propagandists to articulate the group's concerns; to answer their royalist critics' charges; and, to present a unified version of their party's position as occurred in the orchestrated, public discourse occasioned by the resistance of the town of Aberdeen in 1637 to endorsing the National Covenant. The three, covenanting commissioners sent to Aberdeen in July to promote adherence to the subscription campaign - Alexander Henderson, co-author of the National Covenant; Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo; and, David Dickson, minister of Irvine - engaged in a protracted, public debate with their leading critics, the group of six, local ministers known collectively as the 'Aberdeen Doctors', through the use of the printing presses. Whereas three pamphlets were published between July of 1637 and November of 1638 by the conservative Aberdonians that questioned the legitimacy of the disaffected element's activities which were entitled *Demands concerning the Covenant, Replies to their Answers*, and *Dupleyes*, these were countered in two, covenanting tracts, *Answers* and *Answers to the Replies*.⁴⁶ Twelve covenanting works in the form of pamphlets, broadsheets and monographs were produced to justify the organisation and proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638 including *The Protestation of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Borrowes, Ministers, and Commons; Subscribers of the Confession of Faith and Covenant, lately renewed within the Kingdome of Scotland, made at the Mercate Crosse of Edinburgh the 22. of September immediately after the reading of the proclamation,*

45. *Ibid.*, 377-78.

46. D. Stewart, 'The "Aberdeen Doctors" and the Covenanters' in *RSCHS*, XXII, i, (1984), 36.

dated September 9. 1638 to refute the six royalist tracts and proclamations such as *The Declinator and Protestation of the Archbishops and Bishops, of the Church of Scotland, and others their adherents within that Kingdome, Against the pretended generall Assembly holden at Glasgow Novemb. 21 1638* which were issued at that time.⁴⁷ Similar strategies were adopted in 1641 at the gathering of the Westminster Assembly of Divines where the formulation of a common polity and policy for the multiple kingdom was attempted. Here, the covenanting ministers in attendance acted "as propagandists during their stay in London"; consequently, it has been suggested that through "their writings they had made Presbyterianism known and understood in England as never before".⁴⁸ Between January and March, over two dozen tracts – whose thematic concerns were essentially an elaboration of each other thereby creating an extended, public dialogue on the attributes of presbyterianism – were published by covenanting spokesmen and their main critics. Among the more important, covenanting pamphlets produced in defense of presbyterianism at this time were Alexander Henderson's *Unlawfulness of Prelacy* and *Our desires concerning unitie in Religion, and uniformitie of Church Government, as a special meane to conserve peace in his Majesties Dominions*, Robert Baillie's *A Parallel or Brief comparison of the Liturgie with the Masse-booke, the Breviaries, the Ceremonial, and other Romish Ritvall* and *The Unlawfullnesse and Danger of Limited Prelacie*, and, George Gillespie's *Certain Reasons tending to prove the Unlawfulness and inexpediencie of all Diocesan Episcopacy (even the most modest)* as well as *An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland in the points of Ruling Elders, and of the authority of Presbyteries and synods*.⁴⁹

A collectivist approach to the production of propaganda was relied on, too, by the covenanting administration to co-ordinate the drafting and release of its official, public directives. Formal sub-committees of the committee of estates were struck, on occasion, to formulate and oversee the production of government declarations as in 1648 when the earls of Crawford-Lindsey, Glencairn,

47. J. D. Ogilvie, 'A Bibliography of the Glasgow Assembly, 1638' in *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society* (Glasgow, 1923), 2-12.

48. J.D. Ogilvie, 'Church Union in 1641' in *RSCHS*, I, iii, ([n.d.]), 158.

49. *Ibid.*, 143-60.

Lauderdale and Southesk were all involved as leading administrators in this polemical work.⁵⁰ On 28 June, the committee of estates instructed the earl of Lanark along with lords Tullibodie and Arneston to "draw the draught of a declaration to be emitted at this tyme in relation to the p[resent] condition of affaires And to report".⁵¹ A sub-committee was formed on 19 July when the earl of Glencairn in concert with "Lee & Ja[m]es: Ro[ber]tsone" was ordered by the committee of estates to deal with a "paper this day sent from the g[ener]al assemblie & given in be Mr. Da[vid] Lindsay", receiving the specific brief to "draw the draught of ane ansr and to report at the morne".⁵² Eight days later, Glencairn along with two others including the Justice Clerk was appointed to draft another response to a paper presented to the committee of estates by the general assembly with instructions to "drau two querers and ansr to the forsaide paper".⁵³ Additionally, in January of 1650, a committee was appointed to examine a pamphlet, *M. Montrose his declaration*, which had appeared the previous year.⁵⁴ Part of its brief was to "draw up a declaration in ansr to James Grahams paper" and there was a subsequent order to publish and sell both pamphlets together as *A Declaration of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose and The declaration of the Commissioners of the General Assembly*.⁵⁵

The political importance of transmitting the régime's views through the printing press was reflected by the amount of polemical material made available for distribution. Over a period of almost five years – from December of 1642 to October of 1647 – one Edinburgh printing shop managed by

⁵⁰. Scottish Record Office, Ms PA 11/6 folio 174, 178, 178b, 176, 181b, Register of the Committee of Estates, May 12, 1648 – September 4, 1648.

⁵¹. *Ibid.*, f. 168.

⁵². *Ibid.*, f. 178b.

⁵³. *Ibid.*, f. 181b, 182.

⁵⁴. S.R.O., Ms PA 12/3, Committee of Estates 2 January – 27 June 1649.

⁵⁵. S.R.O., Ms PA 12/5, Committee of Estates 3 January – 20 December 1650.

Evan Tyler⁵⁶ printed 130,110 "sheits of paper" for the administration at a cost of 10,000 merks.⁵⁷ In terms of pamphlet literature alone, it has been suggested that between 1640 and 1660 covenanting polemicists produced four to five hundred tracts.⁵⁸ No standard number of pamphlets were produced in a single print run; rather, print runs ranged widely from fifty copies of a tract to 1,500.⁵⁹ This average was exceeded, at times, as in March of 1648 when John Twyn, the king's printer and Evan Tyler's associate, printed 2,000 copies of the commission of the kirk's declaration against the Engagement in two days and in January of 1650 when the committee of estates had Twyn's establishment produce a similar number of copies of its declaration against the Marquis of Montrose.⁶⁰ Some major pamphlets were made more broadly accessible, too, through the production of multiple editions. Robert Baillie's *The Canterburians Self-Conviction* was printed four times while both *The Answers of some Brethren of the Ministerie, To the Replies of the Ministers and Professors of Divinitie in Aberdeen: Concerning the late Covenant* and *The Protestation of the Generall Assemblie of the Church of Scotland, and of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Borrowes, Ministers and Commons; Subscribers of the Covenant, lately renewed* were reprinted twice.⁶¹

The cultivation of public opinion through the use of literary propaganda was constrained, somewhat, through a number of extenuating factors including the price as well as the content and style of the printed works. In all probability, the high cost of print material throughout the seventeenth

⁵⁶ The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (12 Vols., 1814-75), V, 52; *Ibid.*, VI, i, 257. Evan Tyler, an English printer, was sent from London to manage Robert Young's printing shop in Edinburgh in 1637 and continued to work intermittently there from 1637 to 1639 and 1641 to 1651. Although he left Scotland during the Interregnum, he returned to Edinburgh after the Restoration and resumed his business activities for the next twelve years. He has 265 entries in Harry Aldis' list of works which were published in the years between 1641-52 and 1660-72. See: H.C. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: including those printed furth of the realm for Scottish Booksellers. With Brief Notes on the Printers and Stationers (National Library of Scotland, 1970), 122.

⁵⁷ S.R.O., Ms PA 12/5, Committee of Estates, 3 January - 20 December 1650.

⁵⁸ J. D. Ogilvie, 'A Bibliography of the Resolutioner-Protester Controversy' in Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1926-1930 (Edinburgh, 1930), 57.

⁵⁹ D. Stevenson, 'A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: the Scottish Covenanters and their Printers, 1638-51' in The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 6th series, VII, No. 4 (1985), 329.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 330, 333.

⁶¹ 'A Century of Books Printed in Glasgow 1638-1686' in Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society, V (1920), 35; J.D. Ogilvie, 'The Aberdeen Doctors and the National Covenant' in Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1912-1920 (Edinburgh, 1921), 73-86; Ogilvie, 'Bibliography of the Glasgow Assembly', 10.

century which was attributable, largely, to the price of paper since it constituted 75% of the production expenses,⁶² precluded its direct purchase by a substantial proportion of the populace, especially those of the lower ranks. When literature such as Robert Fleming's *The Second Part of the Fulfilling of the Scriptures* sold for £1, printed acts of parliament for 1 shilling to 3 shillings, "Robert Rollock on the Passion Resurrection & Assention" for £2, "stillingfleet sermon on schisme" for 10 shillings, "the good old way" for £1 16s,⁶³ it is unlikely that a typical wage-earner such as a house servant or a male farmhand who earned 6 shillings to £1 a week could have afforded it on such a meagre income.⁶⁴ Indeed, as J.A. Downie in his study of eighteenth-century political propaganda points out, "it has been convincingly demonstrated that the lower classes would be unable to purchase fiction, or even the dearer political pamphlets".⁶⁵ Additionally, the complex, rhetorical arguments drawing on biblical, classical, philosophical and historical allusions that characterised much of the covenanting, pamphlet literature limited its direct accessibility to the fully literate. Undoubtedly too, opportunities and sufficient leisure time to read would act to restrict the potential audience given the sheer length of the polemical material. While pamphlets including *Some Few Observations about the late Differences in the Kirk of Scotland* by James Wood and *Observations upon the Chief Acts of the two late P. Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, the Year of God 1651, and 1652* by Archibald Johnston were representative of the genre with thirty-eight and forty-four pages respectively, it was not uncommon for tracts to reach book-length proportions as *Protestors no Subverters, and Presbyterie no Papacie* by James Guthrie and *A Hind Let Loose* by Alexander Shields

⁶² Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 1.

⁶³ The Diary and General Expenditure Book of William Cunningham of Craigends. Commissioner to the Convention of Estates and Member of Parliament for Renfrewshire. Kept Chiefly from 1673 to 1680, ed. J. Dodd (Edinburgh, 1887), 55; *ibid.*, 61, 98, 106, 108, 109, 112, 115; S.R.O., Ms GD 45/26/72, Dalhousie Muniments, 'Notebook of Alexander Edward, minister at Kembeck'; S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/25, Robert Burnet, W.S. Discharges, receipts and accounts 1682-95; *ibid.* The cost of books was even more prohibitive. William Blair, in December of 1683, had recently purchased from Thomas Brown in Edinburgh "Grotius workes in 4 voll. folio" for £68; "Caver Lyves of the fathers yt Lived in the 4th century thick folio" for £18; a history of France for £17; and, "Whilelocks Memorialle State Affairs" for £17. See: S.R.O., Ms RH 15/11/28, William Blair, regent in the College of Glasgow, Letters from Thomas Brown to William Blair, enclosing a note of books 1682-4'.

⁶⁴ R. Mitchison, *Lordship to Patronage* (London, 1983), 97; I. Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in seventeenth century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), 39.

⁶⁵ J.A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the press: Propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge, 1979), 6.

did since they ran to one hundred and twenty pages and seven hundred and eighty-five pages respectively.⁶⁶ As Tim Harris has observed, "long, turgid and philosophically learned tracts were not easy to read aloud for the benefit of illiterate people. Those who could read would probably not have time to sit in a coffee-house for hours trying to decipher such tracts".⁶⁷

But, even though all of these conditions helped to retard the penetration of printed works socially, none *per se* excluded those who were too poor or too illiterate to buy or read the literature by themselves from becoming aware of the substance of the tracts. It has been suggested, for instance, that given the high cost of pamphlets relative to income that the purchasing of tracts might have been done collectively.⁶⁸ Moreover, as "relatively liquid assets", books and pamphlets could be borrowed, passed around a circle of friends and acquaintances and, thereafter, generate discussion involving literate and illiterate alike in which the ideas expressed in the print material would be imparted orally.⁶⁹ The availability of pamphlet literature in ale-houses and, after the Restoration, in the

66. J. Wood, Some Few Observations about the Differences in the Kirk of Scotland, Vindicating the Judicatories thereof, Discovering the Principles and way of the Dissenting Brethren; and Clearing of some Mistakes which may mislead the Simple in these Reeling Times (Edinburgh, 1653); A. Johnston, Observations upon the Chief Acts of the two late P. Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, the Year of God 1651, and 1652. Together with the Reasons why the Ministers, Elders and Professors, who protested against the said Pretended Assemblies, and the Pretended Assembly at Edinburgh, cannot agree to the Overtures made to them at the Conference upon the 28. and 29. dayes of July 1652. As also the Instructions given by them to such of their Number as were sent to the said Conference. And the Letter directed to Mr. David Dickson for communicating their Papers. Whereunto is subjoynted the Propositions which were offered to the Meeting of Ministers and others appointed to be kept at Edinburgh July 21. 1652 (Leith, 1653); J. Guthrie, Protestors no Subverters, and Presbyterie no Papacie; or, A Vindication of the Protesting Brethren and of the Government of this Kirk of Scotland, from the Aspersions unjustly cast upon them, in a late Pamphlet of some of the Resolutioner party, Entitled A Declaration &c. With a Discovery of the insufficiency, inequality and iniquity of the Things propounded in that Pamphlet, as Overtures of Union and Peace. Especially Of the iniquity of that absolute and unlimited submission to the Sentences of Church Judicatories that is holden forth therein, and most unjustly pleaded to belong to the Being and Essence of Presbyterial Government (Edinburgh, 1658); A. Shields, A Hind Let Loose: Or, An Historical Representation of the Testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the Interest of Christ: with the true State thereof in all its periods: Together with a Vindication of the present Testimony against the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant Enemies of that Church, as it is now stated, for the Prerogatives of Christ, Privileges of the Church, and Liberties of Mankind, and sealed by the Sufferings of a reproached Remnant of Presbyterians there, witnessing against the Corruptions of the Time; Wherein Several Controversies of greatest Consequence are enquired into, and in some measure cleared; concerning hearing of the Curates, owning of the present Tyranny, taking of ensnaring Oaths and Bonds, frequenting of Field-meetings, defensive Resistance of Tyrannical Violence, with several other subordinate Questions useful for these Times (Edinburgh, 1744).

67. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II, 99-100.

68. *Ibid.*, 99; H.M. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A study of the Ideological Representation of Politics (Oxford, 1974), 61.

69. Davies, 'Printing and the People', 212.

urban coffee-houses – provided free of charge – was intended to encourage political commentary and debate among patrons of all social ranks.⁷⁰ Informal gatherings in private and public provided opportunities, then, for the transmission of political news and commentary, facilitating the spread of printed, polemical information through oral communication. As we shall see, when combined with the formal mechanisms relied on by the state to impart political rhetoric and ideology through aural media, literary propaganda had the potential to reach a socially diverse audience. Thus, despite the reservations articulated by Harris with regards to the more lengthy tracts, it was nonetheless possible that through the process of 'bridging' whereby the "illiterate would gather round the literate to listen to books and papers being read aloud"⁷¹ that print propaganda was accessible to members of the lower orders as well as those of the more fully literate middling sort and upper ranks, especially in urban areas, in general, and in the capital, Edinburgh, in particular, where there were high levels of adult male literacy.

The attention given to the co-operative production of propaganda was matched by the covenanters' systematic approach to the dissemination of polemical material on a national basis. As we have seen, as early as 1637, the Tables with its extensive network of commissioners – drawn from the ranks of the disaffected nobility, gentry, burgesses and ministers – functioned as a central co-ordinating committee for the protest against Caroline religious policies. In an effort to have their grievances redressed by the king as articulated in the petitioning campaign, the disaffected leadership sought to legitimise their political activities through the dissemination of information in order to influence public opinion. However, in the first instance, as representatives and spokesmen for their rank and region, the commissioners had the responsibility of rallying others of the political nation to the cause. Those from the burghs reported to their respective town councils on any political developments of note and, equally, consulted with the burgh oligarchy on how they as representatives of the town should proceed in the campaign against Caroline church policy, basing their decisions for

⁷⁰. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II, 99.

⁷¹. Downie, Robert Harley and the press, 6.

political action on "commoun consent".⁷² In the localities, "Commone advertisements" - issued by the Tables - were disseminated to the "Commissioners & chiefe men of the Shyres" urging landowners to attend shire meetings for their "better satisfactioun" and to "giff your oppinioun".⁷³ On 22 February 1638, a "letter of advertisement" was dispatched to heritors in the shires by John Leslie, the earl of Rothes, advising them to come to Edinburgh to deal with the "most important business that ever concerned this nation": an appeal made in response to the royal ban of 20 February on the petitioners' meetings and activities.⁷⁴

To coerce recalcitrant landowners into supporting the collective protest, the socio-political imperatives of rank and social status were relied on along with moral suasion. Pressure was brought to bear on smaller heritors for them to ally publicly with the dissident faction. Disaffected nobles who were active in the campaign against the Caroline administration sent directives to more minor landowners ordering them to attend the dissidents' meetings in Edinburgh as occurred in March of 1638 when lord Reay received a letter from the earls of Montrose and Loudoun and lords Home, Boyd and Balmerino to that effect.⁷⁵ More subtle forms of coercion were applied, too, most notably in the appeals to conscience, honour and duty. In March of 1639, the laird of Leyis Burnet, in a *communiqué* from the disaffected leadership, was enjoined to "give tymous prooff of your affectione to religione, the kings honor and liberties of the Kingdome".⁷⁶ According to a letter of advertisement issued in 1638, the "preservat[i]one of trew religione the Lawes and Liberties of this kingdome" were the *raison d'être* for the opposition to the Caroline government's policies.⁷⁷ As well, active participation in the protest was portrayed in the propaganda as a test of religious commitment. In a broadsheet which

⁷² Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles with Extracts from the Records of the Burgh 1165-1710 (Edinburgh, 1872), 375; Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, ed. M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1931-67), Vol. 1626-41, 203-4, 321.

⁷³ S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/49, Dalhousie Muniments; The Sutherland Book, ed. W. Fraser (Edinburgh, 1892), II, 169-70.

⁷⁴ J. Leslie, A Relation of Proceedings Concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland from August 1637 to July 1638 (Bannatyne Club, 1830), 67-8; D. Stevenson, 'The Covenanters and the Government of Scotland, 1637-1651' (Glasgow University Ph.D. thesis, 1970), I, 75.

⁷⁵ S.R.O., Ms GD199/194/1, Ross of Pitcalnie Muniments.

⁷⁶ S.R.O., Ms RH 1/4/17, 'Photocopy of letter signed by Argyll, Montrose, Balmerino, J. Burghly, Mr H. Rollok, A. Henderson, Mr J. Durie and J. Hepburne to laird of Leyis Burnet'.

⁷⁷ S.R.O., Ms GD 22/3/791, Cunningham Graham Muniments.

appeared in 1638, *Motives [and] directionnis for unitie in the good cause now in hand*, a case was presented for the just nature of the covenanters' communal approach to dissent by making a clear distinction between legal and illegal combinations through reference to the will of God: "To unifie without vertue [and] equitie is no thing bot ane conspiracie & combinat[io]n so [where] we have srenth and righteousness goeing before our unitie to that necessar harmonie and - [which] the Lord hath commandit" collective protest was said to be justified. It was contended, therefore, that their faith - the "good of conscience" - demanded that all who were disaffected should forge a common alliance; for, "if we join together then we will be closer to Christ".⁷⁸ In those regions, especially in the conservative north, where local landowners proved hostile to the covenanting cause, however, concerted attempts were made to solicit adherence to the National Covenant among their tenants and dependents. In 1638, when it became apparent that the earls of Huntly, Aberdeen and Seaforth along with the chiefs of McKay and Grant intended to rally support for the king, the disaffected leadership made a bid to coerce the local peasantry in to defying their social superiors. On learning that many of the tenants of these magnates "had not subscriyved" the National Covenant and fearing that, in conjunction with the duke of Hamilton and the earls of Douglas and Nithsdale that these nobles would use their influence to "easily oversway all the subscriyers", representatives were sent to canvass the region. This propaganda exercise to elicit subscriptions to the National Covenant was touted as an unconditional success with one partisan, Robert Baillie, asserting that "diligence was used to send some lawers to the uttermost North, who obteneed the hands of all these Clanes to the Covenant of the countrie, with the most of the name of Hamiltoun, Douglas, Gordoun, and all the Campbells without exception".⁷⁹

During the years of covenanting rule, the formal channels of communication used by the government to disseminate information on public affairs to the general populace to help shape public opinion allowed the régime to transmit its ideological concerns on a broad basis, both geographically and socially. Declarations were read aloud at the market crosses of the major burghs - sometimes, as

⁷⁸ S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/47, *Motives [and] directionnis for unitie in the good cause now in hand* [1638].

⁷⁹ The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie A.M. Principal of the University of Glasgow. MDCXXXVII - MDCLXII (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1841), I, 69-70.

in Edinburgh, from "ane stage before the Crosse".⁸⁰ This important and conventional urban venue for the transmission of official policy and ideology was supplemented, at least in Edinburgh, in the 1640s by the holding of town meetings involving the "nichtbours". In May of 1640, the burgh council gave orders for regular meetings to take place "ilk Tuesday weiklie after the sermone" that were to be convened in the parliament house. The planned gatherings had the expressed purpose of informing the "haill neighboures" of "many things ... which concernis theme in commoun for the publick saiftie and will of the toun which can not be convenientlie doone without ane constant day be appointit".⁸¹ And, in the shires, heritors such as William Cunningham of Craigends held informal gatherings with their tenants and dependents to discuss current political developments: meetings that included the reading of political propaganda in the form of pamphlet literature.⁸²

However, as a public forum for the dissemination of aural as well as literary and visual propaganda from above to below, the pulpit proved the covenanters' greatest asset for mobilising popular opinion. This was, partly, because the structure of the church court system offered an efficient and comprehensive network for linking ordinary Scots with the political centre through the transmission of political news and information. The efficacy of this communications channel was amply demonstrated in the public subscription campaign which accompanied the National Covenant when copies of the document were sent to each presbytery to be read out in all parish churches on 1 April 1638 as part of a concerted attempt to pressure the Caroline administration into reversing its religious policy.⁸³ Moreover, it was not uncommon for leading civil and church officials to prepare position papers and *communiqués* detailing the covenanters' official stance on political matters that were designed, specifically, to influence mass opinion since they were disseminated through the parish ministers. Civil officials such as Archibald Johnston of Wariston, under the auspices of the provisional government, produced literature on highly controversial issues for popular consumption. In the autumn of 1638, for instance, he wrote a paper on the question of civil disobedience that was

⁸⁰. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, I, 360.

⁸¹. Edinburgh Records, Vol. 1626-4, 239.

⁸². Diary of William Cunningham, 55.

⁸³. S.R.O., Ms CH2/722/5, The presbytery book of Stirling 23 January 1627 - 2 April 1640.

distributed through the presbyteries and, in turn, read out in the parish churches by the ministers.⁸⁴ Church officials such as the commissioners of the general assembly, throughout much of the 1640s, regularly prepared injunctions dealing with current political developments which were designed to cultivate populist opinion in the interests of the state. Typical was a letter written in October of 1643 which was dispatched to the synods to be read out at the next meeting, instructing the parish ministers in their sermons to prepare their congregants for war:

first, advertising them of the danger imminent, no small number of hors and foott being come to the Borderis, and admonishing them, in the Lord, to lay the matter to heart themselves, and to labour to mak the people committed to ther charge sensible of the Lordis contraversies with them, on the one hand, and to encourage them, on the other hand, to draw neir unto him who is our onlie refuge and strenth: and for there just and necessar defence and safetie, exhort them to receave and obey, with all chearfulnes and diligence, the severall warnings and directions of Kirk and State.⁸⁵

Access and availability to national church directives in both urban and rural parishes was promoted through the disciplinary vigilance of the lower church courts, particularly at the provincial and regional levels. Declarations of the general assembly, often, contained explicit orders that they were to be "read from the pulpits".⁸⁶ One issued under the auspices of the general assembly in the form of a printed tract, *A Seasonable Warning*, - "representing the present calamities of the kingdom & the most abandoning sines as the causes throf & exhorting all unto repentence" - was read out as part of the worship service in March of 1645 at the Scots Kirk in Rotterdam.⁸⁷ Ministers in the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in the 1640s were directed to "have a cair to provyde themselves one of each sort of the bookes and papers that ar or shall be printed this present yeare be warrand of the general assemblie or their commissioners".⁸⁸ They were required, too, to "provyd themselves with copies of the testimonies for the treuth and against errours latelie com from England in print and

⁸⁴. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, I, 384, 385, 394-5.

⁸⁵. Ecclesiastical Records. Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife 1611-1687 (Abbotsford Club, 1837), 135-6.

⁸⁶. Strathclyde Regional Archives, Ms TD 59/13 f. 67, Glasgow Presbytery Records.

⁸⁷. Archives of the Scots Church Rotterdam, Ms Consistory Registers, I, f. 20, Scots Church Rotterdam 1643-1700 Vol. I-III.

⁸⁸. The Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale 1589-1596, 1640-1649, ed. J. Kirk (Stair Society, 1977), 229-30.

reprinted in Scotland".⁸⁹ Responsibility for policing the parish ministry in their compliance with general assembly edicts lay, in the first instance, with the presbytery which was to monitor "ministers diligence in carrying out instructions".⁹⁰ Formal examination of ministers was carried out by the synods as a means of discipline to help ensure that they had acted on the injunctions of the national church court. At a "trial of Edinburgh presbyteries" which occurred at the Lothian and Tweeddale synodical meeting in May of 1643, ministers were interrogated as to whether they had conveyed general assembly directives as prescribed; thus, they were asked, "What obedience was given anent the publishing the wairnings and declarations, [and] they answered that the direction was obeyed".⁹¹

But, the value of the pulpit as a mechanism for influencing public opinion for the covenanting régime lay not only in the structural advantages of the established church but, equally, in the evangelising work of the covenanting ministry. Individually and collectively, the ministers proved to be an effective voice for focusing public attention on political issues. Matters of 'high politics', as we have seen, impinged on the public consciousness through the *ex tempore* sermonising of the covenanting ministry and by their reading of official directives during regular worship services. Yet, they were brought into sharp relief by the holding of special fast days which through communal prayer and reflection coupled with self-denial were designed as *exempla* of visual and aural propaganda to identify adherents and elicit open affirmation of the people's political commitment to the established order. Control of the pulpit as a public platform for the dissemination of ideology allowed the ministers to utilise fast days, too, as vehicles for mass protest. A 'day of solemn fast' was called for the first Thursday in May of 1648 in Fife in response to the civil administration's endorsement of the Engagement: an accommodation with the king that proved generally unacceptable to a significant proportion of the radical presbyterian ministry because of Charles's refusal to affirm, personally, his commitment to the covenant. The political imperative of holding a fast day as a public demonstration

⁸⁹. *Ibid.*, 250.

⁹⁰. S.R.A., Ms TD 59/13 f. 67, Glasgow Presbytery Records.

⁹¹. Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 140.

of grassroots' disapproval of the Engagement was manifest in the scathing critique offered as justification for the public ritual. It was said to be due to the treatment of religion as "meer formalitie in secreit, domestick and publict dewties"; the "dispysing, hating and mocking of the power of godlines"; the decline in enthusiasm for religion, covenant and the reformation, particularly among ministers, as revealed "by ther cariage in the publict judicatures, many carles [sic] and not spirituall"; the corruption of "judicatures of the land" by those "evidentlie disaffected to the cause of God; quherof some have bein oppine enemies, otheris secreit undermyneris"; and, the ineffectualness of elders in repressing swearing, "rotten communicatioun", Sabbath-breaking and "uncleanes throw the not executing of the lawes, civill and ecclesaisticall".⁹²

The ministers' potential as propagandists to galvanise mass opinion was always a two-edged sword for the established order. While the civil and ecclesiastical administrations relied on the parish ministers to seek populist legitimation in the localities for their own political decisions, they recognised that the weight of the clergy's moral authority among their congregants was such that renegade ministers had to be silenced. Failure to conform politically resulted in ministerial deprivations throughout the period of covenanting rule; many stemming from the controversies created in 1638 by the National Covenant and the Glasgow Assembly; in 1644-45 by the earl of Montrose's royalist military campaigns; and, in 1648 by the Engagement.⁹³ Given the potential of the ministerial office as a device for channelling mass opinion, malcontents were rarely tolerated. Amidst the political chaos occasioned by the English invasion and occupation of the country in 1651, the competing factions of the covenanting movement – the Resolutioners and Protestors – vied for public opinion through the dissemination of aural and literary propaganda; much of which was generated by the parish ministers. Aware of the facility by which the more radical minority, the Protestors, could utilise the pulpit and the presses to gather strength by cultivating popular support, the commission of the general assembly exhorted the ministers – in the six-page pamphlet, *A Short Exhortation & Warning to the Ministers & Professors of this kirk from the Commission of the General*

⁹². Ecclesiastical Records. Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, 154.

⁹³. W.L. Mathieson, Politics and Religion: A Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution (2 vols., Glasgow, 1902), II, 83, 113, 91.

Assembly - "as the messengers of the Lord to stirr up others both publicly by free & faithfull preaching & privatly by admonishing everyone of his duty as their shall be occasion".⁹⁴ In an effort to undercut its critics, a comprehensive prohibition was issued which banned speeches, sermons and written material favourable to the Protestors and endorsed public denunciation of the radical faction:

We do in the name of God inhibit and discharge all ministers to preach & all ministers & professors to detract speak or wryt against the late publict resolutions & papers of the Commission of the General Assembly in order to the calling forth of the people from the necessar defence of the cause & kingdom against the injust invasion of the enemies to the Kingdom of God & to the government of this kirk and Kingdom, or to spread or dispose letters informations or any other papers against the same, or in any other way to obstruct that service, tending to the preservation & defence of religion, king & kingdom: Requyring Ministers to warne their flocks of these papers in Generall & particularly of such as are most plausible insinuating & dangerous And we do seriously recommend to presbyteries that with all vigilence they take speciall notice & tryal of such persons within their bounds whether such as have their station there, or such as in their troublesom tym have their p[resen]t residence whether Ministers or others, & impartially proceed against them as they will be answerable & to report ane account of their diligence herein⁹⁵

Having defied the ban, prominent members of the Protestor faction including James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, James Simpson, James Nasmyth and John Menzies - who were ministers in Stirling, Glasgow, Airth, Hamilton and Aberdeen respectively - were cited, subsequently, to appear before the general assembly at Dundee on 29 July to "receive such censure as they shall be found to deserve".⁹⁶

Therefore, the promulgation of polemical and ideological material to shape public opinion constituted an important feature of the covenanters' approach to governance. Overt attempts were made to cultivate populist support to help legitimise the régime which showed a high degree of premeditation, planning and co-ordination. With the resources and machinery of the state and the church to capitalise on, covenanting political propaganda was disseminated broadly, in the geographical sense, to make it readily accessible throughout the most densely, populated parts of the country - with ideological penetration at its deepest, undoubtedly, in the Lowlands where the ministers of the established church held sway over their congregants - and, it was transmitted, quite consciously, on a

94. A Short Exhortation & Warning to the Ministers & Professors of this kirk from the Commission of the General Assembly (Edinburgh, 1651), 4. For a copy of the directive in the form of a tract see: S.R.O., Ms GD 18/3970, Clerk of Penicuik Muniments.

95. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

96. The Assemblies sense of the protestation Dundie 23 Juli 1651 (Edinburgh, 1651). For a copy of the statement in the form of a tract see: S.R.O., Ms GD 18/3971.

wide basis in terms of the social order, from above to below. While the impact of this barrage of propaganda messages is impossible to quantify precisely, nonetheless, its scope and volume could hardly have failed to impinge on the public consciousness. Awareness of the political issues of the day and matters of 'high politics' as promoted by the propagandists was pressed on those from the higher ranks to the middling sort to the lower orders with unflagging zeal. Public demonstrations of active political involvement and commitment, both individual and communal, were sought, too, without regard to social degree and rank. Therefore, in seeking to legitimise its political authority, the covenanting administration gave impetus to a politicisation of the masses, insofar as, those of the middling and lower ranks were encouraged to be aware of matters of 'high politics' and thus become engaged in the public discourse.

III.

With its fall from political power in 1651 and its eclipse under the Cromwellian occupation of Scotland followed by its political isolation during the Restoration period, the covenanting movement could no longer lay claim, legitimately, to either the constitutional or political authority to speak for the Scottish nation as a whole. Erosion of the covenanters' influence was remarkably swift and was as much a result of broad disillusionment and war-weariness in the country as it was their political marginalisation during the Interregnum and their designation as an outlawed group under Charles II. But, while its descent from the heights of power meant that, in political terms, it could no longer command broad support on a social, geographical or ideological basis, in propaganda terms, the covenanting movement continued to make claims to possess the moral authority to criticise the *status quo*. Even though their own numbers were substantially reduced; their support among the élite had collapsed; and their populist appeal was greatly diminished after 1651, covenanting activists attempted to maintain a political presence and affect the public discourse through the use of literary, aural and visual propaganda. Propagandists for the cause therefore remained active after 1651, until

the effective demise of the movement with the Revolution of 1688-89, as the dissident voice of a minority offering a critique and, at times, an alternative to the established order in church and state.

As we have seen, the covenanters' loss of control over the means of communicating coupled with the imposition of censorship of the printing presses and prescriptive laws limiting public expressions of pro-covenanting sentiment – particularly those aimed at regulating access to the pulpit – meant that their propaganda was restricted in its production and output after 1651.⁹⁷ As a politically bankrupt movement during the Interregnum and, after 1662, a banned and subversive group, the channels for the dissemination of polemical material were not only constricted but, with the Restoration, they were perforce clandestine. Tracing the lines established for the transmission of political propaganda, therefore, is problematic since many activities would have been carried out surreptitiously to avoid detection by the authorities; few logistical aspects of the communications network would have been committed to paper; and, much organisational work for the co-ordination of propaganda campaigns would have been done orally. Yet, even in the absence of a deep vein of documentary evidence to quarry for a systematic reconstruction of the protest movement's means of communications, a paper trail exists comprised of private letters, pamphlets, tracts, *communiqués* and newsletters produced by the polemicists. When taken together with those frequent glimpses of covenanting ministers, sympathisers, adherents and activists as provided in the official records because they were suspected, examined, charged or prosecuted by the authorities for their illegal activities, indications of how accessible and available the propagandists' message was – both geographically and socially in Scotland – can be established.

Attempts to shape public opinion in order to bring about institutional change in church and state through the use of literary propaganda continued to display some elements of communal organisation and co-ordination after 1651; however, in the absence of state sanction, they were dependent on factional, coalitions and *ad hoc* coteries of covenanting polemicists and sympathisers to create and disseminate the propaganda material. In the early years of Cromwellian rule, the political and ideological divisions which split the covenanting movement – exacerbated, largely, by the Public

⁹⁷. See: Chapter IV: Covenanting Propaganda and State Censorship

Resolutions of the church issued on 14 December 1650 and 24 May 1651 which allowed royalists to join the Scottish army against the English invasionary forces – precipitated an extensive, pamphlet war between the Resolutioners and the Protestors. To cultivate public opinion, their proceedings and resolutions appeared in the form of tracts such as *The Representations, Propositions and Protestation of divers Ministers, Elders and Professors for themselves, and in name of many others well-affected Ministers, Elders, and People in Scotland. Presented by the Lord Wareston, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. John Livingston, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and divers others; To the Ministers and Elders met at Edinburgh July 21, 1652* which was printed that same year in Leith by Evan Tyler. At a meeting held in Edinburgh in July of 1652 which had been organised by the Protestors to coincide with a gathering of the general assembly and thus served as an alternative, open forum for the radical, minority faction to denounce the Resolutioner-dominated, general assembly as illegally constituted, the formulation of print propaganda was consigned to committees:

Upon Thursday, the meeting of Protestors did divide themselves in four severall Committees, to think upon, and confer about Overtures, how to make the matters of their Propositions practicable and effectuall in their own stations, according to their capacities. And the next morning, the minde of the severall Committees upon that matter being reported in writ. The severall clerks of these Committees were appointed to meet together, and draw up one Paper, all that was reported, which being done, there was another Committee appointed to meet upon it, and to consult and advise more deliberately thereanent, and to report their diligence upon the Munday to the whole Meeting, whereby it appears that they do really, and seriously mind the work themselves, which they proposed to others, which will appear the more by their Resolutions, when they come forth after the Overtures are digested, and finally agreed upon.⁹⁸

Sixty-seven ministers and eighty-five elders who claimed the support of "many hundreds of the well-affected throughout the Land"⁹⁹ jointly subscribed the protestation issued during the course of the Protestors' meeting outlining their objections to the Edinburgh General Assembly – as well as those held previously at St. Andrews and Dundee in 1651 and 1652 respectively – and pronouncing it "unfree, unlawfull, and corrupt".¹⁰⁰ An abridgement of the arguments presented at a subsequent

⁹⁸. The Representations, Propositions and Protestation of divers Ministers, Elders and Professors for themselves, and in name of many others well-affected Ministers, Elders, and People in Scotland. Presented by the Lord Wareston, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. John Livingston, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and divers others; To the Ministers and Elders met at Edinburgh July 21, 1652 (Leith, 1652), 19–20.

⁹⁹. Ibid., 15–18.

¹⁰⁰. Ibid., 13.

conference which was attended by representatives of the two rival, church parties a week later in Edinburgh along with critiques and copies of the acts of the general assemblies of 1651 and 1652 relating to the censuring of opponents to the Public Resolutions was compiled by Archibald Johnston, a leading Protestor.¹⁰¹ This was published in 1653 in Leith as a tract entitled, *Observations upon the Chief Acts of the two late P. Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, the Year of God 1651, and 1652. Together with the Reasons why the Ministers, Elders and Professors, who protested against the said Pretended Assemblies, and the Pretended Assembly at Edinburgh, cannot agree to the Overtures made to them at the Conference upon the 28. and 29. dayes of July 1652. As also the Instructions given by them to such of their Number as were sent to the said Conference. And the Letter directed to Mr. David Dickson for communicating their Papers. Whereunto is subjoynd the Propositions which were offered to the Meeting of Ministers and others appointed to be kept at Edinburgh July 21. 1652.*¹⁰²

Although many of the Resolutioner leaders often claimed to occupy the high moral ground by maintaining that they were unwilling to engage in a public discourse with the Protestors – specifically, *via* the printing presses – for the sake of church unity, they showed little reluctance, in fact, to challenge the Protestors on their own terms. Voicing a common complaint that the “Judicatories of the Kirk; the Conclusions of Kirk and State, for many years together, are publickly trod under foot by Printed Books emitted by our Brethren”, James Wood, in a pamphlet entitled *Some Few Observations about the Differences in the Kirk of Scotland, Vindicating the Judicatories thereof, Discovering the Principles and way of the Dissenting Brethren; and Clearing of some Mistakes which may mislead the Simple in these Reeling Times*, which was published in Edinburgh in 1653, set out to “undeceive the minds of people” with a close analysis of the Protestors’ and Resolutioners’ opposing views.¹⁰³ Declarations issued collectively in the name of the Resolutioner party such as *A true Representation of the rise, progresse and state of the present Divisions of the Church of Scotland* and *A Declaration of the Brethren who are for the established Government and Judicatories of the Church*

101. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, II, 189.

102. Johnston, Observations upon the Chief Acts of the two late P. Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, the Year of God 1651, and 1652.

103. Wood, Some Few Observations about the Differences in the Kirk of Scotland, 4.

gave impetus to the production of counter-propaganda by the Protestors; in this instance, James Guthrie's well-known treatise of 1658, *Protestors no Subverters, and Presbyterie no Papacie; or, A Vindication of the Protesting Brethren and of the Government of thie Kirk of Scotland, from the Aspersions unjustly cast upon them, in a late Pamphlet of some of the Resolutioner party, Entitled A Declaration &c. With a Discovery of the insufficiency, inequality and iniquity of the Things propounded in that Pamphlet, as Overtures of Union and Peace. Especially Of the iniquity of that absolute and unlimited submission to the Sentences of Church Judicatories that is holden forth therein, and most unjustly pleaded to belong to the Being and Essence of Presbyterial Government.*¹⁰⁴

Resolutioner propagandists including George Hutchison and James Wood collaborated to pen a response to Guthrie's work which was published in 1659 in Edinburgh as a pamphlet, *A Review and Examination of a Pamphlet, bearing the title of Protestors no Subverters.*¹⁰⁵ Literary propaganda - produced by both Resolutioners and Protestors - was made more broadly available, too, without access to the printing presses. The correspondence of David Dickson, a prominent Resolutioner minister, with James Guthrie, a leading Protestor minister, for example, which provided a detailed account of the religious and political differences which had factionalised the covenanting movement since the Engagement and a survey of the moral, scriptural, historical, political and constitutional grounds and precedents from the Resolutioner and Protestor perspectives, respectively, was circulated in the form of hand-written copies of the polemical letters.¹⁰⁶ Thus, a certain degree of co-operation and co-ordination attended the formulation and transmission of both Protestor and Resolutioner literary propaganda during the period of Cromwellian rule.

After the Restoration, the production and transmission of dissident, covenanting literature was dependent, largely, on the efforts of a small clique of covenanting leaders in exile in the Low Countries. The nonconformist leadership, in turn, were able to draw on the material and financial resources provided by committed covenanters in Scotland as well as those residing on the continent, especially

¹⁰⁴. Guthrie, *Protestors no Subverters, and Presbyterie no Papacie.*

¹⁰⁵. G. Hutchison and J. Wood, *A Review and Examination of a Pamphlet bearing the title of Protestors no Subverters* (Edinburgh, 1659).

¹⁰⁶. For a copy of this correspondence see: S.R.O., Ms GD 18/3966, Clerk of Penicuik Muniments.

the community of expatriate Scots in Rotterdam: the latter of which remained among the most fervent in its adherence to the covenant ideal.¹⁰⁷ Prominent covenanting ministers including Robert Hamilton, John Brown, Robert MacWard, Thomas Lining, James Renwick, William Boyd and Michael Shields regularly met or corresponded with one another, offering analysis of recent political developments in Scotland as well as their fellow dissidents' political activities at home. Consultation, advice and aid was proffered among themselves, too, about the production of print propaganda for dissemination in Scotland. In the early 1670s, Robert MacWard, minister of the Scots Church in Rotterdam, wrote to Alexander Wedderburn, a deprived minister, urging him to "speak and write against accommodation";¹⁰⁸ that is, the scheme proposed by Robert Leighton, the Bishop of Dunblane, to encourage conformity among radical presbyterians by limiting episcopal authority at the synodial assemblies and making bishops accountable to the provincial assemblies in their respective dioceses.¹⁰⁹ Prior to its publication in 1678, David Calderwood's history of the church was circulated in manuscript among the prominent exiles for their comments and revisions. John Brown, who served as the minister for the Scots Church in Rotterdam, for instance, made suggestions for some emendations to be incorporated in the monograph "towards the beginning of that part of the preface where the History itself is particularly spoken too for preventing the Readers neglect & [con]tempt of the whole" and, to facilitate further revisions, recommendations for it to be transcribed as the writing was not easily legible.¹¹⁰ When the conventicling preacher, James Renwick, in the late 1680s was interested in publishing a sermon he had given "near Glasgow, where there were a great multitude of people, & professors of many sorts & there were such various reports going concerning it", a copy of it, first vetted by Thomas Lining in Utrecht, was forwarded to Robert Hamilton in Rotterdam in the

107. Detailed discussion of the Scots Church in Rotterdam is provided by W. Stevenson, The History of the Scots Church, Rotterdam, to which are subjoined, Notices of the other British Churches in the Netherlands; and a Brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment (Edinburgh, 1833).

108. National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MSS Folio LVIII f. 137-8, Correspondance of Robet McWard, 1648-81, 'Letter from R. McWard to Mr. Wedderburn [c.1670]'.

109. Mathieson, Politics and Religion, 232-3, 240-8.

110. N. L.S., Wodrow MSS Folio LVIII f. 253, 'Letter from J. Brown to R. McWard [n.d.]'.

hopes that he might arrange for its publication; for, as Lining explained, "it were weill worth the printing, bot I sie not how it will be gotten done".¹¹¹

The practical difficulties involved in the reproduction of polemical, print material which arose out of the legal prohibitions against it were overcome, at times, by the covenanters' reliance on clandestine networks - made up of collaborators and sympathisers - for the creation and transmission of pamphlets and tracts. On occasion, literary propaganda was printed and made available for domestic consumption by sympathetic Scottish booksellers such as Glen Swintoun and James Glen. But, their citation and prosecution by the privy council in 1661 for printing and selling seditious papers in their Edinburgh shop including *Archibald Campbell's Speech*, *Guthrie's Speech* and *The Covenanters Plea* was a salutary reminder to other would-be offenders of the risks involved in such work.¹¹² Equally haphazard were the attempts to have print material produced and sold in London. In 1682, for instance, John Hay, a covenanting sympathiser who was prominent in the Scots community in Rotterdam, tried to arrange for a London printer, Thomas Murray, to bind and sell polemical material on his behalf. This was a business venture that Murray was reluctant to undertake, for, as he put it, "I Judge if I had some of them bound here I might chance to get them off but my circumstances ar such that I cannot goe publick as others and therfor am not capable to doe you that service".¹¹³ Ironically, subversive, literary propaganda was made accessible for domestic consumption with any facility only when it was produced under the auspices of the administration to discredit the covenanting movement. Although this was not a common practise, it was a tactic resorted to in times of political uncertainty and crisis. At the outset of Charles II's rule, the parliament of 1661 ordered a compilation of the "queries and answers" of the Aberdeen doctors and their covenanting opponents, dating from 1637-38, to be reprinted under the supervision of Robert Forbes, a Philosophy professor at Marischal College in Aberdeen.¹¹⁴ Similarly, the earl of Argyll's aborted attempt to foment a rebellion in 1685 in

¹¹¹. University of Glasgow - Special Collections, Ms Gen 1009/17, Covenanting MSS, 'Letter from T. Lining to R. Hamilton dated Utrecht, 9 January 1688'.

¹¹². *RPCS*, IX, 72-3.

¹¹³. N.L.S., MSS 500 f. 27, Miscellaneous Letters and Documents, 'Letter from T. Murray to J. Hay in Skidamsdyke Rotterdam dated London, 22 September 1682'.

¹¹⁴. *APS*, VII, 334; App. 81b.

response to the succession of a catholic, James VII to the throne - which had the backing of the exiled, covenanting leadership - caused the earl of Moray to recommend to the duke of Queensberry that Argyll's manifesto be reproduced for the "Gazet" accompanied by "ane short account, as we reseaved it of his landinge".¹¹⁵ Transmission of such dissident literature was regarded as advantageous by officials because it could be used to turn public opinion against the malcontents and justify the state's prosecution of dissenters. Certainly, this attitude underlies the opinion of John Drummond, later the earl of Melfort, who, with respect to the discovery of the Scots Plot of 1685, declared his hope that it would be well-publicised: "I am glad the story of the Scots Plott is to come out Let one or more copies of it be sent hither befor it can come abroad some time otherwayes it will not be got reprinted hear as it ought".¹¹⁶ Rather than follow the usual procedure of consigning all treasonous papers to the fires set up by the public hangman, there were instances, then, when the government considered them more valuable in circulation.

With few opportunities to publish propaganda in Scotland or England, the movement turned to the Dutch book industry, in general, for the production and distribution of its literary output. Covenanting tracts such as John Brown of Wamphray's *Ane apologetick relation of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers and professors of the Church of Scotland since august 1660* and Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees' *Jus Populi Vindicatum* were printed in the Low Countries: in this case, in 1665 and 1669 respectively. The Dutch book trade acted, too, as a supplier and agent by making the material available for sale. Richard Cameron, a prominent covenanter, sent an order to an anonymous bookseller in Utrecht, for instance, in 1681 for "Mr Brownes two peaces" along with a tentative request for a copy of Samuel Rutherford's letters subject to a price quote; for, as Cameron specified, "I wold also take Rutherford's Letters if I know ther pryce".¹¹⁷ Additionally, the print propaganda originating, primarily, in the cities of Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht was smuggled into Scotland for general sale and distribution. Gavin Williamson, a bookseller in Edinburgh, who had

¹¹⁵. S.R.O., Ms GD 224/171/12/28, Buccleuch Muniments -Transcripts of Queensberry Letters Vol. 1-18, 'Letter from the earl of Moray to the duke of Queensberry dated May 1685'.

¹¹⁶. S.R.O., Ms GD 224/171/12/30, 'Letter from J. Drummond, later the earl of Melfort, to the duke of Queensberry dated London, 10 January 1685'.

¹¹⁷. N.L.S., MSS 500 f. 26, 'Letter from R. Cameron to anonymous bookseller in Utrecht dated 1681'.

some business ties with the *émigré* Scottish community in Rotterdam may well have acquired such material during a visit to the Low Countries which he may have offered for covert sale in his shop at home although he was never charged with violating the law.¹¹⁸ Certainly, some tracts were sold illegally by his competitors including John Calderwood, an Edinburgh bookseller, who was prosecuted in 1680 for importing covenanting works from the Low Countries including *Naphtali or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* and *Jus Populi Vindicatum*.¹¹⁹ Others, however, were disseminated privately by an underground network of covenanting activists stretching from the Low Countries to Scotland. Central figures in this clandestine operation were Alexander Henderson and John Hay, two prominent Scottish merchants who were resident in Rotterdam and elders of the Scots Church there.¹²⁰ For his part, Henderson was not only involved in the collection and distribution of money to the covenanting leadership during the 1680s¹²¹ but he, along with Hay, co-ordinated the dissemination of polemical material. In 1680, for instance, Henderson in a note to a bookseller, John McRomy, directed him to deliver to Hay "t[w]o hundreth naphtalies compleit at the Additions & the haffe of the grapps in the wildernese" as well as collections of other sermons by "walands" and "Mr. Creathings".¹²²

The distribution system which developed to make printed books and dissident literature available to nonconformists in Scotland was reliant on a small number of committed adherents who were residents of both the Low Countries and Scotland. Engaging in covert, illegal activities by disseminating covenanting propaganda which were loosely-organised and supervised from abroad was, by its nature, problematic. As a report dating from November of 1681 from one of John Hay's Scottish contacts makes clear, the *ad hoc* arrangements that he made for the disbursement of the

118. For instance, mention is made of the possibility of Williamson being in Rotterdam, Amsterdam or Campvere in 1650. According to the consistory records of the Scots Church, Rotterdam "Robert forgun and Robert burt declare that they had heard that Gawin Williamson was in their town, they had sought him and could not find him: and now he is gone to Amsterdam or Campvere". See: Scots Church Rotterdam Archives, Ms Consistory Registers, I, f. 38.

119. *RPCS*, XIV, 571.

120. Scots Church Rotterdam Archives, Registers of Baptism, Marriages and Membership, 1643-1711 f. 77-80, 'A list of the communicants of the Scots Church, Rotterdam, from 1643 to 1676'.

121. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/17, 'Letter from T. Lining to R. Hamilton dated Utrecht, 9 January 1688'.

122. N.L.S., MSS 500 f. 25, 'Letter from A. Henderson to J. McRomy dated Rotterdam, 1680'.

material across the channel was not always reliable since not all of the literature produced for domestic consumption reached its destination:

As for your bookes you sent with John Kennet I delivered them at your desire to Christian Arther of which war lost 14 I receaved from hendrie beg and william dobbie These [tha]t you sent and delivered them to Margret Hamilton, of which I have receaved 2y of the Acts of the Generall Assemblie And as an & thirtie of Confessions. And ane hundreth and a halfe of Mr. Welch preachings I delivered halfe ane hundred to Christian A: And the money of ane qwarter of an hundred to Margret H: And 20 punds Scots As for your acts there is non of save three.¹²³

Such logistical problems were compounded by the fact that the Caroline administration maintained close surveillance over the activities of the emigré community in the Low Countries. Nonconformists associated with the Scots Church in Rotterdam were monitored by government-sponsored agents with full reports chronicling any leading dissidents' movements; the content of the sermons preached at the church; and, the community's reaction to political developments in Scotland. As well, news about the formulation, production and dissemination of print propaganda was noted with one anonymous account dating from July of 1685 and written for the earl of Lauderdale commenting that "Their ministers have set out ane book amongst them the name of it I know not it is newlie comd out of the prese they Intend to sent it to Scotland. I were Informed [tha]t it is a very bitter discourse" and promising to obtain a copy for Lauderdale to examine.¹²⁴

Efforts to transmit literary propaganda from the covenanting leadership to the grassroots of the movement were made, too, without the aid of the printing presses through the use of handwritten, dissident literature. As we have seen, this type of propaganda material served a number of important functions for the movement.¹²⁵ But, with respect to the transmission of information from above to below, circulating newsletters on public affairs – preferably, "upon solid grounds & good information" as John Maxwell of Pollok specified – often were dispatched to prominent,

¹²³ N.L.S., MSS 500 f. 30, 'Letter from "your loving sister [page torn]" to J. Hay in Rotterdam dated Monkland 28 November 1681'.

¹²⁴ N.L.S., MSS 597, f. 130-1, Papers of the Earls of Lauderdale – Watson Collection, 'Letter from anon. to earl of Lauderdale dated Rotterdam 17 July 1685'. Sermons given by John Livingston, John Hogg and James Simpson are reported in full in this account.

¹²⁵ See: Chapter III: The Function of Covenanting Propaganda.

nonconformists in Scotland such as Pollok by the leaders in exile¹²⁶ either by way of the regular postal service or else carried by trusted messengers¹²⁷ and, they were, in turn, reproduced by hand and sent to "severall corners of the countrey".¹²⁸ Official surveillance of the foot posts and horse posts operated by both the central administration and the major burghs was sufficiently intense, at times, to cause a degree of circumspection in some of the writings.¹²⁹ But, it was circumvented by the covenanters through the simple subterfuge of sending letters anonymously; employing cyphers and codes; counterfeiting a hand; using an alias; forging a seal; or, indeed, enclosing a second letter for a third party.¹³⁰ Like the well-known, *communiqués* of Samuel Rutherford written in the 1630s to rally opposition to Caroline ecclesiastical policies,¹³¹ those dating from the Restoration period were dispersed widely among adherents and they received an additional hearing when they were read out at conventicles.¹³² Thus, while the transmission of literary propaganda was fraught with difficulties after 1660, nonetheless, it continued as an organisational tool and means of communicating from above to below.

126. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/917, Records of the Maxwell family of Nether Pollok, subsequently the Stirling Maxwells, 'Letter to R. Hamilton from [Sir J. Maxwell of Pollok] [c. 1670's]'.
 127. S.R.O., Ms RH 15/37/260, Rait of Hallgreen, General Papers, 1507-1733; S.R.O., Ms GD 50/180/1, The John Macgregor Collection.

128. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/32, Covenanting MSS.

129. See, for instance, U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1075, Renwick Letters. Monitoring the correspondence of covenanting sympathisers and their leaders in exile became so prevalent in the 1680s that there was an attempt made by them to infiltrate the office of the deputy post-master general of Scotland, Robert Mein. In 1682, Andrew Russell, a prominent, covenanting merchant in Rotterdam, attempted to persuade Mein to hire James Thomsone, a covenanting minister. The plan failed when Mein discovered that they were "bad fellows". See: S.R.O., Ms RH 1/2/797/1, Business letters of Andrew Russell.

130. S.R.O., Ms GD 121/92/2/140, Muniments of D.D. Fotheringham of Murthly Castle; U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/15, 17, 40, 45.

131. Rutherford acted as a co-ordinator for the southwestern shires on behalf of this loose coalition of church dissidents. In his regular correspondence with Ayrshire heritors and their wives including Lady Kenmure and Marion McNaught, he dispensed information and news as well as organising fast days in accordance with the orders he received from "some of the worthiest of the ministry in this kingdom". See: Letters of Samuel Rutherford: With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents, edited by A.A. Bonar, (Edinburgh, n.d.), 92; *ibid.*, 60. Rutherford's letters in the 1630s also were circulated and probably read out at conventicles in the southwest. See: W. M. Campbell, The Triumph of Presbyterianism (Edinburgh, 1958), 76. Detailed discussion of the conventickers' activities is provided by D. Stevenson, 'Conventicles in the Kirk, 1619-37. The Emergence of a Radical Party' in *RSCHS*, xviii-pt.2 (1973), 99-114; A. MacInnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641 (Edinburgh, 1991), 155-7.

132. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/19, 32, Covenanting MSS.

The transmission and reception of aural propaganda after 1651 was dependent, to a great extent, on the evangelising work of the covenanting ministry. As we have seen, the factionalisation of the movement during the years of Cromwellian rule meant that the Resolutioner and Protestor leaders expended considerable, intellectual energy in discrediting one another through their writings and conferences. While the English, military occupation of the country made covenanting opposition to the régime ineffectual, initially, both the Resolutioners with their refusal to acquiesce to the established order by continuing to pray for the king until 1655 in their sermons and the Protestors with their public lamentations decrying the state of the country under foreign rule in their sermons offered an oblique public critique of the government.¹³³ During this period, too, fast days served as a barometer of political sentiment and reliability. As propaganda forums for the expression of opposition to the ruling regime, fast days were called without the official authorisation of the central administration as in May of 1659 when the town council of Edinburgh issued a directive for one to be held in all of the local parish churches.¹³⁴ Conversely, those fast days sanctioned by the government received only a lukewarm reception. So much is apparent in the prescriptive nature of the decrees with their emphasis on legal prohibitions for non-compliance. Declarations for politically motivated fast days such as that issued for a "day of public thanksgiving and fast" on 20 February 1657 to mark the anniversary of the aborted assassination attempt on the Protector, Oliver Cromwell,¹³⁵ were accompanied, often, by directives ordering strict adherence under threat of prosecution. A case in point was a declaration of the Lord Protector and parliament in early October of 1654 announcing that a "day of solemn fasting and humiliation" had been appointed for observance in Edinburgh on Wednesday, 11 of October. To ensure compliance, copies of the declaration were to be published and distributed to parishes and congregations throughout the burgh and, to reinforce the order, reports on the extent of the observance of the fast in the burgh were to be compiled. Even though a subsequent proclamation issued two days before the fast day reiterated the order for inhabitants to attend the

¹³³. See: Chapter III: The Function of Covenanting Propaganda and Chapter IV: Covenanting Propaganda and State Censorship.

¹³⁴. Edinburgh Records, Vol. 1655-65, 148.

¹³⁵. Ibid., 48.

special church service along with the directive for all shops and alehouses to remain closed, the fast was disregarded by the ministry and laity of the town. Indeed, throughout the Cromwellian period, the ministers generally refused to recognise any fast called by the authorities on the grounds that they were not held under warrant of the church.¹³⁶ Passive resistance to the state based on this principle was manifested in 1656 when ministers in Edinburgh formally protested against the government decree appointing a "day of solemn fasting and humiliation" to be held throughout the multiple kingdom on 30 October. Their argument that the fast day lacked legitimacy because it had not been ordered by the General Assembly¹³⁷ belied their political motivations for opposition since the national church court had been prevented from meeting by the government since 1653. Moreover, public fast days called for non-political reasons by burgh officials such as that held in Edinburgh in August of 1655 "for averting of the wrath and indignation throw the great inundation of raines fallen out thir dayis bygone threatneing no les then the destructione of this present cropt of the cornes upon the ground and thairby a famine of bread and cleannes of teeth" engendered no similar controversy and, apparently, were honoured without any such scruples.¹³⁸

Opportunities and occasions for the transmission of mass, domestic propaganda through the use of aural and visual means took on a new dimension, however, in response to the Restoration Settlement of 1661 when the establishment of episcopal ascendancy in the church in concert with the subsequent enforcement of the legal proscriptions against adherence to the covenant and nonconformity resulted in a populist backlash, promoted by the covenanting ministry, that manifested itself in wide-spread conventicling. This phenomenon was given impetus by the number of ministers - 270 in all - deprived by 1663 for refusing to conform with the new church order.¹³⁹ That almost one-third of the Scottish ministry found the provisions of the church settlement unacceptable signalled the depth of discontent in the country at large with the established order in church and state. Although not all of the deprived ministers continued as active opponents of Charles II's administration nor did they all

136. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1642-55, 349-51.

137. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1655-65.

138. *Edinburgh Records*, Vol. 1655-65, .

139. G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V - James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 365.

engage in illegal preaching, their unwillingness to comply was indicative of presbyterian resentment at the reestablishment of episcopacy: a sentiment that could be exploited by covenanting propagandists. One indicator of the level of dissent among the ministers was the significant rate of recidivism for those who were eligible for the three, Caroline Indulgences of 1669, 1672 and 1678. Since those who accepted the pardons can be considered as moderates who were willing to acquiesce to the episcopal establishment, any subsequent involvement in nonconformity is all the more remarkable. As official pardons allowing for the reinstatement of parish ministers who had been deprived, the three Indulgences were proffered, as we have seen, under different terms,¹⁴⁰ but all of the beneficiaries of these schemes had to agree to abstain from conventicling as a condition of their licence to preach.¹⁴¹ By December of 1679, 149 ministers were offered one of the Indulgences – 43 in 1669, 91 in 1672, and 15 in 1678 – and they were to be settled in 115 vacant parishes with approximately half of them scheduled to return to the parish churches where they had formerly served as ministers.¹⁴² While the majority of the indulged ministers were from the west of Scotland – almost two-thirds of them (63%) from the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, – over a third (37%) came from other regions of the country with 11% from the two eastern synods of Fife and Lothian and Tweeddale; 14% from the three southern synods of Merse and Teviotdale, Dumfries and Galloway; and, 12% from the three more northern synods of Angus and Mearns, Argyll and Perth combined. Of the remaining synods, however, none produced any indulged ministers. What is especially noteworthy, however, are the number of these moderates who became conventicle preachers. For instance, more than a quarter of the ministers (23) who were nominated for the second Indulgence of 1672 had already taken the previous Indulgence three years earlier but, in the interim, were cited by the privy council for nonconformist preaching at conventicles. One minister, John Scott, who was eligible for all three

¹⁴⁰. See: Chapter IV: Covenanting Propaganda and State Censorship.

¹⁴¹. The fullest analysis of the purpose and effect of the Indulgences is provided by I. B. Cowan, The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688 (London, 1976), 76-81, 91, 96-7, 104.

¹⁴². Figures are based on my own analysis of the privy council registers. There were 114 ministers who were eligible for the second Indulgence of 1672; however, 23 of them had already been nominated for the first Indulgence of 1669. Lists of the ministers eligible for the Indulgences along with the conditions of the Indulgences are found in RPCS, 3rd series, III, 38-41; 123-6, 586-90; Ibid., V, 156; Ibid., VI, 278, 320-1; 339-40; 459-62; 550-1. See: Appendix A and B.

Indulgences was actively engaged throughout the 1670s in conventicling. Thus, while the majority of the indulged ministers lived peaceably, a significant proportion were active as nonconformist preachers.

Since conventicles served as an important communications channel for the propagation of covenanting views on a mass scale, their efficacy in transmitting propaganda from above to below was dependent on the number of nonconformist preachers engaged in this work. One measure of the extent of nonconformist preaching can be derived from an analysis of the privy council records dating from the Restoration period which deal with official citations for conventicling. Although the regional distribution and intensity of prosecutions are a reflection of official interest in suppressing conventicles, they also provide a guide to the geographic diversity of the activity itself. The legal citation of nonconformist ministers suspected of conventicling activity was handled by the privy council from 1662 when such prosecutions were first initiated until 1685 when the responsibility for the administration of justice in conventicling cases devolved to the special circuit courts. Prior to 1666, only four ministers were cited for conventicling activity; thus, statistically, the figures are insignificant. But, thereafter until 1685, the privy council processed 544 cases involving 159 individuals who were required, officially, to answer charges of conventicle preaching.¹⁴³ Of those called to account, the majority were outed or deprived ministers - 123 of whom were not eligible for any of the three Indulgences - and a few including Robert Gillespie, David Morton, William Sutherland and "a pakman" in Fife were lay preachers who had never been ordained as ministers.¹⁴⁴ That prayer meetings should have been conducted by members of the laity was viewed with misgivings by officials and the trend was regarded as a symptom of the radical nature of nonconformity. This apprehension was apparent in the response of Charles Maitland, lord Hatton, who on hearing of the activities of the lay preachers declared, "Now, good god! wher shall we land when it is cumd to this,

¹⁴³. *RPCS*, 3rd series, I-VIII. All figures derive from an analysis of data compiled from the privy council registers.

¹⁴⁴. 'Thirty-four Letters Written to James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew, by the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale and Charles Maitland, Lord Hatton, 1660-1667' in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, ed. J. Dowden (Scottish History Society, 1893), 288; *RPCS*, XIII, 40; *ibid*, XI, 504.

and this is to ther important glorie. I wish some serious way may be thought on to prevent the over running of this ivil".¹⁴⁵

The geographical pattern of those charged with involvement in conventicling as nonconformist preachers suggests that occasions for the dissemination of aural propaganda were wide-spread in the most densely, populated parts of the country. Based on the location of the ministers' place of residence as indicated by the privy council records, most of the preachers cited were from the synods of the central Lowlands.¹⁴⁶ Approximately two in five of the accused were from the eastern regions: that is, 22.9% from the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale and 17.4% from the synod of Fife. Those from the west of Scotland as represented by the synod of Glasgow and Ayr along with that of Argyll constituted 17.1% of the ministers cited for nonconformist activity. Smaller clusters of illegal preachers originated in other parts of the country, too, with the three southern synods of Galloway, Dumfries as well as Merse and Teviotdale producing 7%, 4.4% and 5.7% respectively of all the ministers called to account by the council. Moreover, multiple citations were issued, frequently, by the council against specific ministers with almost one in five cited as a repeat offender. This was most prevalent during the 1670s when 44 of the 92 ministers charged with illegal preaching were called to appear before the council to answer charges of conventicling more than once with 36 preachers cited up to five times; 4 cited from six to ten times; 2 cited from eleven to fifteen times; and 2 cited between sixteen and over twenty times. By comparison, during the 1680s, the number of repeat offenders was proportionally smaller with almost one in three - 18 out of the 57 ministers in total - receiving on average of two to five separate privy council citations for conventicling. But, among the major offenders, the number of repeat citations for conventicling was higher than the norm. For instance, David Williamson was cited nine times; Jon Law was cited eight times; and, both Archibald Riddell and Jon King were cited six times each. A few of the most active nonconformist preachers who successfully eluded the authorities for several years such as William Yeitch, - alias George Johnston - Samuel Arnot and Gabriell Semple were charged twelve, fifteen and seventeen times respectively.

¹⁴⁵. *Ibid.*, 288.

¹⁴⁶. All figures derive from an analysis of data compiled from the privy council registers. Of the 544 cases, 5.3 % do not specify the location of the ministers' residence.

As itinerant preachers who made "it their work and busines to traffick up and doune the kingdom"¹⁴⁷ nonconformist ministers often travelled widely through the country organising secret prayer meetings and conducting worship services. It was not uncommon, for example, for those covenanting ministers who resided on the continent to embark on extensive preaching tours when they clandestinely visited Scotland. During a six week trip in 1688, George Turnbull who had formerly been a minister in Alloa prior to his exile in the Low Countries preached twenty-one sermons and visited ten different towns and localities including Queensferry, Edinburgh, Stirling, Dundas, Bo'ness, Dundee and the Merse near Berwick.¹⁴⁸ Such a practise helps to account for the regional diversity of conventicling activity as reflected in the privy council citations. Between 1666 and 1685, the councillors handled 385 cases of nonconformity involving 813 illegal conventicles.¹⁴⁹ Based on the location of the prayer meetings detected as given in the council records,¹⁵⁰ the majority took place in the most densely populated parts of the country with 23.2% in the synod of Fife; 23.9% in Lothian and Tweeddale; and, 14.4% in Glasgow and Ayr. Although little or no conventicling activity was reported in the more conservative north - most notably, above the Moray Firth - a small percentage of the illegal prayer meetings were located in other synodial regions, too, including 5% each from the synods of Angus and Mearns, Galloway and Merse and Teviotdale. Thus, despite the heavy legal sanctions against nonconformity and conventicling; the periodic crackdowns in enforcement of the law; and, the official incentives proffered for reports on nonconformist activity including the bounties of from 1,000 to 2,000 merks promised for those instrumental in the apprehension of conventicling ministers,¹⁵¹ conventicle meetings occurred in much of Lowland Scotland throughout the Restoration period.

147. RPCS, XII, 204-5.

148. 'The Diary of the Rev. George Turnbull, Minister of Alloa and Tynningham 1657-1704' in Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, ed. R. Paul (Scottish History Society, 1893), I, 330-2.

149. RPCS, 3rd series, I-VIII. There were 1,901 layfolk charged with conventicling. All figures derive from my analysis of data compiled from the privy council registers. See: Appendix C.

150. Of all the conventicles cited in the council records, 64 or 7.9% have no location specified.

151. RPCS, XIII, 200-1.

Therefore, even in a hostile political climate, the transmission of mass, domestic political propaganda from the covenanting leadership to the rank and file adherents to convey the political, ideological and moral justifications for resistance to the state was carried out through the mechanism of the printing presses and evangelising. While attempts to cultivate public opinion to generate sympathy for the covenanting cause and sustain populist interest in the movement's political ideals were fraught with difficulties after 1651, it remained possible for the propagandists during subsequent Protectorate, Commonwealth and royalist administrations to continue their work. Elements of co-ordination and the collective production of propaganda were a feature in the transmission and dissemination of polemical material; albeit on a much reduced scale from the high degree of orchestration which marked it before 1651. The availability of the propagandists' messages - while much more circumscribed during the movement's years in the political wilderness compared to the time of its political ascendancy - was, generally, wide-spread throughout most of the most densely populated parts of the country. Certainly, for those willing to defy the law, the opportunities and occasions for the transmission of covenanting propaganda by aural means as supplied by the nonconformist preachers in their organisation of conventicles ensured that the movement's political rhetoric reached a receptive audience. In this way, the political aspirations and objectives of the ideological élite after 1651 were publicly expressed, filtering down to help shape public opinion and thereby impinging on mass, political consciousness. But, while the organisational process for the production and transmission of aural, visual, literary and symbol propaganda was of critical importance in sustaining the covenanting cause through five decades, a key determinant of the movement's ability to influence Scottish political culture lay in the content of the message conveyed by its polemicists. As we shall see, in attempting to shape popular opinion, the rhetorical power of the propagandists derived from the attitudes, beliefs and values which they espoused. To comprehend the scope of the impact of covenanting propaganda on seventeenth-century thinking, the substance of the message and the main themes promulgated in the mass, political propaganda generated by the movement therefore need to be explored in some depth: a subject to which we now turn.

Chapter VI

Evangelicalism and Federal Theology

I.

In March 1638, a nation-wide, fast day was held to publicize the mass subscription campaign for the National Covenant. In conducting the commemorative service, the minister of the Currie church in Lothian, John Chairtres, spent some time explaining the National Covenant's significance and contents to the congregation before requesting that the parishioners give their support to it *en masse*. Whether Chairtres delivered this lecture in a calm and quiet manner or whether he adopted a more impassioned and provocative style of rhetoric is not known. What is clear, however, is that when the congregation was asked to indicate their commitment by a show of hands, the atmosphere in the church dramatically changed with the orderly, attentive gathering suddenly erupting into an emotionally- charged, evangelical revival meeting:

at thair standing up and lifting up thair hands, in the twinkling of ane eye thair fell sutch ane extraordinarie influence of Gods Sprit upon the whol congregation, melting thair frozen hearts, waltering thair dry cheeks, chainging thair verry countenances, as it was a wonder to seie so visible, sensible, momentaneal a chainge upon al, man and woman, lasse and ladde, pastor and people that Mr. Jhon, being suffacat almost with his awin tears, and astonisched at the motion of the whol people, sat downe in the pulpit in ane amazement, bot presently rose againe quhen he saw al the people falling doune on thair knees to mourne and pray, and he and thay for ane quarter of ane houre prayed verry sensibly, with many sobs, tears, promises and voues to be thankful and fruitful in tym-coming.¹

Such intense expressions of communal, religious hysteria occurred elsewhere that day during the church services held to mark the launching of the national, public subscription campaign for the National Covenant including at the kirks of Cramond and Prestonpans.² And, no doubt, for many of the Scottish people, the evangelical fervour which attended the meetings was the most memorable aspect of their first, direct encounter with the National Covenant. For, it is the depth of emotion affecting the participants involved in this public act of affirmation and support for the National Covenant which provides the key to understanding why the manifesto captured the popular

¹. Diary of Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639, ed. G.M. Paul (Edinburgh, 1911), I, 327-8.

². Ibid.

imagination in the short-term so effectively and why in the long-term appeals of the 'church in danger' were invoked, with some success, by covenanting propagandists to challenge the established order for much of the seventeenth century. Like the popular, religious fanaticism of Islam which fuelled the Iranian Revolution and reverberated throughout much of the Moslem world in the late-twentieth century, evangelical revivalism proved to be one of the covenanting movement's greatest propaganda assets in winning populist support; motivating its adherents; and, inspiring revolutionary impulses in early modern Scotland.

One reason that the cause of the covenant engaged the popular imagination so effectively was because it was the embodiment of an intellectual and spiritual awakening among layfolk. This trend was given some impetus by the Melvillian schemes of the late-sixteenth century for reform of the established church. While radical presbyterianism had experienced both gains and losses in setting its imprint on the kirk in the three generations since the Reformation-Rebellion and, even though the Jacobean church remained firmly under the control of the crown, the blueprint for reordering the church which is associated with Andrew Melville as expressed in *The Second Book of Discipline* had important long-term ramifications. As is well known, the basic features of the model were anti-erastian including the principle of two kingdoms of church and state, the importance given to the general assembly's right to exist, the parity of ministers and the denial of royal supremacy over the church;³ thus, they led to open confrontation with the state on questions of jurisdiction that continued to hamper church-state relations throughout the late-sixteenth century and for much of the seventeenth century. However, for our purposes, the significance of the public discourse which these precepts fostered was that it helped to infuse a new energy into the country's religious life with the result that an evangelical revival was well underway in the early decades of the seventeenth-century.⁴

Encouraged by a highly vocal group of radical presbyterian ministers committed to the Melvillian ideal whose small numbers belied their influence, literate layfolk displayed an avid interest in theological questions which, traditionally, had been the intellectual preserve of churchmen.

³ J. Kirk ed., *The Second Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1980), 51-2.

⁴ J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London, 1981), 127-8.

Heightened religious intensity was reflected in the shifting literary concerns of contemporary writers. The noted Ayrshire poet, Sir William Mure of Rowallan, for instance, abandoned the themes of Petrarchan love which had dominated his early court poetry to address religious issues in the verse which he produced in the 1620s. In poems such as *Doomsday*, *A Spirituall Hymne* and *Fancies Farewell*, Mure's puritan, ultra-protestant beliefs were explored more deeply and became a central *leitmotif* in his writings.⁵ In broader terms, lay preoccupation with spiritual matters was evident in the proliferation of books and tracts dealing with religious subjects and specific topics of theological exposition. One indication of this phenomenon is provided by an analysis of the number of theological publications printed in Scotland during the first four decades of the seventeenth century.⁶ During this time, the amount of literature produced in Scotland which dealt with religious themes rose substantially, increasing almost four-fold when the total number of those works published in the first decade of 1600-09 is compared to those which appeared in the final decade of 1630-39. Each succeeding decade saw a steady if uneven growth with 40 works published from 1610 to 1619 in comparison to the previous decade's output of 30 printed works which were available between 1600 and 1609. But, starting in the 1620s, the numbers escalated by fifty per cent with 60 monographs printed from 1620 to 1629: a figure that almost doubled in the 1630s when 114 religious works were published between 1630 and 1639.⁷ Although the amount of literary matter dealing with non-theological subjects during the same periods also rose - with 121 works appearing between 1600-1609, 167 between 1610-19, 216 between 1620-29 and 321 between 1630-39 - the rate of increase in publishing activity between the periods of 1600-09 as compared to 1630-39 was less than three-fold and, thus, it was not as great as that for theological literature. Moreover, print material dealing with religious themes constituted a higher percentage of the total number of

⁵ R.D.S. Jack, 'Sir William Mure and the Covenant' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XVII, 1 (1969), 1.

⁶ See: Appendix D. Figures and graphs are based on an analysis of the data found in H.C. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: Including those printed furth of the realm for Scottish Booksellers: With Brief Notes on the Printers and Stationers (National Library of Scotland, 1970).

⁷ To prevent distortion of the data, the large number of pamphlets and books printed in response to Caroline religious changes in the 1630s have not been included here. The growth in publishing activity was, therefore, of even greater magnitude than the figures themselves demonstrate.

publications as the century progressed, beginning in the 1620s. Whereas theological works published from 1600 to 1609 and 1610 to 1619 represented less than 25% of all printed works, from 1620 to 1629 and 1630 to 1639, they constituted almost 28% and 36% respectively.

The growth in publishing activity for religious literature was, partly, an outcome of the reprinting of basic, scriptural works and, partly, the result of the writing of new, didactic monographs on theological and moral subjects.⁸ General demand for scriptural texts was apparent in the fact that the Psalms of David was published in twenty-five editions between 1625 and 1638 with more than half of these appearing in 1633 alone. Similarly, the new King James' version of the Bible was printed six times between 1633 and 1638 while the New Testament was reissued in thirteen editions between 1625 and 1637 with a royal version produced in 1628 and a new translation from the Greek printed in 1631. In addition, Jean Calvin's Catechism, published in 1628 and 1631, was produced contemporaneously with a Catechism in Gaelic that appeared in 1631. More active, intellectual engagement in theological debates by the laity was discernable in the increasing number of prose works which appeared on a variety of religious and moral themes. A range of theological opinion was represented in the publications with treatises by John Forbes of Corse, professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, including *Irenicum amatoribus veritatis*, published twice in 1629, and reprinted in 1636; moral essays by William Couper, bishop of Galloway, such as *The triumph of a christian* and *A most comfortable and christian dialogue* which were both printed in 1632 as well as one by David Dickson – the radical presbyterian who was a minister in Irvine – entitled *True christian love* which appeared two years later.⁹ Literary works including a collection of sacred poems compiled by Andrew Ramsay, an Edinburgh minister and former professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University, and the prose poem, *Garden of spirituall flowers*, by Zachary Boyd, a Glaswegian minister and academic, were made accessible through the printing press in 1633 and 1634 respectively.¹⁰ Material dealing with specific biblical passages including *The loves of the Lord with his troth-plight spouse, contained in the Song of Songs paraphrased* (1637) by the anonymous

⁸. The following analysis is based on data provided by Aldis, List of Books Printed in Scotland.

⁹. *Ibid.*, Nos. 702, 703; No. 869; Nos. 771.7, 771.5; No. 848.

¹⁰. *Ibid.*, No. 833; No. 824.

D.W. and *A short explanation [of the] Epistle ... to the Hebrewes* (1635) by David Dickson also found its way into print.¹¹ With the publication in 1634 of a compilation of his sermons, the work of the eminent, sixteenth-century theologian, Robert Rollock, was made available for a wider readership and audience too.¹² Taken together, the unprecedented rate of reprinting for scriptural texts, the apparent increase in the production and consumption of religious works, and, the growing diversity of devotional literature produced in Scotland serve to underline the laity's active involvement in a spiritual awakening.

The distinctive evangelical fervour of the age as it affected layfolk continued to be mirrored in contemporary diaries and commonplace books, particularly those kept by Scottish Calvinists, throughout the seventeenth century. As a dynamic, belief system grounded on predestination, Calvinism placed great stock on self-examination of conscience as proof of faith.¹³ Thus, the motivation to record their inner thoughts derived, in part, from a sense of obligation to their doctrinal beliefs. Some found solace in keeping commonplace books filled with highly idiosyncratic yet personally meaningful lists of appropriate religious phrases, moral aphorisms or biblical passages which, as in the case of one anonymous diarist, were copied out as many as a dozen times like a school child writing out lines.¹⁴ The enduring importance of the meditative entries for self-improvement which manifested itself in such meticulous and well-organised notes facilitated study and repeated reflection by the notebook's owner.¹⁵ Others who were anxious to pursue their spiritual concerns by examining contemporary theological treatises showed a marked interest in self-edification by keeping notes on their readings for future reference with another anonymous diary keeper compiling an alphabetical list of theological subjects organized according to author and subject.¹⁶ Exploration of the interior, spiritual life and an intellectual searching

11. *Ibid.*, No. 889; No. 853.

12. *Ibid.*, No. 843.

13. G. Marshall, Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the development of capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707 (Oxford, 1980), 80.

14. University of Glasgow - Special Collections, Ms Gen 378, Commonplace book, 17th cent.

15. C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964), 127.

16. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1243, Commonplace book on theology, 17th cent.

for the true meaning of universal concepts like faith, love and liberty preoccupied others as a seventeenth-century diary containing entries made by successive generations of the Spreull family attests.¹⁷ The critical introspection and the tortuous inner struggle with conscience as exhibited in the published diaries of Archibald Johnston of Wariston, the manuscript diary of Sir George Maxwell of Pollock and the unpublished notes of Sir William Scott of Harden entitled "Anent personall covenanting" all serve to underline the somewhat frightening intensity of the spiritual quest embarked on by committed laymen who were struggling to come to terms with their own religiosity as well as their personal worthiness as one of the elect.¹⁸ While such private musings may be regarded as singular and extreme, nonetheless, they were symptomatic of a contemporary, lay preoccupation with theological and religious matters in general.

II.

One major factor precipitating the "hunger of the spirit"¹⁹ exhibited by layfolk was the influence exerted by Federal Theology: a system of Calvinist belief that made the Old Testament ideal of a covenant or pact critical to defining the relationship between the deity and humankind. While historians examining the development of covenantal thought concur that Federal Theology had a profound impact on seventeenth-century religiosity, they differ in their views on the intellectual impetus and origins of the phenomenon. Perry Miller in his magisterial study of New England, puritan thought contends that covenantal thinking was developed and promoted by prominent, reformed ministers including William Perkins and John Preston to counteract both the psychological deficiencies of Calvinism and the theological heresies of Arminianism and

17. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 70, Commonplace book - Religious thoughts of the Spreull Family.

18. Diary of Archibald Johnston; Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston Volume II 1650-1654, ed. D.H. Fleming (Edinburgh 1919); 'Fragment of the Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston May 21-June 25, 1639' in Wariston's Diary and Other Papers, ed. G.M. Paul (Edinburgh, 1896); Strathclyde Regional Archives, Ms T-PM 114/7, Records of the Maxwell family of Nether Pollok, subsequently the Stirling Maxwells, Diary of Sir George Maxwell; Scottish Record Office, Ms GD 157/1885, Scott of Harden - Lord Polwarth.

19. P. Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1963), 398.

Antinomianism on the fundamental question of the conditions of salvation.²⁰ The notion that the evolution of covenantal theology owes much to an early modern perception that a psychological *lacunae* existed within Calvinism because the doctrine of predestination depersonalised salvation finds favour, too, in reference to Scotland in monographs on the covenanting movement by David Stevenson and G.D. Henderson.²¹ Explication of the advent of covenantal thought has been linked, as well, to the early modern trend towards the legal formalisation of societal obligations, in general, and a preoccupation with contractual theories of government, in particular. J.B. Torrance's studies on the terminology and idea of the covenant in its Scottish context, for instance, draws on elements of this approach.²² But, as Andrew Wolsey's detailed analysis of the evolution of Federal Theology demonstrates, such interpretations are flawed, primarily, because they fail to take adequate account of the prevalence of the concept of the covenant in scripture and in the writings of the early reformers. With reference to Miller's thesis, for instance, he suggests that, "It is a restricted and superficial view which treats the covenant as some kind of 'oversubtle device' created by the English Puritans to ease the pressure of an overpowering predestinarian system inherited from their reforming predecessors in Geneva".²³ Equally, he criticises assumptions about the influence of social contract theories on covenantal thought as unnecessarily complex. Although he acknowledges that early modern treatises on natural law and contractual theory are imbued with a "covenant motif", he questions the basic premise that Federal Theology evolved as a specific outgrowth of this debate, arguing that the "advent of covenantal theology does not need to be seen as a response to the drift of modern contractual theories or current controversies. Though challenged and aggravated by these, it can still be seen originally as no more than an effort to rephrase on covenantal terms the theological ideas inherited from the early

20. *Ibid.*, 366-71.

21. D. Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (The Saltire Society, 1988), 31; G.D. Henderson, 'The Idea of the Covenant in Scotland' in *The Burning Bush* (Edinburgh, 1957), 66.

22. J.B. Torrance, 'Covenant or Contract? A Study of the Theological Background of Worship in Seventeenth Century Scotland' in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, XXIII, i (1970), 51-76; J.B. Torrance, 'The Covenant Concept in Scottish Theology and Politics and Its Legacy' in *Scot. J. T.*, XXXIV (1981), 225-43.

23. A.A. Wolsey, 'Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought: A Study in the Reformed Tradition to the Westminster Assembly' 2 vols. (University of Glasgow, Ph.D. thesis, 1988), I, 10, 135-7.

Reformers".²⁴ Indeed, Wolsey demonstrates, convincingly, that even though much of the specific terminology which often is regarded as the *sine qua non* of covenantal thought by historians is not present in the writings of the early reformers, important aspects of its conceptual origins are discernible; most notably, in Martin Luther's *Lectures on Genesis*, Johannes Oecolampadius' *Commentary on Isaiah*, Huldrych Zwingli's *Commentary on the Sixty-seven Articles*, Heinrich Bullinger's *De Testamento*, and, Jean Calvin's *Institutes* as well as his commentaries and sermons.²⁵

If the bones of covenantal thought were erected by the early reformers, it acquired its flesh as a theological system from a later generation of reformed protestant intellectuals. Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus – joint authors of the Heidelberg Catechism, the authoritative text used in catechical preaching for Calvinist congregations throughout the Low Countries and Germany²⁶ – were especially instrumental in affecting this transition in the 1560s and 1570s. Ursinus, who spent seven years in Wittenberg under the tutelage of Melancthon prior to his arrival in Heidelberg in 1561, produced a detailed examination of the Covenant of Works which was seminal to the evolution of what later became known as Federal Theology.²⁷ But, it was Olevianus, a legalist and theologian, who studied for a time under Jean Calvin at Geneva, whose writings including *Expositio Symboli Apostolici* and *De Substantia Foederis Gratuiti inter Deum et Electos* not only made the concept of a covenant the matrix of his model of a theological system, but provided the specific terminology associated with covenantal thought such as *foedus operum*, *paetern salutis*, *foedus naturale* and *foedus creationis*.²⁸ The intellectual debt owed to both Olevianus and Ursinus was apparent in the work of prominent exponents of covenantal thinking in England such as Thomas Cartwright, Dudley Fenner, William Tyndale, John Hooper and William Perkins. Indeed, their preoccupation with the idea of a covenant

24. *Ibid.*, I, 175.

25. *Ibid.*, I, 260, 261, 267-8, 278-80, 313-43; II, 3-49.

26. J.T. McNeil, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (London, 1954), 270.

27. *Ibid.*, 269-70; Wolsey, 'Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought', II, 114-41.

28. Wolsey, 'Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought', II, 142-66.

helped to make it a basic feature of mainstream puritan teachings by the seventeenth century and ensured its primacy of place in the Westminster Confession.²⁹

The intellectual heritage of Heidelberg proved equally seminal for the emergence of Federal Theology as a key component of seventeenth-century Scottish Calvinism. Transmission of the tradition was facilitated by the close personal and scholastic ties linking Olevianus and his colleagues on the continent with prominent reformed thinkers in Scotland; most notably, Robert Howie and Robert Rollock.³⁰ Howie, whose early scholastic training was conducted by Olevianus at Herborn, produced a work, *Theses at Basil De Reconciliatione Hominis cum Deo*, in 1591 which explored some aspects of covenantal thought in line with the ideas put forward by his former tutor.³¹ Olevianus' teachings found expression, too, in Rollock's systematic treatment of the Covenant of Grace and the Covenant of Works in *Treatise on Effectual Calling*: a tract which first appeared in 1597 in both Latin and English. As a leading exponent of covenantal thought in early modern Europe, Rollock placed greater emphasis on divine intervention in relation to the Covenant of Grace thereby encouraging the Calvinist belief in unilateral decrees which gave impetus to the popularisation of the concept of a covenanted nation.³² This contribution to the evolution of covenantal thinking was neither unique nor novel since, in Scotland, the idea of a covenanted people echoed traditional assumptions. It had been rhetorically employed by John Knox in tracts such as *An Admonition or Warning that the Faithful Christians in London, Newcastle, Berwick and Others May Avoid God's Vengeance* and *Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England* which he produced for the English protestant community in 1554 in response to Mary Tudor's initial attempts to revive the catholic church in

29. *Ibid.*, I, 44-100, II, 167-237; Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits*, 110.; P.R. Beard, 'Martin Bucer and the Covenanted Nation' (unpublished M. A. dissertation, University of Guelph, 1976), 24. The concept of a covenant figures prominently, too, in the work of other European reformers including Bohatec and Budaeus which the latter, in an examination of God's relationship to man, spoke of as "*foedus et pactum admirabile*". It was also explored by the German writer, Musculus, in *Lois Communes*: a book published in England in 1563. See: Henderson, *Burning Bush*, 62, 63, 65-9; R. Greaves, 'The Knoxian Paradox: Ecumenism and Nationalism in the Scottish Reformation' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, XVIII, ii, (1972), 95-6.

30. The fullest discussion of Howie's and Rollock's contribution to covenantal thought is provided by Wolsey, 'Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought', II, 255-90.

31. Henderson, *Burning Bush*, 65-9.

32. McNeil, *History and Character of Calvinism*, 307; D. Stevenson, *The Covenanters*, 32.

England.³³ Four years later, in an address to the political nation in Scotland entitled *Apellation to the nobility and estates of Scotland*, Knox alluded to it again by maintaining that collective responsibility to God and to one another joined the people of a community in a common purpose in obedience to the concept of a covenant when he depicted the idea of mutual obligation as an agreement binding man and God in resistance against idolatry. Unlike Rollock, however, Knox did not refer, explicitly, to Scotland as a covenanted nation nor to the people of Scotland as being bound together in a national covenant.³⁴ Moreover, Rollock's writings acted as an important stimulus for infusing Federal Theology with its more overt political overtones as expressed in Calvinist resistance theories. More directly, they served as a catalyst for further explication of covenantal ideology in Scotland; most notably, by one of Rollock's foremost students, Robert Boyd.³⁵ Additional impetus for the acceptance of Federal Theology as a dominant theological system was provided by the work of John Forbes of Alford and Middleburg in the early seventeenth century. In 1616, Forbes published an important monograph on the doctrine of the covenants, *Justification*, which offered a comparative analysis of the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace.³⁶

While the development of Federal Theology in Scotland had strong roots in Germany, its promotion and acceptance as a dominant theological system with broad appeal was given encouragement by the central places occupied by some of its advocates in the country's intellectual and religious life. Many of its chief exponents were prominent academics for Howie served, first, as Principal of Marischal College in Aberdeen from 1594 to 1598 and, later, Principal of St Mary's College in St. Andrews from 1607 to 1647; Rollock became Principal of the University of Edinburgh in 1583 and held the office until shortly before his death in 1599; and, Boyd assumed the principalship of both the

³³. Greaves, 'Knoxian Paradox', 95-6

³⁴. J. Knox, 'Apellation to the nobility, and the estates of Scotland' in *John Knox: A Biography*, ed. P. Hume Brown (London, 1895), 353-4; Greaves, 'Knoxian Paradox', 95-7; S.A. Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the early Covenanters' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, XLIII (1964), 13.

³⁵. Henderson, *Burning Bush*, 65-9.

³⁶. *Ibid.*, 68.

University of Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1615 and 1622 respectively.³⁷ Culmination of this trend was marked by the appearance in 1655 of *The Covenant of Life Opened* by Samuel Rutherford whose academic career as Regent of Humanities at Edinburgh University in the early 1620s; Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews in the late 1630s; Principal of St. Mary's College, St Andrews in the late 1640s as well as his election as Rector of the University of St. Andrews in 1643, 1644, 1650 and 1651 placed him at the forefront of reformed thought in Scotland.³⁸ As a consequence, successive generations of university students, in general, and those studying Divinity, in particular, came within the intellectual orbit of scholars who advocated the centrality of covenantal thought to Calvinism. This acceptance of Federal Theology was reflected in the holdings of university libraries of the time, in that, they contained works by its proponents for consultation by students.³⁹ Its predominance as a system of Calvinist teachings was acknowledged, officially, by its inclusion in the university curriculum in the 1640s when the General Assembly issued a directive for David Pareus' notes on the Heidelberg Catechism, *Exposition of the Catechism*, to be designated as mandatory reading for all Divinity students.⁴⁰ Added stimulus was given to the promotion of federalist thinking through the use of the printing press. The publication of monographs such as *The practise of Christianity* which was a gloss on William Perkins' writings and *The deformed forme of a formall profession* by John Preston which were both printed in Scotland in 1634 helped to disseminate such views more widely.⁴¹ Incorporation of covenantal thought into the mainstream, however, was apparent by the subsequent practise of publishing and binding *The Sum of Saving Knowledge* - a seminal work of Federal Theology co-authored by David Dickson, professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow who, later, held the same post at Edinburgh University - along with the Westminster Confession.⁴² Thus, imbued with an academic background and intellectual training which laid stress on the concepts of federalist thinking,

37. Their respective academic careers are outlined in the multiple entries on university principals and professors in H. Scott, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (9vols., 1915-61), VII.

38. *Ibid.*; Henderson, *Burning Bush*, 69-70.

39. Henderson, *Burning Bush*, 71-2.

40. *Ibid.*; McNeil, *History and Character of Calvinism*, 271.

41. Aldis, *List of Books Printed in Scotland*, No. 839.5; No. 840.

42. Henderson, *Burning Bush*, 70.

those university students who, subsequently, became parish ministers would have tended to promulgate such views in their sermons with the result that they became common currency among the layfolk. Schooled in the rhetoric of covenantal thought, the laity were primed, accordingly, to accept its profound implications for their spiritual and material well-being.

The significance of Federal Theology as a dynamic, intellectual force fuelling religious revivalism at the popular level lay in its stress on the immediacy and directness of an individual's relationship with God as one of his elect. As a refinement of the Calvinist belief in predestination, federalist thinking advocated that what distinguished the elect was not simply that they were predestined for salvation but, rather, they entered into a pact or covenant with the deity as proof of their special status. The idea of a mutual agreement between God and humankind as a condition of faith was grounded firmly on scripture for the word 'covenant' appears more than three hundred times in the Bible; most notably, in the Old Testament books of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Ezra and Nehemiah as well as in the New Testament book of the Epistle to Hebrews.⁴³ It was predicated on the concept of the prelapsarian Covenant of Works with Adam in the Garden of Eden in his capacity as the representative figure of mankind and on the postlapsarian Covenant of Grace which bound humankind both before and after the Fall to live according to the law of God.⁴⁴ For Federal theologians, the conditions of the Covenant of Works by which man had been assured of salvation contingent on his obedience to God were breached by the Fall. However, redemption was offered, subsequently, in more limited terms under the Covenant of Grace and it was based on the soteriological relationship between God and man. Under the strictures of the Covenant of Grace or, the Covenant of Redemption, God promised salvation through Jesus Christ for those whom He had chosen as his elect if they endeavoured by a conscious effort to commit themselves to a covenant as proof of their election. For those granted this special status, both eternal and worldly rewards were forthcoming. Not only were the elect exempt from the punishment of eternal damnation which, as a consequence of the Fall, awaited man as a unregenerative sinner but they were

⁴³. *Ibid.*, 62, 63, 65-9; Greaves, 'The Knoxian Paradox', 95-6.

⁴⁴. Wolsey, 'Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought', II, 294; Stevenson, The Covenanters, 30-1.

privileged to enjoy God's manifold blessings during their time on earth. Hence, in covenantal thought the Covenant of Grace was a "conditional" covenant in the sense that, as Perry Miller suggests, the "condition is faith, but covenant-faith has in the law a way prescribed for it to walk in, and faith as the fulfillment of a covenant obliges the believer so to walk, whereas unsophisticated piety naively supposes that faith in itself is adequate for salvation regardless of how it walks".⁴⁵

The implications of Federal Theology were profound for the laity. Since the fundamental test for assurance was fulfillment of the conditions of the Covenant, attaining salvation thus became a voluntary act on the part of the elect. Responsibility for sanctification of the true believer, then, lay as much in human endeavour as it did on divine discrimination. As Miller points out, "Both forgiveness and holiness are gifts of the Covenant, but because the will of man is engaged after the gift of forgiveness to help himself to the gift of holiness, sanctification is his work as well as God's".⁴⁶ Having entered into a contractual agreement with God through the sacred device of a covenant, the chosen ones therefore could lay claim to be agents of their own fate. This inclusion of man in matters of divine providence imparted a heightened sense of self-importance among those obligated to engage in a covenant with God. Additionally, when individual commitment was wedded to inner conviction and a godly life, those affected acquired an undeniable distinctiveness and uniqueness not only in relation to God but, also, with respect to their fellow man. It acted as a psychological imperative imbuing the community of saints with a profound belief in their own superiority as God's chosen people. As Diane Willen in her study of puritanism and gender in seventeenth-century England demonstrates, the significance of the communal quality of puritan life "created an unique context in which godly women as well as godly men acquired legitimacy and spiritual authority"⁴⁷ thereby rendering an added dynamic to their beliefs. Moreover, since the opportunity to engage collectively in a covenant with God was rare

45. Miller, *The New England Mind*, 385.

46. *Ibid.*, 388.

47. D. Willen, "Communion of the Saints": Spiritual Reciprocity and the Godly Community in Early Modern England" in *Albion* 27, i (1995), 20.

and singular, historical determinism replete with a strong sense of destiny and sacred purpose guided the activities of the elect in the godly community. As the chosen people, they envisioned themselves as the vanguard designated and obligated to carry out the providential paradigm for, the "Covenant, its origin, its progressive unfoldings, its culmination, was thus the meaning of history, that which made intelligible the whole story of mankind".⁴⁸

The deterministic and revisionist interpretation of history inherent in covenantal thought therefore gave impetus to the evangelical, revivalist sentiment affecting seventeenth-century Scotland. As we shall see, covenanting propagandists were among the strongest promoters of this mode of thought; but, additionally, they were able to tap, intellectually and emotionally, into this dynamic belief system to further the political ends of their movement. Certainly, the readily understandable rhetoric of federalist thinking was invoked, frequently, to make the covenanting movement's political demands and aspirations more accessible to the Scottish peasantry. Identification of the movement as the champion of such popular assumptions proved politically advantageous because it helped the polemicists to define their political objectives in the public mind more clearly; to discredit the political credibility of their royalist opponents; to obtain social and political legitimacy for their views; and, to rally populist support for the movement. What proved so valuable for the perpetuation of covenanting ideology throughout much of the middle years of the seventeenth century, then, was not only that its proponents took the high moral ground as the champions of the kirk's uniqueness and the Scottish people's special, historical mission but that the political implications of the protestant, evangelical impulse fuelled by Federal Theology were of central importance to that public discourse.

III.

In igniting religious passions, the distinctive nuances of covenantal thought in terms of its language as well as its implications became a mainstay of covenanting mass, domestic propaganda for

⁴⁸. Miller, *The New England Mind*, 378.

they provided not only an ideological but a psychological imperative for political action at the popular level. As the embodiment of the concept of a covenanted people, the National Covenant was touted by its supporters as an all-embracing commitment involving an ideological fusion of past, present and future obligations. In sermons given throughout the seventeenth century, stress was laid on its perpetual, unchanging and transcendent nature in relation to linear time. Taking II Samuel 23: 5 as his text in which an "everlasting covenant" made between man and God that was "ordered in all things and sure" was referred to, David Dickson in 1638 specified that "it was not a temporal Covenant of temporary things but a covenant forever".⁴⁹ Similarly, the Solemn League and Covenant – an expression of pan-presbyterianism which extended the concept of a covenanted people outwith the boundaries of Scotland – was heralded by the general assembly of 1643 as a "perpetuall Covenant for our selves and posterity".⁵⁰ Twenty years later, William Houston extemporising in a sermon based on Jeremiah 50: 5 which spoke of a "perpetuall covenant that shall not be forgotten", condemned recent "backsliding" from the principles of the covenant which he saw as a consequence of the Restoration church settlement, calling on his flock to "joine with the lord in a perpetuall Covenant".⁵¹ Belief in the infinite presence of a sacred pact meant for its advocates, then, that the "Covenants were not a conditional obligation but a binding and permanent one with god" as the conventicle preacher, William Cleland, aptly phrased it in 1675.⁵²

Adjoined to this sense of the covenant as an immutable and eternal obligation was the idea of it as a major historical force with the capability of altering society. Propagandists promoted the National Covenant, initially, as the realisation of the Old Testament ideal of the covenant between man and God referred to by the church fathers including Irenaeus and Augustine whose time had come.

49. U.G.S.C., MS Gen 32 folio 3, 'Sermons by Covenanters: A Colection[sic] of Seventy Valuable Lecturs [sic] and sermons preached mostly in the time of the late persecution by those imminent servants of Jesus Christ Messrs David Dickson, Wm. Guthrie, Jo. Livingston, Jo. Kidd, Rd. Cameron, Dl. Cargill, Jo. Welch, Jo. Blackadder, M. Bruce, Gab. Semple, Jo. Dickson, Ro. Fleeming, Jam. Hamilton, and Alex. Sheilds. Transcribed by Jo. Howie from several manuscripts about the years 1778-79 &c'.

50. D. Dickson, The Answer of the Generall Assembly in Scotland, To the letter of some of their Reverend Brethren of the Ministry in england, Sent By Mr. Marshal, and Mr. Nye to the said Assembly (London, 1643), 5.

51. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 114/8 folio 4, Book of sermon notes: April 1662 to August 1664, Maxwell of Pollok.

52. National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MSS Folio LX folio 64, Correspondence of Robert McWard, 1648-81, 'Letter from W. Cleland to "M. Marguaird" dated 25 September 1675'.

Hence, the historical relevance of a National Covenant – deeply rooted as it was in scripture – was utilised by the covenanting ministry as a call to action for the Scottish people to fulfill their collective destiny as agents of history. Typically, parishioners were reminded that they were obligated to take a leading rôle in the fulfillment of biblical prophecy as latter-day Israelites as was inferred by John Hamilton in a sermon delivered on 17 March 1638 in which he declared:

In thos dayes, and in that tyme, sayeth the Lord, the children of Izrael schal come, they and the children of Judah together, going and weiping; they schal goe, and seik the Lord their God. They schal ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us joyne ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that schal not be forgotten. My people haith been lost scheip.⁵³

As part of the public subscription campaign for the National Covenant, Henry Rollock tried to garner adherents by drawing on the same historical parallel of the “covenant betwixt God and Izrael ... and betwixt God and this land” which, he contended in a sermon, was “nou renewed upon most pressing reasons ... as the only mean to kmet us eyther to God or amongst ourselves, as the most gracious, glorious work that ever our God of glory did to this land”.⁵⁴ This theme was echoed by John Sterling, a radical conventicling preacher who was especially active in the 1670s, who emphasised at a prayer meeting that those in Scotland who were engaged in a covenant were comparable to the Israelites in their enjoyment of a distinctively unique and privileged relationship to God as a chosen people.⁵⁵ Application of the same analogy was made, too, by Thomas Lining, the radical conventicle preacher who lived in exile in Holland. In a *communiqué* of 1687 that may have circulated among covenanting stalwarts outlining the current political scene and discussing the government’s attempts at suppression of nonconformity, Lining suggested that the covenanting faithful must not only be self-reliant but redouble their efforts since “Moses is not come with good commision to deliver Israell out of Egypt”.⁵⁶

⁵³. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, I, 326.

⁵⁴. Ibid.

⁵⁵. S.R.A., MS T-PM 114, Sermon Notes dated 23 March 1673–June 1673, Maxwell of Pollok.

⁵⁶. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/16, Covenanting MSS, ‘Letter from T. Lining to Sir R. Hamilton dated Utrecht 5 December 1687’.

Commitment to the covenant was designated by the propagandists as a distinguishing feature which marked adherents with a divinely-ordained, special status; elevating the chosen ones above all others. Rank and file covenanters could take comfort, then, in the belief cultivated by their ministers that they were "godly folk"⁵⁷ whom God had designated as a "peculiar treasure unto me above all people".⁵⁸ Even in the politically, hostile climate of the Restoration period when support for the covenant ideal was outlawed, covenanting activists continued to propagate élitist notions of their followers as divinely-graced. The radical presbyterian minister, John Welch, in a rabble-rousing sermon delivered at Irongray in March of 1663 in which he advocated adherence to the covenant ideal in defiance of the government's proscription of both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant and denounced the crackdown against conventicling, characterised nonconformists as the "Saintes that are suffering in these landes".⁵⁹ Indeed, in the 1680s, those who were convicted for engaging in nonconformist activities were encouraged by the covenanting leadership to produce "martyrs testimonies" prior to their execution which, subsequently, were hand-copied and circulated as propaganda documents to boost morale among rank and file adherents.⁶⁰ During such times of adversity, committed covenanters were reassured, then, that while they as true believers constituted a minority they remained a privileged people; in other words, they could consider themselves "a remnant in [who]m he [God] will be glorious"⁶¹ and a "wrestling remnant".⁶² Conventicle preachers were favoured with a comparable distinction by their followers as self-styled saints as a 1684 petition to the privy council by Andro Young in Cessford makes clear. Young, a convicted lay conventicler, requested that his former bond to keep the peace and refrain from attending illegal prayer meetings be withdrawn. Declaring that he was "constrand in conscience to protest against

57. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 32/2i, 496, *Sermons by Covenanters*.

58. *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston*, I, 331.

59. S.R.O., Ms GD 188/20/13/8, Guthrie of Guthrie.

60. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/32, *Covenanting MSS*, 'Letter from J. Renwick to Sir R. Hamilton dated Edinburgh, 6 September 1682'.

61. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, The Sanquhar Declaration 1680. For another manuscript copy of the Sanquhar Declaration see: S.R.O., Ms GD16/46/35, *Airlie Muniments*. A printed version is available in G. Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, (Edinburgh, 1974), 241-2.

62. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/11, *Covenanting MSS*, 'Letter from Sir R. Hamilton to "worthy cussine"' [n.d.].

myself", he justified his *wolte face* by suggesting that the bond was sinful, tantamount to a denial of both the Word and Will of God in its implicit condemnation of the work of the nonconformist ministry; or, as he stated, "I did with greitt Reluctancy of conscience in the very tym subscriy that Bond and ever sins that day I am Mor and Mor Convinced that I Hav Griviously sind aganst the Lord in Ingadging not to Heir the Gospell of Chryst preached by his Sant Servants".⁶³ Thus, for the covenanters, moral certitude was grounded, firmly, on the simple premise that "Ther word was God is our refuge": the scriptural reference from Psalm 32 which was taken, appropriately, as the text for Richard Cameron's morale-building sermon and lecture at a field conventicle held in Middle Wallwood in 1679 that was attended by sixty rebels attempting to elude the authorities after the failure of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion.⁶⁴

Assurance of their own inherent superiority was reinforced by the propaganda message that those not in covenant were amoral, irreligious and unpatriotic. Supporters of the Cross Petition were denounced by the commissioners of the general assembly in 1643 as "discovenanters, and enemies to the peace of the Kirk and Kingdome, and to the intended unity of Religion".⁶⁵ Thirty years later, a conventicle preacher implied at an illegal prayer meeting that transgressors of the covenant were amoral sinners for, a "Breach of Cov[enan]t is ag[ains]t the law & right of nature, of nations" and thus "Cov[enan]t breache is the mark of the wicked".⁶⁶ In equally stark terms, the Queensferry Paper of 1681 characterised any sense of loyalty to the Restoration government of Charles II as "aledgence to divills they being thir vicegerents and not gods".⁶⁷ Similarly, in the Sanquhar Declaration of 1680, the king and the "men of his practises whither inferior magistratts or any others" were to be regarded as "enemies to our lord & his croun and the treu protestant & presbiterian intrest in their lands, our

63. S.R.O., Ms GD26/7/10, Leven and Melville Muniments, 'Unto the Right Honnobl Lords of his maties privie counsell the Humble Supplication of Andro young Cesfoord'.

64. S.R.O., Ms GD16 No.12, Airlie Muniments, 'James Wharrie (his declaration in Lesmahago parish)'.

65. A Necessary Warning to the Ministerie of the Kirk of Scotland, from the meeting of the Commissioners of the General Assembly at Edinburgh 4 Jan. 1643 (Edinburgh, 1643), 10.

66. S.R.A., MS T-PM 114, Maxwell of Pollok, Sermon Notes dated 23 March 1673 - June 1673.

67. S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/21/5, Robert Burnet, W.S.- Miscellaneous Papers, 1641-1726, The Queensferry Paper. A printed copy of the Queensferry Paper is available in R. Wodrow, The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland (4 vols., 1828-30), III, 207-11 and Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, 240-1.

lords espoused bryd and church".⁶⁸ Moreover, since it was a rhetorical commonplace among covenanting propagandists to refer to their opponents as "our Lords enemies"⁶⁹, it was axiomatic that adversaries should suffer the consequences of God's displeasure. In a sermon given at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 which was published, subsequently, as a tract, entitled *The Bishops Doom. A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly which sat at Glasgow anno 1638. On occasion of pronouncing the sentence of the greater excommunication against eight of the bishops, and deposing or suspending the other six*, Alexander Henderson invoked a well-known biblical passage from Psalms 110 - "The Lord said ... Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool" - to justify the covenanters' alteration of church polity by deposing and suspending the bishops and to imply the certainty of the presbyterian wing's triumph over the episcopal wing of the established church.⁷⁰ That divine justice would be meted out to opponents was reportedly a theme pursued by the Scottish ministry, in general, in the face of the Cromwellian army's invasion of Scotland in 1650. According to a contemporary, English pamphlet, *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the English Army now in Scotland, From the Two and twentieth day of July, to the First of August. Contained in, and Extracted out of the Several Letters sent from the Army and Read in Parliament, the Sixth of August, 1650*, it was declared that, "Their Ministers told the people before our Army came, That they should not need to strike ane stroke, but stand still, and they should see the Sectaries destroyed".⁷¹

Belief that the Scots were a chosen people was conventional, but it was lent further intellectual validity in the seventeenth century because of the writings of puritan divines in both Old and New England. Thomas Case, an English pamphleteer, in a tract published in 1650 entitled, *A pertinent and profitable meditation upon the History of Peccah, his Invasion and great victory over*

68. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, The Sanguhar Declaration 1680.

69. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1075, Renwick Letters, Letter from J. Renwick to "much honoured Sir" dated Rotterdam, 16/26 June 1683'.

70. A. Henderson, *The Bishops Doom. A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly which sat at Glasgow anno 1638. On occasion of pronouncing the sentence of the greater excommunication against eight of the bishops, and deposing or suspending the other six* (Edinburgh, 1638), 5.

71. *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the English Army now in Scotland, From the Two and twentieth day of July, to the First of August. Contained in, and Extracted out of the Several Letters sent from the Army and Read in Parliament, the Sixth of August, 1650* (London, [1650], 14.

Judah, recorded 2 Chron. 28 ver. 6 to the 16. Upon occasion of the Thanksgiving appointed Octob. 8 for the late successe in Scotland. Together with an Appendix concerning the Church and Kingdome of Scotland, and the Imputations cast upon them, offered a summation of the views of three such distinguished authorities to refute English claims that with the Engagement and the subsequent war with England that the Scots had broken the Covenant. In a scathing attack on republican rule in which Case challenges the propagandistic depiction of the Scots by English polemicists as "grossly Hypocritical, Self-seeking and Malignantly-designing"⁷² and questions whether the Scots deserve "blame for the country's ills" since they are not "our Throne Subverters, our Parliament-Moulders, or Tax Masters, or the Ushers of our Court"⁷³, reference was made to the work of John Cotton, a prominent puritan minister in New England; a speech by Jeremiah Burroughs, an English minister, to the Common Council of London; and, the prophetic writings of Thomas Brightman, the sixteenth-century protestant reformer and popular, English visionary who was considered by his admirers to be a contemporary Merlin. To establish the validity of his argument that the political decision to enter into the Engagement with the king, Charles I, was legally and morally justified - or, as he asks rhetorically, "Did not the Constitution, Laws and Oaths of their Kingdom oblige them to it?"⁷⁴ - Case cites Cotton's depiction of Scotland in his *Exposition of the Seven Vials* as the "Angel that poureth forth that Vial": a nation commonly regarded as especially pious with a purer Reformation and thus entrusted by God to carry out his work.⁷⁵ Similarly, Burroughs' attempt to generate support for the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 which prompted him to speak of Scotland as a "Nation that God love, a nation that God doth honor" and the people of Scotland as "special instruments" in a divine plan was offered as evidence by Case.⁷⁶ To reinforce the idea that Scotland was a "paragon" within the

⁷². T. Case, A pertinent and profitable meditation upon the History of Pecah, his Invasion and great victory over Judah, recorded 2 Chron. 28 ver. 6 to the 16. Upon occasion of the Thanksgiving appointed Octob. 8 for the late successe in Scotland. Together with an Appendix concerning the Church and Kingdome of Scotland, and the Imputations cast upon them (London, 1650), 19.

⁷³. *Ibid.*, 22.

⁷⁴. *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷⁵. *Ibid.*, 19.

⁷⁶. *Ibid.*, 19, 20.

reformed tradition enjoying an unique relationship to God, Brightman's characterisation of Scotland as Philadelphia – which, as Case points out, means "Brotherly Love"⁷⁷ – was alluded to as well.

Historical determinism replete with an heightened sense of destiny and sacred purpose constituted an important feature of the covenanting polemicists' mass propaganda efforts. At times, it was used in an attempt to convince rank and file supporters that they were engaged in a divine plan thereby offering moral justification for their political actions. In the early years of the movement, some appeals to the populace employed the rhetorical theme of *carpe diem* thereby laying emphasis on the uniqueness of the historical moment for affecting political change. This, in turn, was linked to the rallying cry of 'the church in danger' with the direction of both Jacobean and Caroline religious policies characterised by covenanting activists as deficient and replete with errors. Such sentiments predated the National Covenant itself, resonating in the letters of Samuel Rutherford which circulated, initially, among conventiclers in the early 1630s and were published, periodically, up until the 1680s. Typical was his assessment of the church of Scotland in one *communiqué* of February 1630 as "decaying"; his lamentation that it was "near the grave, and no man taketh it to heart"; and, his belief that the "power and life of religion is away".⁷⁸ Indeed, Rutherford's critique of the established church lent moral validity to nonconformist activity for over half a century. Moreover, it was echoed by other covenanting ideologues including Henry Rollock, a leading covenanting minister, who spoke to his congregants on 25 February 1638 on the "breatches of the Covenant in doctrine, discipline, church government ... and the fyve articles" with such apparent vehemence that, according to Archibald Johnston of Wariston, "he had run himselth out of breath in that waye in the church".⁷⁹ Five weeks later, Rollock – in seeking public subscriptions to the National Covenant in an address delivered after a sermon – alluded, again, to established church policies including the Five Articles of Perth as the *raison d'être* for entering into a pact at this time for the "Lord was recalling and reclaiming his people, especyally this city of Ed[inburgh] fra thair former whoredomes and

⁷⁷. *Ibid.*, 20-1.

⁷⁸. 'Letter from S. Rutherford to Lady Kenmure dated Anwoth Feb. 1, 1630' in *Letters of Samuel Rutherford: With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents*, ed. A.A. Bonar (Edinburgh, n.d.), 48.

⁷⁹. *Diary of Archibald Johnston*, I, 320.

idolatries".⁸⁰ Historical determinism grounded on faith was said, as well, to account for political action itself. This view was evident, for instance, in the interpretation of contemporary politics offered by Alexander Henderson in a sermon to the English parliament given at Margaret's Church in Westminster on 18 July 1644. Speculating that the ramifications of the Solemn League and Covenant over the next seven years "may carry us as far beyond the present intentions, whether of the enemies of religion, or our own, as the seven years past have done, beyond our former intentions and theirs", Henderson attributed the momentous, political change including the "pulling down of prelacy, and the supporters therof in Britain" to God. Thus, he maintained that the Almighty "putteth motions into the hearts of men, which they turn into petitions and endeavours, and God, by his power, bringeth forth into reality and action. The conception, birth and perfection is all from himself".⁸¹

In the post-Restoration period, covenanting propaganda promoted the notion that state policies including the restoration of the bishops and erastianism endangered the purity of the reformed religion and thus must be overturned. Typically, radical ministers such as James Renwick referred to the administration of church and state along with its officials as "abominations and the abominators of this time".⁸² Adherents of the Queensferry Paper, the manifesto penned in 1681 by covenanting extremists including Donald Cargill, pledged to "advance the Kingdom of Christ established throughout the land" and to "free the Church of god from the thraldom and tyranie and incroachment and corruptions of prelacies on the one hand and Erastianism one the other hand".⁸³ Such a course of action was deemed necessary on the grounds that "for a long tym the successione of our Kings and the moust pairt of rullers with in hathe been Ag[ains]t the pairtie and power of religion and godlinesse and the freedome of the church of god and have degenerat from ane good Government of the predecesors into tyranie and hath of Lait soe manifestedlie rejected god and his service and reformatione as a

⁸⁰. *Ibid.*, 330-1.

⁸¹. A. Henderson, *A Sermon, Preached before the Lords and Commns, at Margaret's Church in Westminster, upon Thursday the 18th of July, 1644* [Edinburgh, 1846], 73.

⁸². U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/31, Covenanting MSS, 'Letter from J. Renwick to "Mr R. Rosse" [Sir R. Hamilton] dated Edinburgh 8 July 1682'.

⁸³. S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/21/5, Robert Burnet, W.S.- Miscellaneous Papers, 1641-1726, The Queensferry Paper; Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings*, III, 207-11 and Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 240-1.

slaveri".⁸⁴ Lamenting the polity and policy of the established church to coerce sympathisers into affecting immediate change was a propaganda tactic employed, too, by one McMillan, a convicted conventicler and rebel, in the 1680s. In an account of his examination and last testimony which was written prior to his execution, McMillan exhorted his fellow covenanters to act decisively on their consciences to oppose the policies of church and state: "Now you that are Christians you should not be idle when they are undoing religion at this rate and I think that some present frinds are as great enemies as the Church hath labour to mourn for broken promises & [broken?] offers and oportunities and broken covenants for when I take a back look I wonder at the lords long suffering patience".⁸⁵

In addition to expounding the idea that the Scottish people enjoyed a privileged relationship with the deity within the context of the covenantal pact which sanctioned, guided and gave impetus to their political actions, propagandists promoted the concept that the nation had an historic obligation to play a unique part in the fulfilment of human history. As a chosen people, Scots were said to be in the protestant vanguard assigned to carry out the providential paradigm that had been set in motion by the Reformation. That those "bound to the Lord by the word of God, the nationall Covenant and Solemne League and Covenant" were simply "carrying on the work of reformation" – as a group of Remonstrant ministers maintained in defense of their own radicalism in 1660 when their leaders including James Guthrie were ordered to be arrested by the committee of estates⁸⁶ – was a recurring and powerful theme that lent both moral legitimacy and historical authority to the cause of the covenant. In the Rutherglen Declaration of 29 May 1679, the signators –invoking the example of the reformers and their covenanting predecessors – declared that they were "carrying one of our noble work of reformation in the severall steps thereof from poperie, prelacie & lykwise Erastian Supremacie".⁸⁷

⁸⁴. Ibid.

⁸⁵. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/9, Covenanting MSS, 'A Copy of Two Letters left by D. McMillan Containing his Examination and last testimony as he knew he would be permitted to speak on the scaffold'.

⁸⁶. S.R.O., PA12/8, Committee of Estates 23 August 1660–31 October 1660, 'A petition from some Ministers to the Committee of Estates dated 11 September 1660'.

⁸⁷. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, The Sanguhar Declaration 1680, 'The declaration and testimonie of the treue presbyterian Antiprelatick & Anti-Erastian persecuted pairtie in Scotland' dated 'The Testimonie given at Rutherglen the 29th of May 1679'. A printed version is available in Wodrow, History of the Sufferings, III, 212–3.

When Richard Cameron, a leading covenanting militant, in June of 1680 sought to justify the political radicalism of the adherents of the Sanquhar Declaration who advocated armed resistance including regicide, he cited two, earlier instances of reforming zeal which proved to be of historical significance as their moral authority. In denouncing their allegiance to Charles II, Cameronians acted as the historical antecedents of the sixteenth-century reformers; making them the "followers of our old resolute reformers [wh]o forced Queen Marie to depose herself". As well, they were to be seen as inheritors of the covenanting tradition of mass protest as exemplified by those involved in the Prayer Book riots of 1637; for, as he posited: "Was not our reformation from prelacy begun by a company of privat women Anno 1637 And who knows but we may be instrumentall in a mor glorious reformation [where]of all of yow will pertake when accomplished notwithstanding yor present whisperings ag[ains]t us".⁸⁸ The portrayal of covenanting activists as God's special agents destined to play their part in a mission of great historic import also informed the dissident literature produced to create a martyrology for the movement. Alix Hume, a portioner of Hume who was executed in Edinburgh in December of 1682 for his involvement in the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion, declared in his speech from the scaffold which was, subsequently, circulated as a hand-written broadsheet, that "I die this day a protestant presbyterian adhering to the holy scripture and work of reformation from popery and prelacy according to the Solemn Engagemente personally rationally lying upon me".⁸⁹ Similarly, Sir Robert Hamilton in his final testimony dating from 1701 stated that his opposition to the *status quo* in church and state stemmed from his personal obligation to uphold God's "cov[enan]ted work of Reformation" since it was being subverted by official policies and practices.⁹⁰

Promotion of the concept of the Scottish people as transmitters of history and the protestant, reformation tradition proved especially resilient for it was used not only as a rhetorical mechanism to boost and encourage the missionary zeal of covenanting supporters but, equally, to expose and attack

⁸⁸. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, The Sanquhar Declaration 1680, 'Mr Richard Cameron's reply to the foirgoing paper in vindication of his declaration & the way of cleiring to the presbiterians'.

⁸⁹. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/8, Covenanting MSS, 'The Last Speech of Alix Hume portioner of Hume who suffered at the Crose of Edinburgh Dec 29 1682'.

⁹⁰. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/14, Covenanting MSS, 'Testimony of Sir Robert Hamilton' dated 5 September 1701'.

opponents of the movement. George Gillespie, in a declaration addressed to the English ministry in August of 1647 on behalf of the general assembly which was published as a tract, contended that the growing popularity of religious sectarianism in England as exemplified by "Socianism, Arminianism, Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Brownism, Erastianism, Independency and Liberty of Conscience and Nullifidianism", posed as great a threat to the work of reformation which had been legitimised by the Solemn League and Covenant as episcopacy and, indeed, catholicism. Thus, he argued that the rise of protestant sects along with their increased political involvement endangered the attempt, as specified in the bilateral treaty, to establish presbyterian ascendancy in the multiple kingdom so that "instead of carrying on the Reformation towards perfection, that which hath been already built, is in part cast down, and in danger to be wholly overthrown".⁹¹ In judging moral and political legitimacy, the question of whether a political stance or action promoted the reformation of religion was applied as the criteria for identifying adversaries both within and outwith the movement. The refusal of radical Remonstrants to allow former royalists to participate in the military and in public life led to accusations by the moderate Resolutioners that they were, in effect, reformation obstructionists. In 1650, David Dickson, a prominent Resolutioner, in a letter to James Guthrie, a leading Remonstrant, which was hand-copied and circulated among covenanting adherents contended that,

If any man whatsoever hath by privatt sence of their publique omissions engaged himself never to consent to the imploying of these who have been tainted wt malignancie in armes or places of trust whatsoever satisfaction they shall give to publique Judicatories of their repentence, he hath laid to himselfe the growndes of Schisme & seperation and the stumbling of others to the great retardment of the publique worke of reformation.⁹²

Covenanting leaders during the Restoration period attempted to cast doubts about the legitimacy of the authority of secular and religious leaders based on the question of their commitment to a reformation with one, Robert Hamilton, complaining that, "persons known to be disaffected to the power of religion & our covenanted work of reformation may be receaved into places of power".⁹³

⁹¹. [G. Gillespie], A Declaration and Brotherly Exhortation of the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, To Their Brethren of England (London, 1647), 4.

⁹². S.R.O., Ms GD 18/3966, Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, 'Letter from D. Dickson to J. Guthrie, n.d. [c. 1650]'.
⁹³. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/11, Covenanting MSS, 'Letter from Sir R. Hamilton to "worthy cussine" [n.d.]'.

Militant manifestoes issued in the aftermath of the Rebellion of 1679 echoed such presumptions that the direction of government policy was tantamount to a Counter-Reformation. In the Queensferry Paper, subscribers pledged to "reject that King and those that associet with hime from being our rulers" because they were "standing in the way of right free and peacible serving of god propagating his Kingdome and Refirmatione and overthrowing Sathans kingdomes According to our Covenant".⁹⁴ As "representatives of the trew presbyterian Church and covenanted nation of Scotland", signators to both the Rutherglen Declaration and the Sanquhar Declaration disowned the duke of York - "That profest papist" - and protested against his hereditary right to succeed his brother, Charles II, as a circumstance which was "in prejudice to our work of Reformation".⁹⁵

Rejuvenating the reformation of religion was depicted not only as an end in itself, but as a means of cementing political stability and national security. This propaganda tactic was a natural outgrowth of the early modern assumption that religion and politics were inseparable with each helping to define the other to the extent that religious harmony was viewed as the basis of political stability. It was, therefore, a commonplace to suggest that ecclesiastical conformity was the coping stone of an ordered and peaceful, civil society. Such a mode of thought was advocated in a tract of 1641 by Alexander Henderson, *Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty perswading Conformity of Church government as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations*, which declared that there was "Nothing so powerfull to divide the hearts of the people, as division in religion; nothing so strong to invite [sic] them as unity in Religion: and the greater zeale in different Religions, the greater divisions, but the more zeal in one Religion the more firme union".⁹⁶ As well, the contemporary belief that the defence of religion was the chief cause of

⁹⁴ S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/21/5, Robert Burnet, W.S.- Miscellaneous Papers, 1641-1726, The Queensferry Paper; Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings*, III, 207-11 and Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 240-1.

⁹⁵ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, The Sanquhar Declaration 1680; S.R.O., Ms GD16/46/35, Airlie Muniments; Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 241-2; U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, The Sanquhar Declaration 1680, 'The declaration and testimonie of the treue presbyterian Antiprelatick & Anti-Erastian persecuted pairtie in Scotland' dated 'The Testimonie given at Rutherglen the 29th of May 1679'; Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, III, 212-3.

⁹⁶ A. Henderson, *Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty perswading Conformity of Church government as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations* (In.p.), 1641), 1.

war – or, as it was aptly put, “Religion and the Church ... being the golden outside of all risings”⁹⁷ – meant that religious uniformity was seen as crucial to the preservation of the established order. Calls for a renewal of the protestant, reformation spirit as a salve for political conflict by covenanting polemicists was, therefore, merely reflective of the widely-held assumptions of the age; but, nonetheless, they acted as a powerful rhetorical device to draw attention to the need for political action. When the political survival of the covenanting régime in Scotland in the 1640s was dependent on the success of the English parliamentarians in the first and second civil wars against the royalists and Charles I, appeals for reactivating the drive towards protestant reform to help foster political stability became a mainstay of covenanting propaganda. In May of 1645, for instance, Alexander Henderson, suggested that an evangelical revival patterned on the work of the sixteenth-century reformers was imperative for, as he declared, “Doth not the present posture of religion, and the constitution of the church (which yet is not so independent, as it is by some desired to be) call as loud for a Reformation, and for settling of religion, as the former did, before a Reformation was begun?”⁹⁸ Elsewhere, he argued that, by promoting a reformation of religion, the church would be restored to its rightful place as a focal point for national unity; maintaining that without religious peace there could be no civil peace since the “reformation is suspended, because the people are distracted; reformation being the only means to reduce them to unity”.⁹⁹

According to covenanting ideologues, one tangible solution to the problem articulated by Henderson was the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. In a tract published that same year entitled *The Answer of the Generall Assembly in Scotland. To the letter of some of their Reverenced Brethren of*

97. A Message sent from the Kingdome of Scotland. To Major Generall Massey now resident in Holand concerning the great Design against England. and their Proposals and Desires therein. With the Queen of England's invitation to Maj. Gen. Massey touching the same. And his Answer and Declaration thereupon. Likewise a Declaration of his Highnesse James Duke of York. his landing at Flushing in Zealand. and his going to Dort. to meet the Prince of Orange. With Another Declaration concerning his Highnesse Charles, Prince of Wales. and Sir Thomas Glenham. now Governor of Barwick from the King (London, 1648), 5. See also: A Parallell Betweene the late troubles in Scotland. and the present troubles in England. Wherein is discovered all the principall passages that occasioned the Levying of Armes both in England and Scotland. Together with the chiefe Incendiaries and Formenters of the same. comparing their actions with many ancient Presidents (London, 1642), 1.

98. A. Henderson, A Sermon, Preached before the Right Honourable House of Lords, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, upon Wednesday the 28th of May 1645 (Edinburgh, 1846), 105.

99. Henderson, Sermon, Preached before the Lords and Commons, at Margaret's Church in Westminster, 78.

the Ministry in England, sent by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye to the said Assembly, David Dickson characterised the pact between Scotland and England as an important instrument for initiating a second Reformation.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, it was, in part, the "slowness of the Reformation of Religion" which was said to necessitate the alliance with the English parliamentarians.¹⁰¹ The agreement itself was spoken of as a "Foundation Stone" in the work of reformation and its promoters were designated as "Chief Master-builders and choice instruments for the effecting of this settled Peace and Reformation".¹⁰² Moreover, the religious component of the pact which required England and Ireland to conform to a presbyterian church establishment in line with Scotland was depicted by an official *communiqué* issued by the general assembly as the solution to civil disorder since it was a "special meanes of conserving peace betwixt the kingdoms, of easing the Kings Majesty and the publike government of much trouble, which ariseth from differences of Religion".¹⁰³ In *The Scotts Declaration in Answer to the Declaration sent unto them by the Commisioners now at London. From the Honourable Houses of Parliament of Engand: Expressing their Care to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood; And their Affections to Reformation both to the Kirk and State*, it was contended that with a "perfect union of the kirks ... in one island, and under one Monarch" all sources of political conflict would be erased, resulting in "all Wars and commotions ceasing".¹⁰⁴ Civil order and peace would be achieved, therefore, through religious uniformity; more importantly, it was asserted, that they would be

¹⁰⁰ [Dickson], *Answer of the General Assembly in Scotland*, 3.

¹⁰¹ A. Henderson, *A Declaration from the General Assembly of the Kingdome of Scotland in Answer to a Declaration sent by the Parliament of England. concerning the King and Kingdome. Wherein they declare. in the Name of the Kingdome of Scotland. their sense and resolution touching the King's Majesty. and the Kingdome of England. in relation to His Majesties Honour. and the Kingdomes Happiness. With a brief Abstract of His Majesties Letter to the General Assembly at Edinburgh. containing the full Resolution of the King's Majesty* (London, 1648), 2.

¹⁰² P. Nye, *An Exhortation made to the Honourable House of Commons, and the Reverend Divines of the Assembly, by Mr. Nye, before he read the Covenant, in Two Speeches Delivered before the subscribing of the Covenant, the 25th of September, at St. Margaret's in Westminster. The One by Mr. Philip Nye. The Other by Mr. Alexander Henderson* (Edinburgh, 1643), 10, 11.

¹⁰³ Henderson, *Declaration from the General Assembly of the Kingdome of Scotland*, 2.

¹⁰⁴ A. Henderson, *The Scotts Declaration in Answer to the Declaration sent unto them by the Commisioners now at London. From the Honourable Houses of Parliament of Engand: Expressing their Care to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood; And their Affections to Reformation both to the Kirk and State* (London, 1642), 12.

permanent.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, recognition was given to the political value of the pact with respect to patriotic concerns and national interests. Support for the Solemn League and Covenant was portrayed, then, as an indication of "true loyalty" which would thereby ensure political stability at home in the "Preservation of our King and Superiors and the best Proof of natural Affection for Defence of our native country, Liberties and Laws".¹⁰⁶

The Solemn League and Covenant was the embodiment of a wider ambition, too, that Scotland had a unique part to play in the reformation of religion as a world leader for pan-protestantism.¹⁰⁷ Cultivation of this traditional assumption – dating from the sixteenth century – by covenanting propagandists helped to encourage the sense of historical determinism and destiny attendant on the covenanted nation. Past associations and future prospects were invoked which placed Scotland in the vanguard of a European crusade modelled on the "Precedents and Example ... of the people of God of old, of the reformed Churches of Germany, and the low countrie".¹⁰⁸ Indeed, it was the legacy of protestantism which was utilised to define and interpret contemporary politics. In a tract issued in 1643, *A declaration of the reasons for assisting the Parliament of England, against the Papists and Prelaticall Army*, Scots were reminded how crucial English military assistance had been in bringing about the success of the Reformation-Rebellion in the sixteenth century; hence, one reason given for the military alliance with the English parliamentarians was that Scotland was "obliged to England, for old kindnesses to us being in the same posture then, that they are in now".¹⁰⁹ Although historical allusions were relied on to help cement political alliances, protestant determinism, in general, provided a paradigm for understanding political change. In *The Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Prelacie*

¹⁰⁵. Henderson, *Arguments given in by the Commissioners*, 2-4.

¹⁰⁶. A. Henderson, *A Speech delivered by Mr Alexander Henderson, immediately before the taking of the Covenant by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines in Two Speeches Delivered before the subscribing of the Covenant, the 25th of September at St. Margaret's in Westminster. The one by Mr Philip Nye. The other by Mr Alexander Henderson* (Edinburgh, 1643), 26.

¹⁰⁷. Burrell, 'Apocalyptic Vision', 10.

¹⁰⁸. Henderson, *Speech delivered by Mr. Alexander Henderson*, 26-7.

¹⁰⁹. *A Declaration of the reasons for assisting the Parliament of England, against the Papists and Prelaticall Army By the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland* (London, 1643), 2.

or Perpetuall Precedencie, in the Church, Briefly discovered which appeared in print in 1641, Alexander Henderson maintained that the revolutionary upheaval affecting Scotland was not to be regarded as an isolated incident. On the contrary, he posited that it should be perceived within the broader context of the European political scene and thus interpreted as tangible proof of a momentous historical occasion:

The changes and revolutions which we heare of in other Kingdomes, are documents, that the divine Providence is about some great worke, in which we are now called to act our part, in the sight of men and angels. The opportunity of Reformation is rare and singular and cannot be parrallel'd in any History, and therefore to be used in all reverence, with heavenly prudence, and abstractnesse of spirit, from earthly considerations. We are zealous of our oune 'liberties', let us be more zealous of the liberties of the Kingdome of Christ, that both we ourselves, and the Posterity may have a well grounded and blessed Peace.¹¹⁰

Drawing on the lessons of protestant history meant, as well, that the implications and consequences of reactivating a reformation were universal. Covenanting propaganda promoted the notion that reforming the polity and policy of the church in England to conform with Scotland would not only prove beneficial to the former but to international protestantism in general. Hence, the Solemn League and Covenant would "not only yeeld temporal blessings unto themselves, [in England] but also spread the branches [of the Tree of Life] so far that both this Nation, and other Reformed Kirkes, shal find the fruits therof, to their great satisfaction".¹¹¹ In a *communiqué* directed to the Scottish ministers from the commissioners of the general assembly in January of 1643 which was published as a tract, uniformity of church government throughout the multiple kingdom was promoted as beneficial because it would advance the reformation of religion at home and, equally, establish a "paterne for the world set up in this island for the example of other kirks abroad".¹¹² Alexander Henderson, in his address to English parliamentarians prior to the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, envisaged the pact as a catalyst to activate "other reformed Churches to a further Reformation of themselves", prompting him to speculate on the ramifications of the agreement and on

¹¹⁰. A. Henderson, *The Unlawfullness and Danger of Limited Prelacie or Perpetuall Precedencie, in the Church, Briefly discovered* ([London], 1641), 19.

¹¹¹. Henderson, *Declaration from the General Assembly of the Kingdome of Scotland*, 2.

¹¹². *Necessary Warning to the Ministerie of the Kirk of Scotland*, 5.

"what Light and Heat it may communicate abroad to other Parts of the World".¹¹³ Thus, the Solemn League and Covenant was said to ensure the "securites and prosperitie of both kingdoms and of all the forane reformed churches".¹¹⁴ Taken together, a fusion of propaganda messages focusing on questions related to political stability and protestant obligations made the issue of a reformation revival central to covenanting discourse.

Therefore, there was a concerted attempt by covenanting propagandists to sustain, throughout the life of the movement, the evangelical fervour which attended the initial church ceremonies held to launch the nation-wide subscription campaign for the National Covenant in 1638. In arousing religious passions at the popular level, the rhetoric, imagery and language associated with Federal Theology and, most importantly, its implications for Scotland and the Scottish people became a mainstay of the mass domestic propaganda produced by covenanting ideologues. Systematic promotion of the ramifications of covenantal thought provided not only an ideological framework but a psychological imperative for political action. By reminding rank and file covenanters of their all-embracing commitment to the covenant with God and promulgating the past, present and future obligations that it required of them, polemicists added moral legitimacy and historical authority to the movement's brand of revolutionary politics. By instilling a sense of historical determinism imbued with a sacred purpose, they offered not only moral justification for their movement's political actions but lent moral weight to their criticism of adversaries and rivals both within and outwith the movement. Moreover, in championing the kirk's uniqueness and the Scottish people's special, historical mission within the reformation tradition, they tapped into a conventional but, nonetheless, powerful belief system which added authenticity to their political cause. Thus, covenanting efforts to capitalise on the protestant, evangelical impulse fuelled by Federal Theology proved to be a significant, ideological mechanism for shaping public opinion in the seventeenth century.

¹¹³. Nye, *Exhortation made to the Honourable House of Commons*, 11.

¹¹⁴. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown, 3rd series, (38 vols., 1905-33), VII, 341.

Chapter VII

Anticatholicism and Millenarianism

I.

Of equal importance to the cultivation of pro-covenanting sentiment at the popular level between 1638 and 1688 was the ideological élite's systematic exploitation of anticatholic rhetoric. If Federal Theology and its implications can be regarded as the engine of the covenanting political dynamic, expressions of anticatholicism can be seen as its fuel. As a dominant theme of covenanting, mass domestic propaganda, anticatholicism served a number of broad, propaganda functions. It was relied on to heighten and intensify the evangelical fervour of the movement's rank and file adherents in order to consolidate support for the covenanting leadership. One message to be derived from propaganda which denounced the alleged resurgence of catholicism, for instance, was both the necessity and righteousness of the covenanting cause thereby reinforcing stalwarts' sense of mission as the champions of protestantism and stoking their religious zealotry. Given the presbyterian belief in the purity of the kirk as the embodiment of the 'true religion', the rallying cry of the 'church in danger' had a visceral, popular appeal which drew on the conventional well-spring of anticatholic prejudice in early modern Scotland. As a major theme of covenanting propaganda, anticatholicism was used, at times, too, as an ideological mechanism for justifying political action. During an era in which protestant interests were linked to the viability of the nation-state and in which religiosity denoted civil loyalty and served as a barometer of political dependibility, catholicism was equated with subversion. Polemicists' claims of a catholic revival or increased catholic involvement in public life, then, touched on the problem of national security, requiring decisive action to preserve political stability. Moreover, when accusations of catholic sympathies, cryptocatholicism or catholic leanings were applied to adversaries of the movement, it had the added propaganda advantage of bringing public discredit and opprobrium to opponents. Thus, the spectre of catholicism was utilised by covenanting propagandists to appeal to both the best and the worst instincts of protestant determinism.

Traditional, protestant assumptions that popery constituted a religio-political threat to the established order in church and state proved fertile ground for covenanting polemicists. The deep vein of anticatholic prejudice which existed rested on the view that catholicism fostered not only apostacy but treachery as well. The threat to church and state posed by recusancy stemmed, in large measure, then, from the tenet that the interests of church and state were synonymous. Given that religion was emblematic of civil loyalty and acted as a badge of political dependibility, it was axiomatic for contemporaries to associate protestant interests with the viability of the nation-state and to equate catholicism with subversion. Such beliefs were personified by the king himself since he was obligated by a pledge in his coronation oath to act as 'defender of the faith'.¹ Conversely, they manifested themselves in the civic disabilities placed on catholics under the penal statutes which included disenfranchisement from public life with the exception of those granted royal dispensation.² Thus, prior to 1687, when the penal laws against catholics were suspended by royal proclamation of the catholic king, James VII, only those "sound in the Protestant religion and will take the oath of allegiance" were allowed, theoretically, to serve as civil officials.³

Catholicism was treated as a national security problem because of the general perception that it had the potential to destroy the existing order, endangering both the religious and political stability of Scottish society. This view was made plain in state directives issued as parliamentary acts, privy council declarations and royal proclamations throughout much of the seventeenth century regardless of the character of the ruling régime with the exception of James VII's kingship. In the convention of 1625, petitions submitted by the small barons and burgesses called for more rigorous enforcement of the penal statutes against catholics and implementation of the laws dealing with conformity.⁴ Renewed anxieties about the threat of catholicism were fuelled at this time, in general, by the Thirty Years' War on the continent, but they were triggered, in particular, by Charles I's marriage to a French

¹ G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V - James VII (Edinburgh, 1978), 146.

² A.I. Macinnes, 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws, 1603-1707' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, XXIII, i, (1987), 41.

³ The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. P. Hume Brown, 3rd series (38 vols., 1905-33), XII, 5.

⁴ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (12 vols., 1814-74), V, 179-80, 184.

catholic, Henrietta Maria.⁵ As a result of the supplications, prescriptive legislation was sanctioned to encourage religious conformity among the nobility in the interests of the state including a law which required that the sons of nobles be brought up and educated as protestants.⁶ Those attending catholic seminaries and institutions abroad were ordered to return to Scotland because their schooling was said to "persuade and strengthen them" in "their popische errouris whair throw they become not onlie corruptit and pervertit in religioun but poisoned and infectit in their dewtie and alledgeance to his Majestie".⁷ When the privy council launched a government initiative against catholics in 1642, it was justified on the grounds that they were the "most pernicious pests in this Common-wealthe and avowed enemies to the true religion and christian government".⁸ Priests, especially Jesuits, were seen to pose a special threat because through their proselytising they would "corrupt simple and ignorant people both in religion and alledgeance".⁹ Even more disturbing for political order was their alleged tendency to try to gain influence "among his Majesties subjects of the better sort, to distract thame in opinions and affections and to enterteane division in the state, to the disturbance of the peace of the countrie".¹⁰ Indeed, it was a common, protestant assumption that catholics were engaged, actively, in seeking converts to their faith in order to undermine the *status quo* in church and state. Typically, in directives emanating from the Restoration council of Charles II, the dual threat of catholicism lay in its potential for creating heretics and traitors. It was stated that catholics "work to pervert and seduce his Majesties good subjects into that sinfull and wicked way and to corrupt them thereby both in their religion and obedience and alledgeance".¹¹ Moreover, catholicism was said to promote "hereticall and seditious principalls and practises to the overthrow of religion and disturbance of Church and State, and the seduceing of many poor soulls".¹² Hence, catholics were

5. C. Hibbard, Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill, 1983), 92-4.

6. APS, V, 179-80.

7. Ibid.

8. RPCS, VII, 288; Commissions, Proclamations and Acts of Privie Councell, Concerning Jesuits, Priests and Papists, 5 July 1642 (Edinburgh, 1642), 1.

9. Ibid., 288-9; Commissions, Proclamations and Acts, 1-2.

10. Ibid.

11. RPCS, IX, 350.

12. Ibid., 66.

always politically suspect because their faith bound them in allegiance to foreign interests headed by the papacy; thus, the claim was made that they were not to be regarded as "true Scotsmen" but, rather, like "atheists", they were to be considered as "degenerated countrymen".¹³

The belief that catholicism fostered heresy and sedition was of special concern because of the broadly-held, though false, presumption that the religion was attracting increasing numbers of worshippers; leading to a perennial call between 1638 and 1685 for action to be taken to stave off a catholic revival regardless of the political character of the ruling régime. As we have seen, the petitioning campaign of 1637-38 which culminated in the National Covenant was replete with the view - as an Edinburgh minister, James Row, asserted in a sermon delivered at St. Giles in 1638 - that "poperie and Arminianism are rife in the Scottish Kirke".¹⁴ The notion was sustained by the disaffected leadership of the covenanting movement in their propaganda attacks on Charles I and his administration; underpinning their critique of royal policy in church and state. A case in point was the covenanters' reaction to the King's Covenant which, ironically, was issued in September of 1638, partly, to counter covenanting claims that Charles I was a catholic sympathiser. In a paper outlining the reasons for rejecting the King's Covenant and the means to be adopted to oppose subscription of it in the burghs which was circulated, it was declared that "poperie is pregnant and powerfull in this land as we have learned of Late".¹⁵ When the covenanting government appointed commissioners in 1642 to identify and apprehend catholics within their specified jurisdictions, the crackdown on recusancy was said to be necessary because the "slackness in former times" had resulted in an increased number of "Jesuits, Seminary and Mass Priests" in the country.¹⁶ Similarly, in a general assembly petition to the king in 1643 which, ultimately, led to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the impetus for a meeting of English and Scottish church representatives to examine the question of religious uniformity

13. *Ibid.*, VII, 443.

14. National Library of Scotland, MSS 498 folio 17, 'A sermon preached att St Giles the great church in Edinburgh uppon a fast day the last Sunday in July by Mr James Rowe'.

15. Scottish Record Office, Ms GD 16/15/3, Airrie Muniments, 'The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh when the Late proclama[tio]n published at Edinburgh the 22 of September shall happen to be proclaimed conteining some reasons against the subscription of the confession without the explica[tio]n which hath bein so solemnlie sworne and subscriyved by ws'.

16. *Commissions, Proclamations and Acts*, 2.

throughout the multiple kingdom was attributed to the "rise of Roman Catholicism in England and Ireland".¹⁷ Official injunctions of the Restoration government of Charles II announcing renewed crackdowns against catholics warned, repeatedly, that the burgeoning strength of catholicism posed a threat to the established order. One letter sent to the bishops by the privy council in 1663 which ordered that lists of recusants be compiled by each synod and, then, forwarded to the council spoke of the "great increase in poperie within this kingdom".¹⁸ Similarly, in 1669, the town council of Aberdeen made it mandatory for those seeking burgess' status to take an oath swearing to their religiosity as protestants because of the "great increase and growth of poperie within this burgh".¹⁹ Proclamations like that of 1670 calling for stricter enforcement of the penal laws decried the rise of catholicism²⁰ while official *communiqués* such as a royal letter sent to privy councillors in 1673 urged administrators to attend to the problem of the "growth of popery and seperation".²¹

But, notwithstanding official projections of a large-scale catholic revival, such claims had little substance. As studies of early-modern catholicism in Scotland have shown, it survived only as a minority faith after the Reformation.²² Geographically, its appeal was regional rather than national; centred in the towns on a small number of catholic, burgess households and confined in the localities to pockets of support, largely, in the northeast and southwest where priests and co-religionists alike were dependent on the protection of catholic nobles such as the earls of Huntly and Nithsdale respectively.²³ Its vitality owed more to happenstance than design since it derived from a number of diverse and unrelated factors including the small-scale missions conducted by foreign priests, most

17. To the King's most excellent Majesty. The Humble Petition of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland, met at Edinburgh January, 4, 1642/3. And now lately presented to His Majesty at Oxford. With His Maiesties Gracious Answer thereunto. March 16, 1642/43 (Oxford, 1642-3), 3.

18. *RPCS*, IX, 350.

19. Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1625-1747, ed. J. Stuart (2 vols., 1871-2), vol. 1643-1747, 252-3.

20. *RPCS*, XII, 119-23.

21. *Ibid.*, 124-5.

22. A useful guide to catholic historiography is provided by M. Dilworth, 'The Counter-Reformation in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography' in *RSCHS*, XXII, i (1984), 85-100.

23. Detailed discussion of early modern catholicism in Scotland is provided by P.F. Anson, The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland 1560-1937 (London, 1937); P.F. Anson, Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622-1878 (Montrose, 1970); M.H.B. Sanderson, 'Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the sixteenth century' in *Innes Review*, 21 (1970), 87-107.

notably in the 1640s and 1680s; the concerted efforts of catholic layfolk, especially aristocratic and burgess women, to maintain religious traditions and practices within their own households; the general failure of the kirk to establish a significant presence in remote parishes, particularly in the Highlands; and, the relative leniency of the state in its implementation of the penal laws against catholics throughout much of the seventeenth century.²⁴ Moreover, prior to 1685, the number of priests remained small; rarely, exceeding two dozen at any given time.²⁵ Even under these conditional circumstances - rather than burgeoning as the received view would have it - catholicism was, therefore, a religion in decline that commanded only a negligible, numerical following of less than 2% of the population.²⁶

Preoccupation with recusancy while grounded on a numerical chimera retained its potency, however, because of protestant anxiety about the potential, political power exerted by individual catholics at home and by their religion abroad. Although studies by Keith Lindley, Martin Havram and John Bossy related to the English catholic community as a whole tend to underline the marked reluctance as well as the inability of catholics to take an active part in public life during the seventeenth century, those undertaken by Caroline Hibbard and Gordon Albion which employ a broader perspective demonstrate that protestant fears had some substance.²⁷ For instance, the perception of a catholic threat to the *status quo* in church and state has been linked, by Hibbard, to the influential presence of catholics at the royal court in the early seventeenth century, especially during Charles I's

24. D. Stevenson, 'The Irish Franciscan mission to Scotland and the Irish Rebellion of 1641' in *Innes Review*, XXX (1979), 54-61; M. Dilworth, 'The Scottish Mission in 1688-89' in *Innes Review*, XX (1969), 68-79; A. Roberts, 'The role of women in Scottish Catholic survival' in *Scottish Historical Review*, XX (1991), 129-50; J. Kirk, 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567-1625' in *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands*, ed. L. Maclean (Inverness Field Club, Inverness, 1985), 24-51; Macinnes, 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws', 27-63.

25. Macinnes, 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws', 28, 29, 31, 32.

26. *Ibid.*, 35; Hibbard, *Charles I*, 91-2. See also: D. Maclean, 'Roman Catholicism in Scotland in the reign of Charles II' in *RSCHS*, III (1929), 43-54; J. Darragh, 'The Catholic population of Scotland since the year 1680' in *Innes Review*, IV (1953), 49-59; Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland*, 75-6.

27. K.J. Lindley, 'The Part Played by the Catholics' in *Politics, Religion and the Civil War*, ed. B. Manning (London, 1973), 127-78; K.J. Lindley, 'The Lay Catholics of England in the Reign of Charles I' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), 199-222; M. Havram, 'Informers in England during the Reign of Charles I' in *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 143 (1960), 289-303; J. Bossy, 'The English Catholic Community, 1603-1625' in *The Reign of James VI and I*, ed. A.G.R. Smith (London, 1977), 91-105; C. Hibbard, 'Early Stuart Catholicism: Revisions and Re-revisions' in *Journal of Modern History*, 52 (1980), 1-34; Hibbard, *Charles I*; G. Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome* (London, 1935).

kingship.²⁸ Elsewhere, in her detailed examination of the impact of court catholicism on Caroline politics, she expands on this view to demonstrate how fear of popery in England and Scotland was, in large measure, a reaction to a resurgence of European catholicism. Thus, she concludes that,

For the 1630s as for the 1670s, anxiety about court Catholicism and a possible Catholic succession in the context of resurgent European Catholicism, was acute; in neither case was it unfounded. The more closely the king's critics looked at the royal family in the 1630s, the more popery they found. And the connection they drew between Catholicism and tyranny was no mere propaganda ploy. It rested on deeply rooted assumptions about the nature of government and the relations between church and state, on their interpretation of the king's secular policies in the light of his religious policies, and on their understanding of current European politics.²⁹

Similarly, in a study of the impact of anticatholicism on Restoration politics, John Miller – while sceptical about the validity of the allegations of popish leanings levelled against Charles I's courtiers and advisers by puritan critics such as John Pym – finds that the popish plot scenarios of the 1670s which depicted Charles II and his court as sympathetic to catholicism and favourably inclined towards absolutism were justified.³⁰ In examining the political impetus for the codification and enforcement of the penal code during the seventeenth century, Allan Macinnes suggests that a confluence of events in Scotland served to enhance the belief that catholicism posed a significant threat to the established order; leading him to note that,

Catholicism in Scotland exercised an influence on public affairs out of all proportion to its relative numerical strength, partly because the distancing of the political nation from the crown after 1603 magnified the sympathetic hearing accorded to prominent recusants at court – where the wife of each successive monarch was a professed papist prior to 1689 – but principally because of Protestant apprehensions about the Counter-Reformation. As the only national church in Europe committed to Calvinism but uncompromised (apart from the nine-year Cromwellian interlude during the 1650s and the brief reign of James VII) by the need to tolerate other religious groups in the interests of political expediency, the reformed Kirk, whether under episcopacy or presbyterianism, upheld vehemently its international responsibilities to maintain a watching brief over the fate of Protestantism in general and of Calvinist minorities in particular: notably when Catholic expansionism was allied to political absolutism, as occurred under the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs during the Thirty Years War and subsequently under Louis XIV of France”.³¹

²⁸ Hibbard, 'Early Stuart Catholicism', 1–34.

²⁹ Hibbard, *Charles I*, 10.

³⁰ J. Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1973), 25, 50, 82–4, 90.

³¹ Macinnes, 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws', 35–6.

Thus, constitutional, dynastic, political and theological matters converged in the seventeenth century to give shape to protestant apprehensions about catholicism.

Antipathy towards catholics, however, was not merely a product of *realpolitick*; for, equally, it was reflective of the *mentalité* of early modern protestantism. As studies of attitudes towards catholicism have demonstrated, the combination of antagonism, menace and fear that this religion and its adherents aroused in protestants endured from the Reformation in the sixteenth century and it was wide-spread. But, historiographical interpretation differs as to the chief sources of this protestant aversion. Peter Lake's analysis of anticatholic sentiment suggests that the depth of hostility which informed protestant opinion was based on a mixture of religious, historical and ideological assumptions about catholicism; most notably, its association in the protestant mind with tyranny.³² From a different perspective, Carol Wiener contends that the antipopery rhetoric of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was an expression of political psychopathology and thus it derived, primarily, from protestants' anxieties about their own inadequacies.³³ In a study of anticatholic feeling and its influence on English politics in the early 1640s, Robin Clifton argues that antagonism towards catholics stemmed, largely, from protestant assumptions about the nature of catholicism as a debasement of Christ's teachings as reflected in the church's ritual, ceremony and hierarchy; in priests' authoritarian treatment of the laity; and, in the papacy's claims of political supremacy over temporal rulers.³⁴ Thus, traditional attitudes, values and ideology played an important part in making expressions of antipopery acceptable.

³² P. Lake, 'Anti-popery: the structure of a prejudice' in Conflict in Early Stuart England, ed. R. Cust and A. Hughes (London, 1989), 72-106.

³³ C. Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle, A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism' in Past and Present, 51 (May, 1971), 27-62.

³⁴ R. Clifton, 'Fear of Popery' in The Origins of the English Civil War, ed. C. Russell (London, 1981), 144-67.

II.

Much has been made, too, of the impact of the chiliastic aspects of sixteenth-century reformed thinking in shaping protestant attitudes towards catholicism for succeeding generations. The prevalence of apocalyptic beliefs from the sixteenth century and their subsequent influence on seventeenth-century politics in England has been well-documented; most notably, by Christopher Hill, Katherine Firth, Blair Worden and William Lamont.³⁵ Whether the concept of the Scots as a covenanted nation and their belief in themselves as the successors to the legacy of the biblical Israelites in the seventeenth century had deep roots in the Scottish reformed tradition is, however, a moot point. Although Arthur Williamson contends that the contemporary perception of the Scots as the chosen people in covenant with God, the new Israelites, was not an indigenous concept but, rather, was derivative of English expressions of national identity, Richard Greaves' work on the political implications of Calvinism in the sixteenth century and Marjorie Reeves' study of early protestant expressions of apocalyptic thought in medieval and early modern Scotland and England suggest otherwise.³⁶ Regardless of its origins, however, millenarian rhetoric in the seventeenth century was a defining characteristic of Scottish political culture. While no work of a comparable depth to the English studies has been undertaken for seventeenth-century Scotland, some light has been shed on the interplay between millenarian thought and political action in Sidney Burrell's examination of the early covenanters as well as in his analysis of the concept of

35. C. Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England (Oxford, 1971); C. Hill, 'John Mason and the End of the World' in Puritanism and Revolution (London, 1958); K. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition (Oxford, 1979); B. Worden, 'Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England' in Past and Present (November, 1985), 55-99; W.M. Lamont, Richard Baxter and the Millennium (London, 1979). See also: B. Ball, A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Leiden, 1975); C.A. Patrides et al eds., The Apocalypse in English Thought and Literature (Ithaca, 1984); W.M. Lamont, Politics, Religion and Literature in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1975); B.S. Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men: a Study in Seventeenth-Century Millenarianism (Totowa, 1972).

36. A.H. Williamson, Scottish National Conscience in the age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh, 1979), 143. See also: A.H. Williamson, 'Scotland, Anti-Christ and the Invention of Great Britain' in New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland, ed. J. Dwyer, R.A. Mason and A. Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1981) and 'The Jewish Dimension of the Scottish Apocalypse: Climate, Covenant and World Renewal' in Menasseh Ben Israel and His World, ed. Y. Kaplan, H. Mechoulam and R.H. Popkin (New York, 1989), 7-30. R.L. Greaves, Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation (Grand Rapids, 1980); M. Reeves, 'History and Eschatology: Medieval and Early Protestant Thought in Some English and Scottish Writings' in Medievalia and Humanistica, ed. P.M. Clogan, New Series 4 (1973).

the covenant in providing a revolutionary dynamic for the movement.³⁷ Other historians while giving due recognition to the significance of Federal Theology as a precipitant for political radicalism have focused less attention on the millenarian and evangelistic component of Federal Theology which - as is suggested by Burrell's work - placed those in covenant with God at, what they perceived to be, the forefront of human history.³⁸ As we have seen, this was a dialectic that took on a quality of special urgency for the saints in the seventeenth century because the implications of Federal Theology were promulgated, broadly, by covenanting propagandists.³⁹ Yet, the collective sense of protestant destiny and mission which is associated with covenanting thought received some additional stimulus from the general prevalence of millenarian views.

The existence of a well-defined though ambiguous set of ideas relating to the last stages of human development on earth that was chiliastic in predicting a Millenium in which human perfection and goodness would reach its apogee as either a cause or a consequence of the long-awaited return of Christ, the Redeemer, was grounded on scripture.⁴⁰ Both the book of Daniel and the book of Revelation of St. John the Divine contain cautionary tales of people and princes whose failure to acknowledge and accept God's supreme authority as the only true God results in their suffering and, ultimately, their extinction. They provide, too, visionary scenarios of Judgement Day when, after momentous battles between the forces of good and evil, the true believers and the saints are rewarded with everlasting life in a perfectly ordered world. In the book of Daniel, the dreams of the Babylonian kings beginning with Nebuchadnezzar along with Daniel's own personal visions are populated with portents and symbols of monarchical authority such as a golden image; an omnipresent tree; spectral beasts including one with ten horns and an additional little horn; and, a linen and gold-clad man. In each case, the power of the king is challenged when he neglects or refuses to acknowledge God as the

37. S.A. Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters' in *SHR*, XLIII (1964), 1-24 and 'The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol in Scotland, 1596-1637' in *Church History*, XXVII (1958), 342-4.

38. See: M. Steele, 'The "Politick Christian": The Theological Background to the National Covenant' in *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, ed. J. Morrill (Edinburgh, 1990); D. Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 30-44.

39. See: Chapter VI: Evangelicalism and Federal Theology.

40. The following synopsis is based on my analysis of the relevant, scriptural passages in the authorised King James version of the Bible.

source of his authority. It is in Daniel's three dreams, however, that an apocalyptic vision is articulated involving warring armies; the appearance of the Ancient of Days; Judgement Day; the emergence of the new Jerusalem; and the Messiah's return. Reference is made, too, to a covenant between God and his saints which is temporarily suspended and a prince of the covenant who fails to fulfill his obligations: circumstances which precipitate a "time of trouble" for God's people followed by their divine deliverance. A more elaborate and graphic version of the Second Coming, the Last Judgement and the creation of a heavenly kingdom on earth is offered in the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Warning messages sent to the seven churches of Asia presage the systematic destruction of parts of the earth with each wave of devastation unleashed by the opening of the seven seals on the book of life. Archetypal figures of good and evil including Michael and the dragon; the saints or chosen ones and the beast; the Lamb of God and a woman dressed in scarlet and purple and bedecked with jewels - who is said to represent a great city - engage in combat with each conflict precipitating further warfare. For instance, Michael's fight with the dragon over a woman ends when the former rescues her from the latter but the revengful dragon, subsequently, goes to war with the "remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ". Similarly, the appearance of the beast who makes war on the saints results in the unleashing of God's wrath and the material destruction of the earth: a feat accomplished through the opening of the seven vials; the last of which causes the final stage of humankind to be realised in the Armageddon. As the ultimate battle, the Armageddon marks the end of earthly conflict and the triumph of the forces of good over evil. It ushers in, too, the dawning of a new age in which Christ's return to the world signals not only the end of all suffering for his followers but the beginning of their spiritual and material fulfillment through the creation of a new heaven and a new earth as exemplified by the holy city of Jerusalem; the pure river of life; and, the tree of life.

Societal convictions about the coming of a future golden age as foretold in scripture were modes of thought with an ancient and diverse lineage. As Norman Cohn in his seminal work on the conventional acceptance of a belief in a messianic kingdom in medieval, early modern and modern northern and central Europe demonstrates, this *Weltanschauung* was derivative of the prophetic

traditions of the Jews and early Christians in antiquity; it acquired a "fresh and exuberant vitality" during the middle ages; and, it continued to exert a "powerful and enduring fascination" for subsequent generations, intermittently, from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century.⁴¹ Anticipation that the creation of a utopian world was possible and imminent in the seventeenth century may be traced as well, to the contemporaneous development of Gnostic views which, as Eric Voegelin shows, began in the ancient world and surfaced, periodically, from medieval times to the early modern era. As a major religious movement, Gnosticism was characterised, primarily, by the believer's dissatisfaction with his circumstances and a conviction in the inherent inadequacy of the world order because of its innate wickedness. To remedy this pessimistic assessment of the human condition, Gnostics displayed an openness to the concept of the possibility of salvation; adhered to the idea that an historic process would evolve through human agency to alter the order of being; and, constructed a paradigm which would bring about an ameliorating change.⁴² Thus, the messianic beliefs of the seventeenth century flowed from traditional intellectual currents, imbuing them with a quality of conventional respectability that served to validate and enhance their attraction.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, however, protestant apologists assiduously exploited the apocalyptic rhetoric and imagery of the books of Daniel and Revelation to demonstrate the scriptural and historical worth of the protestant cause and, conversely, to discredit catholicism. Since the eschatology pitted the forces of good and evil against one another in the Armageddon - the final battle between the hosts of Christ and those of the Antichrist - that would result in the transformation of the world, protestant propagandists portrayed the ideological struggle between protestants and catholics during the Reformation as part of a divine plan which would fulfill and justify the history of humankind. While exact interpretations of biblical allusions to the beast, the ten horns, the little horn and the scarlet woman varied widely, protestant millenarians tended to identify catholicism in general and the Pope in particular as an Antichrist. For this reason, the Reformation was seen as an

⁴¹. N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary messianism in medieval and Reformation Europe and its bearing on modern totalitarian movements (New York, 1961), xiii.

⁴². E. Voegelin, Science, Politics and Gnosticism (Chicago, 1968), 85-7.

important harbinger of the onset of the apocalyptic struggle, signalling the inevitable defeat of the Antichrist or, in other words, the demise of the catholic church. The sense of historical determinism permeating this millenarian paradigm was so profound that many contemporaries felt sure that the biblical prophecies associated with the final days of humankind coupled with the promise of the new Jerusalem – the anticipated heaven on earth that would inevitably follow – would be fulfilled in their own life time. As Sidney Burrell in his study of the messianic beliefs of the early covenanting movement aptly puts it, such a momentous occasion seemed imminent because the Reformation was “too important an event to have occurred so to speak, in a historical vacuum. Surely, God did not intend that it should transpire and that no significant consequence should flow from it ... Such an occurrence had to be part of God’s divine plan, and since he had brought it about in his own good time, then it seemed from the very logic of providence that the last days could not be far removed”.⁴³

Messianic belief in the prophetic authenticity of scripture as expressed in the book of Daniel and in the Revelation of St. John the Divine was part of the mainstream cosmology in seventeenth-century Scotland; embedded in both élite and popular culture. It attracted the attention of prominent thinkers including men of science such as John Napier of Merchiston. The elaborate schemes and mathematical *formulae* which Napier – like Sir Isaac Newton, later, in England – devised for calculating the precise date of the Second Coming which would either precede or follow one thousand years of godly rule and thus heaven on earth reflected contemporary, intellectuals’ preoccupation with the subject.⁴⁴ At the popular level, too, millenarianism as a belief system ran so deep that it occasionally produced self-proclaimed demagogues like Ryce Crane who in 1646 publicly announced that he was Jesus Christ and that the Second Coming was fulfilled by his presence. In depositions against him signed by Charles Hill of Bishopsgate, Thomas Moulson and others, it was declared that Crane claimed that “he did ryse to justifie nane but his elect and further that he is ye judge of the world and of all men”.⁴⁵ General awareness

⁴³. Burrell, ‘The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters’, 5.

⁴⁴. P.G. Rogers, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London, 1966), 138–9. Popular millenarianism is explored in B.S. Capp, ‘The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism’ in *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, ed. J.F. McGregor and B. Reay (Oxford, 1984), 165–89.

⁴⁵. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/79, Dalhousie Muniments.

and broad interest in the eschatology was apparent, too, in the literature available on the subject that was printed both in the country and elsewhere and sold in Scotland. In 1631, extracts from the highly influential, sixteenth-century work by John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of the Christian Reformation*, – or, as it was more commonly known, the 'Book of Martyrs' – which popularised the idea of England as an Elect Nation that was destined to take a prominent rôle in bringing about the downfall of Rome were produced and sold as a tract in Scotland.⁴⁶ The controversial nature of millenarianism was explored, as well, in a pamphlet by Thomas Hayre, entitled *Christs kingdom on earth, opened according to the Scriptures. Herein is examined what Mr. Tho. Brightman, D. J. Alstede, Mr. J. Mede, Mr. H. Archer, The Glimpse of Sions Glory, and such as concur in opinion with them, hold concerning the thousand years of the Saints Reigne with Christ, And of Satans binding: Herein also their Arguments are answered*, which offered a detailed synopsis and refutation of popular studies of the book of Revelation in order to question the belief that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent.⁴⁷

But, the spread of apocryphal beliefs owed much to the influence of the sixteenth-century English prophet and visionary, Thomas Brightman, because his writings which referred to Scotland were reprinted in the seventeenth century. Brightman's reputation as a latter-day Merlin gained credence when his scripturally-based predictions such as the one foreseeing Spain's ultimate decline as an international power after suffering a significant military defeat was fulfilled by the fiasco of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and another prophesying that a major war in Germany would result in material devastation and famine was realised by the Thirty Years' War of 1618 to 1648.⁴⁸ However, his popularity stemmed, largely, from his textual analysis of the

46. H.C. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: including those Printed furth of the realm for Scottish Booksellers. With Brief Notes on the Printers and Stationers* (National Library of Scotland, 1970), No. 747. Fuller discussion of Foxe's influence is provided by P. Collinson, 'A Chosen People? The English Church and the Reformation' in *History Today*, 36 (March 1986), 14–20; W. Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963); V.N. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (California, 1963).

47. T. Hayre, *Christs kingdom on earth, opened according to the Scriptures. Herein is examined what Mr. Tho. Brightman, D. J. Alstede, Mr. J. Mede, Mr. H. Archer, The Glimpse of Sions Glory, and such as concur in opinion with them, hold concerning the thousand years of the Saints Reigne with Christ, And of Satans binding: Herein also their Arguments are answered* (London, 1645).

48. *Ibid.*, 3–4.

Bible which, in turn, became an important propaganda weapon in the ideological struggle precipitated by the Reformation. In a tract which was published in 1641 in London, entitled *Brightman's Predictions and Prophecies. Written 46 yeares since; Concerning the three Churches of Germanie, England and Scotland. Foretelling the miserie of Germanie, the fall of the pride of Bishops in England by the assistance of the Scottish Kirk. All which should happen (as foretold) between the yeares of 36. and 41 & c.*, Brightman spoke of the breakdown of universal catholicism in Europe; predicting the eventual demise of the catholic church as a major religious institution at the hands of reformed thought. Study of the first five chapters of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, for example, inclined him to the belief that protestantism would triumph over catholicism. The critical passages for him referred to the seven epistles sent to the seven churches of Asia; that is, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea. His identification of three of the churches - Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea - as references to the churches of Germany, Scotland and England respectively made his prophecies especially attractive to protestants in those nations.⁴⁹ For Scots, their church was projected, within this paradigm, as the "purest" of the reformed churches which - along with the churches of Geneva and Holland - was destined to play a leading part in the establishment of the new Jerusalem "that they shall bee joyned with it in covenant and societies".⁵⁰ Moreover, using prophetic verse form, he championed the advent of international protestant hegemony by suggesting that it would be signalled by the Scottish church's rejection of episcopacy. Thus, within his schemata, the example set by the church in Scotland for polity would inspire reformers elsewhere to question the nature of church government, leading inexorably to the overthrow of the papacy; or, as he put it,

And the Scotch Church that little seems and low,
Shall be in th'end their Bishops overthrow:
By whose example others shall be drawne
To question Miters, Copes and sleeves of Lawne,

⁴⁹ T. Brightman, *Brightman's Predictions and Prophecies. Written 46 yeares since; Concerning the three Churches of Germanie, England and Scotland. Foretelling the miserie of Germanie, the fall of the pride of Bishops in England by the assistance of the Scottish Kirk. All which should happen (as foretold) between the yeares of 36. and 41 & c.* (London, 1641), 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

Then these with others, shall combine in one,
To put the Arch-Priest from his Papall throne.⁵¹

The partial realisation of Brightman's prediction in 1638 – almost two generations after it was initially made – when the removal of the episcopacy was engineered by radical presbyterians at the Glasgow Assembly lent authenticity to his work and accounts for its republication in 1641 prior to the outbreak of the first English civil war. Indeed, it is a measure of his influence that his work was used, at this time, to legitimise puritan demands for similar changes in the polity of the church of England. In a sermon delivered to the House of Commons on a day of public thanksgiving for the peace concluded between Scotland and England in September of 1641, Jeremiah Burroughs, an English minister, spoke of the National Covenant as an instrument "to defend his [God's] truth against Popery and Popish Innovations" and made an explicit reference to Brightman's prognostications concerning the Scottish church as the church of Philadelphia in order to lend weight to the call for ecclesiastical reform.⁵² Thus, at a time of political crisis in England when Charles I's puritan critics were becoming more vociferous in their denunciation of the established church's polity, Brightman's writings provided further grist for their political mill.

The general prevalence of millenarian views informed covenanting thinking throughout the seventeenth century and the eschatology, in turn, was evoked by the ideological élite of the movement, often, to inflame anticatholic opinion as a means of justifying political action. The millenarian dichotomy between good and evil as represented by the forces of Christ and the Antichrist was a recurring *leitmotif* of polemical thought. The paradigm was used by propagandists not only to explain their own motivation for political involvement but to define the *raison d'être* of the covenanting cause in general. During the petitioning campaign of 1637–38 when Archibald Johnston of Wariston decided to make a compilation of legislation pertaining to religiosity, the established church and the penal code against catholics which, subsequently, was

51. *Ibid.*, 6–7.

52. J. Burroughs, *Sions Joy. A sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons assembled in Parliament at their publique Thanksgiving. September 7. 1641 For the Peace concluded between England and Scotland* (London, 1641), 25–6.

incorporated into the National Covenant, he saw himself engaged in the profound, messianic task of "rebuilding Gods house, and casting doune the Kingdome of Antichryst, by collecting together a note of the most remarquable acts of Parlement for thir defective tymes".⁵³ Privately, too, he characterised the subscription campaign launched by royalists for the King's Covenant in September of 1638 in apocalyptic terms as the "devil taiking the Lords bou in his hand to outshoot him thairin, to kill him with his owin weapon": a strategy which, to his mind, exemplified "perfect Antichristianism, and the battel betwixt the draigon and Michael".⁵⁴ Such views were reflected in the declarations and pamphlets issued by the ideological élite for public consumption. Military assistance provided by Scotland for the English parliament under the provisions of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, for instance, was deemed essential and timely by the general assembly because of its interpretation of the English civil war as a struggle "betwixt the Lord Jesus and Antichrist".⁵⁵ Yet, despite the inference that the royalists' forces represented the ungodly, direct association of the king with the devil was not a common feature of early covenanting propaganda; on the contrary, Charles I was accorded a special rôle in the typology as a potential champion. In a tract of 1644, for example, Alexander Henderson as a spokesman for the commissioners of the general assembly made an appeal to the king – comparing him to Constantine, the first christian king – to lead a pan-protestant crusade against the Antichrist by becoming actively involved in the Thirty Years' War.⁵⁶ For Henderson, like many of his contemporaries, the Thirty Years' War was part of a protestant crusade for "putting down the Antichrist, and for enlarging of our Lord Christ's kingdom throughout the world".⁵⁷

53. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639, ed. G.M. Paul (Edinburgh, 1911), I, 275.

54. Ibid., 392-3.

55. A declaration of the reasons for assisting the Parliament of England, against the Papists and Prelaticall Army By the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland (London, 1643), 1.

56. A. Henderson, Reformation of Church-Government in Scotland, Cleared from some mistakes and prejudices: By the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, now at London (Edinburgh, 1644), 5a.

57. J. Aiton, The Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, giving a History of the Second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and of the Covenanters, During the Reign of Charles I (Edinburgh, 1836), 671. See also: Letters of Samuel Rutherford: With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents, ed. A.A. Bonar (Edinburgh, n.d.), 8.

As an organising principal of political culture, the millenarian equation of the godly engaged in the Lord's work *versus* the ungodly employed by the devil was an enduring feature of covenanting propaganda. But, in the radical manifestoes issued during the Restoration, there was a perceptible shift in the use of the paradigm; most notably, the increased willingness of propagandists to imply that the king himself represented the forces of the Antichrist. In the Queensferry Paper, subscribers pledged to "advance the Kingdom of Christ" and to "indevoure our outmost the exterpatione of the Kingdome of Darknese". In revoking their allegiance to Charles II and his administration as their "staited and declaired enemies", the radical covenanters put forward the view that they "reject that King and those that assocet with hime from being our rulers" on the grounds that state officials were "standing in the way of right free and peacablie serving of god propagating his Kingdome and Refirmatione and overthrowing Sathans Kingdomes According to our Covenant". They declared further that "non can luke upone us or judge us bond in aledgance to them unlese they say alsoe wee ar bound in aledgance to divills they being thir vicegerents and not gods".⁵⁸ When militant Cameronians in the Sanquhar Declaration declared war on Charles II "as a tyrant and usurper", it was suggested that the king and his government had promoted policies in church and state that "betray or delvyer up our said reformed mother church into bondage of Antichrist and pope of rome".⁵⁹ Identification of their royalist opponents as the millenarian, personification of evil was made more explicitly in an anonymous paper of 1686 entitled *Some reasons against the taking of the oath of abjuration quhich is now imposed wpon the inhabitants of the land*. Here, any who accepted a state-imposed oath renouncing the Apologetical Declaration were said to "receave the mark of the beast, for the enemies in ther proclamation call the passe quhich they grant wpon swearing the said oath to be a discriminating syne to make a deferance betwixt the good and the bad. Heir is the mark of the beast indeed". It proclaimed, as

58. S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/21/5, Robert Burnet, W.S. - Miscellaneous papers, 1641-1726, The Queensferry Paper. Printed versions of the Queensferry Paper are provided by R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (4 vols., 1828-30), III, 207-11 and G. Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents* (Edinburgh, 1974), 240-1.

59. University of Glasgow - Special Collections, Ms Gen 450, The Sanquhar Declaration 1680. Another manuscript copy of the Sanquhar Declaration is available in S.R.O., Ms GD16/46/35, Airlie Muniments. A printed version is found in Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 241-2.

well, that to swear the oath was to "acknowledge the tyranny of Charles II and the authoritie of Duke of York who believes it right to set up the limbe of Antichrist as head of church & state which is contrary to the end of gov[ernmen]t, our covenants, our acts of Parliament, the practise of our Church".⁶⁰

Chiliastic references to the utopian vision outlined in the scriptures involving the creation of a heaven on earth as represented by the appearance of a new Jerusalem which was preceded by a period of material and spiritual devastation were an integral part of covenanting, political discourse; providing authenticity and authority for their critique of the established order. They were evident in the pronouncements of Samuel Rutherford who, in circulatory letters which were written in the 1630s and, subsequently, reproduced for the next five decades by covenanting sympathisers, lamented the moral and spiritual degeneracy of the age and blamed the erosion of acceptable, christian values on the Caroline administration's attempts to alter church policy and polity.⁶¹ Use of the court of high commission to censure religious dissidents, for instance, prompted Rutherford in 1630 to issue a warning which was framed in apocalyptic terms:

We are in great fears of a great and fearfull trial to come upon the kirk of God; for these who would build their houses and nests upon the ashes of mourning Jerusalem, have drawn our King upon hard and dangerous conclusions against such as are termed Puritans, for the rooting them out. Our prelates ... assure us that, for such as will not conform, there is nothing but imprisonment and deprivation. ... All sorts of crying sins without controlement abound in our land.⁶²

According to George Gillespie in a tract issued in 1641, *Certaine Reasons tending to prove the unlawfulness and inexpediencie of all Diocesan Episcopacy (even the most moderate.) Together with some needfull points suddenly suggested considering the season. Untill by the good providence of God a more full and mature discourse may bee prepared and published (if neede so require,) by some better hand*, in which he refuted the argument that there was scriptural authority for diocesan episcopacy, removal of the office of bishops in the Scottish church as enacted at the Glasgow General Assembly of

⁶⁰. RPCS, XII, No. 903, 489-91.

⁶¹. Letters of Samuel Rutherford, 48, 79.

⁶². Ibid., 52.

1638 was an indication of the Millenium. For him, it was a confirmation that "God seemes of late to be in a veine of working miracles and miracles for us ... as if God were about a new creation, and as if the new heavens and the new earth were neere at hand, of which S[t]. John foretelleth.

Rev[elation]".⁶³ Thus, one source exploited by covenanting propagandists to provide a political motivation for adherents was the promise of salvation for the saints with its attendant reward that – as the radical, lay covenanter James Nimmo put it in the latter part of the seventeenth century – "thyn eys shall see Jerusalem".⁶⁴

Although covenanting aspirations and future expectations were projected through the use of messianic rhetoric, contemporary political conditions were interpreted, as well, by a selective reliance on apocalyptic imagery. This was especially the case during the post-Restoration period when the numerical strength and the political influence of the covenanting movement reached its nadir. Dissident literature, thus, laid emphasis on the "time of trouble" predicted in the book of Daniel which would precede the Second Coming. Circulatory letters drafted by the covenanting leadership which were both distributed to the rank and file and read out at illegal prayer meetings, stressed that the movement's loss of mass support and its adherents' status as outlaws was part of the divine plan. The use of apocalyptic language taken from the books of Daniel and Revelation including allusions to a "remnant", "merchants" and "shipmasters" whose mission was to carry on God's work in the face of adversity was thus a commonplace feature of the *communiqués*.⁶⁵

Radical covenanting declarations such as the Rutherglen Declaration of 1679 promulgated the messianic theme of a persecuted minority predestined to suffer at the hands of God's enemies prior

63. G. Gillespie, Certaine Reasons tending to prove the unlawfulness and inexpediencie of all Diocesan Episcopacy (even the most moderate). Together with some needfull points suddenly suggested considering the season. Untill by the good providence of God a more full and mature discourse may bee prepared and published (if neede so require) by some better hand ([Edinburgh?], 1641), 15.

64. Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo: Written for his own satisfaction to keep in some Remembrance the Lord's Way in Dealing and Kindness towards Him, 1654–1709, ed. W.G. Scott-Moncrieff (Edinburgh, 1889), 42.

65. S.R.O., Ms GD18/4391/2, Clerk of Penicuik Muniments; U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/32, Covenanting MSS, 'Letter from J. Renwick to Sir R. Hamilton dated Edinburgh 6 September 1682'; U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/19, Covenanting MSS, 'Letter from M. Shields to R. Hamilton dated Edinburgh 9 July 1684'; U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/46, Covenanting MSS, 'Letter from [J. Renwick] to [Sir R. Hamilton] [c. 1680s]'.

to the ultimate victory of the former over the latter.⁶⁶ Borrowing heavily on the imagery and language of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the Sanquhar Declaration of 1680, for instance, declared that,

It is not amongst the smallest of the lords mercies to this poor land that ther hes been allwayes some who have given ther testimonie aginst every course of defection which many wer guilty of which is a token for good that he does not as yet intend to cast us off altogether bot that he will leave a remnant in whom he will be glorious, if they throw his grace keep themselves clean still and walk in his wayes & method.⁶⁷

Indeed, in their public pronouncements, the prospect of relief from government persecution in the early 1680s was never entertained by covenanting polemicists because of their acceptance and promotion of the belief that devastation, armed conflict and suffering were – as foretold in scripture – a necessary prelude to the realisation of the apocalyptic vision. When radical Cameronians declared war on the state in the Queensferry Paper of 1681, they invoked a biblical inference from Revelation about the final stages of human development prior to the Last Judgement when the four kings would be succeeded and, ultimately, defeated by the rise of a fifth king by referring to themselves as “fifth monarchists”.⁶⁸ In assessing the efficacy of the state’s crackdown on conventicling in the early 1680s which had reduced the numbers of “true believers”, a leading militant, Sir Robert Hamilton, suggested that “he [God] will send seven tymes more plagues upon us untill our circumsised hearts be humbled & stoupe unto him; & we accept of this punishment of our Iniquity, then & not till then can we expect that the enemie shall not have such advantage aginst us”.⁶⁹

Therefore, the rhetoric and imagery of the chiliastic visions set out in the book of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John the Divine were a recurring feature of covenanting, mass domestic propaganda. Propagandists were able to exploit the rhetorical power of the apocalyptic paradigm

⁶⁶ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, The Sanquhar Declaration 1680, ‘The declaration and testimonie of the treue presbyterian Antiprelatick & Anti-Erastian persecuted pairite in Scotland’ dated ‘The Testimonie given at Rutherglen the 29th of May 1679’. A printed version is provided in Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, III, 212-3.

⁶⁷ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, Sanquhar Declaration; S.R.O., Ms GD16/46/35, Airlie Muniments.

⁶⁸ S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/21/5; Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, III, 210.

⁶⁹ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/11, Covenanting MSS, ‘Letter from Sir R. Hamilton to “worthy cussine”’ [n.d.].

because of the general acceptance and prevalence of millenarianism as a belief system in early modern Scotland. By linking their cause with the messianic world view, polemicists attempted to galvanise popular support through association, on the one hand, of the covenanters with the forces of light and, on the other hand, of their political opponents with the forces of darkness. This simple dichotomy imbued supporters of the movement with a hagiographical quality while, at the same time, it resulted in the demonisation of their enemies. Moreover, use of the protestant, millenarian interpretation of history not only lent some authority to covenanting political aspirations, but it provided a measure of justification for their political actions. Contemporary acceptance of the identification of the Antichrist with catholicism coupled with, what was considered, the inevitability of the prospect of Armageddon followed by heaven on earth helped legitimise the covenanting critique of the established order in church and state. By filtering their assessment of the movement's progress and supplying versions of its history based on the apocalyptic model, propagandists were able to inject, as well, a sense of currency, timeliness and urgency into their work. Thus, the efficacy of covenanting propaganda was reliant to a significant degree on the symbols and language of the Millennium to fuel anticatholic sentiment.

III.

Against this backdrop of conventional, protestant thinking, polemical efforts to stimulate populist anxieties about catholicism to advance the covenanting movement were undertaken, as well, through explicit attacks on their royalist opponents as agents, friends and sympathisers of the catholic cause. Branding adversaries along with their policies as popish was, potentially, one of the most politically damaging, propaganda tactics that could be utilised in early modern Scotland for it could weaken political credibility and impugn political motives thereby undermining any claims to good governance. However, as we shall see, propaganda efforts to link opponents with catholicism were neither indiscriminate in their selection of targets nor did they amount to mere name-calling; rather, they tended to display a modicum of restraint in their application. This was, partly, a consequence of

the prevailing political ethos and, partly, a result of the political change which occurred between the outbreak of the Scottish Revolution in 1637 and the settlement of the Revolution of 1688-89. Attitudes towards the institution of the monarchy and the person of the king, for instance, were altered by the political upheavals which marked the period; thus, there was a quantitative and qualitative difference in the covenanting movement's denunciations of members of the ruling Stewart dynasty as catholics, cryptocatholics or catholic sympathisers. Moreover, anticatholic rhetoric proved most effective when the propaganda attack reflected a willingness to comply with political convention, conforming to certain boundaries dictated by traditional norms and accepted beliefs. Like all good propaganda, too, the efficacy of such allegations rested, to some degree, on their credibility however tenuous. In addition, concerted attempts to stimulate anticatholic sentiment owed as much to political expediency as they did to any genuine fears of a catholic revival. As a result, claims of catholic sympathising levelled against opponents was, often, a convenient means of either augmenting or justifying political initiatives as well as failures as they transpired. Therefore, despite the emotive power of anticatholic rhetoric, its use and efficacy was circumscribed and subject to some limitations; causing a degree of caution, at times, in its invocation against opponents.

That the ideological élite of the covenanting movement was selective in its application of the catholic label was evident in the mass, domestic propaganda produced to discredit the Stewart monarchs. Polemical material generated during the 1630s and 1640s which criticised the kingship of Charles I, for instance, showed a marked reluctance to impugn the reputation of the king as a pious protestant. Whereas the policies of his administration concomitant with the royal advisors identified with promoting them as well as members of his family and court were branded, unequivocally, as popish, the king himself was never referred to, overtly, as a cryptocatholic or, equally falsely, as a catholic *per se* by covenanting propagandists. From the early 1630s, dissident presbyterian ministers like Samuel Rutherford insinuated that the trend in Caroline ecclesiastical policy towards the promotion of high church practices including conformity and centralisation of authority was inspired by hopes of a Counter-Reformation. When legislation was passed at the parliament of 1633 which sanctioned the crown's right to standardise clerical vestments, for instance, Rutherford

regarded it as a means to "impose the surplice and other mass-apparel".⁷⁰ During the petitioning campaign of 1637-38, the new liturgy and laws for the church outlined in the Book of Common Prayer and the Book of Canons were said to be replete with "popish superstition".⁷¹ Indeed, as we have seen, anticatholic propaganda served as one of the main themes of the opposition's formal protest against Caroline religious reforms, culminating in the rabidly anticatholic sections of the National Covenant of 1638. Typically, in a tract issued during the course of the campaign, *Reasons Why the Service-Booke was Refused of the Church of Scotland*, the new form of prescribed worship was rejected on the grounds that it placed ceremony and ritual above learned, *ex tempore* preaching thereby imitating the liturgical approach of the catholic church.⁷² This interpretation for the unpopularity of the religious innovations in kirk policy and polity continued to be echoed by English, puritan pamphleteers as part of their own campaign for the removal of the episcopacy in the church of England after the outbreak of the first civil war in 1642. Edward Bowles resorted to a gardening metaphor in 1643 to argue that the liturgical and canonical works initially prescribed for the Scottish church had been rejected because they were transplanted hybrids: "Southern Plants, being Slips of an Italiene Stocke, [which] could not endure this Northern Climate, but were sorely nipt".⁷³ The propaganda value of anticatholic rhetoric in helping to fuel the political tensions which affected Scotland was recognised in early 1638 by Robert Baillie:

The affections of both sydes dayly sunders more and more, and both gives to other new occasions of misinterpretations; the one puts poperie, idolatrie, superstition, in sundrie things which are innocent of these faults; they speak of the persones and actiones of men otherways then it becomes; they give appearance that for the changes already made, albeit no farder were, of their mind to separte. The other seemes wilfullie to add fewell to their flame; to command upon sole authoritie, without ever

⁷⁰ Letters of Samuel Rutherford, 481-2. James Row, an Edinburgh minister, viewed the change in clerical vestments as unseemly: "Scotlands sauve her ministers ganging in guid unles little short cloaks wee blacke velvett necks & theire little cloaks turners mare fundley to god, then ere the long gowunes dus but nowe yee shall see their pride full Prelates hurled upon doune ye Toun in braue coaches & dous silke gounds ther be a bra sight for the kirke o' Scotland". See: N.L.S., MSS 498 f. 5, 'A sermon preached att St Giles'.

⁷¹ S.R.O., Ms GD 16/46/40, Airlie Muniments.

⁷² L. Hughes, *Reasons Why the Service-Booke was Refused of the Church of Scotland in Certain Grievances, or, The Popish Errors and Ungodlinesse of so much of the Service Book as is Antichristian. Plainly laid open, by way of Conference between a Countrey Gentleman and a Minister of Gods Word* (London, 1642), 51-7.

⁷³ E. Bowles, *The mysterie of iniquitie, yet working in the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the destruction of religion truly Protestant* (London, [1643]), 17.

ceasing the advyce of any, (so farr as we can hear) if such things be expedient, yea, if they be lawfull.⁷⁴

That a modern analysis reveals that the prayer book itself was thoroughly anglican not catholic is indisputable;⁷⁵ however, given the depth of anticatholic feeling, it was more strategically worthwhile for polemicists to associate the changes proposed for the Scottish church more directly with catholicism.

The political integrity of the Caroline administration was questioned, too, through attempts to stimulate protestant anxieties about catholicism by levelling accusations against royal advisors that they, themselves, were cryptocatholics working, in concert with Rome, to alter the established order in church and state by effecting a Counter-Reformation. Typically, invocation of a popish plot *scenario* by covenanting polemicists insinuated that the episcopate was involved in an international, catholic conspiracy to destabilise the multiple kingdom. Such claims were articulated most vociferously in response to the Prayer Book Controversy of 1637 and to the debate on ecclesiastical conformity with England in the early 1640s. Among the litany of complaints cited in 1638 to justify the Glasgow General Assembly's decision to excommunicate and depose bishops were charges of catholic leanings which led to a dereliction of duty - in "relaxing excommunicated Papists" and "in preaching heresy and corrupt doctrine, Popery, Arminianism, & c." - and accounted for the bishops' complicity in "bringing in innovations in the worship of God, such as the superstitious service-book, tyrannous book of canons and book of ordination".⁷⁶ Thus, bishops were condemned as "enemies of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ" who had been "friends to the enemies of Christ, the Antichrist" for they "would not have the Roman church called Antichristian, but have disputed for her, and maintained affirmatively, that she is the true church".⁷⁷ Such claims had an added resonance because of the appearance of a tract in 1638 containing the sensational revelations of a converted Jesuit, Thomas Abernethy, about

74. The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M. Principal of the University of Glasgow. MDCXXXVII - DCLXII (3 vols., 1841), I, 5.

75. G. Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 (Edinburgh, 1954).

76. A. Henderson, The Bishops Doom. A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly which sat at Glasgow anno 1638. On occasion of pronouncing the sentence of the greater excommunication against eight of the bishops and deposing or suspending the other six (Edinburgh, 1792), 29-31.

77. Ibid., 25-6.

the degree of catholic influence in Scotland.⁷⁸ In *A Declaration and brotherly exhortation of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland mett at Edinburgh 20 August 1647, To their Brethren of England* in which a retrospective assessment of the partnership between the covenanting régime and the English parliamentarians to date was offered, emphasis was given to their joint success in "shaking off the yoke of prelatieall turranny, and of popish ceremonies".⁷⁹ An English tract alleged that bishops in promulgating Caroline religious innovations in Scotland were acting as papal agents; especially, the archbishop of St. Andrews and the Chancellor, John Spottiswoode, who was accused of using his political influence "to facilitate an Accomodation with England first, and so with Rome".⁸⁰ Although Spottiswoode was not condemned, specifically, for initiating the administration's religious policy, he was blamed for the régime's methods in suppressing dissent. In an allusion to the court of high commision and its methods of censuring radical presbyterian opponents, it was said that the Chancellor - a "deepe and subtle Dissembler" - had "discouraged and extirpated by degrees, and under divers pretexts, most of the faithfull Ministers there; and had he been left to his owne Politicks, in which he was beyond his Patron Canterbury, in probabilitie, he had made the condition of that Nation almost desperate".⁸¹ Thus, by emphasizing that the bishops, as opposed to the crown, were responsible for unpopular policies designed to enhance the catholic cause, propagandists adopted a traditional approach in their criticism of the established order. In line with early modern political convention, bishops were cast as the 'evil councillors' - "a useful ploy politically"⁸² - to deflect criticism from the monarchy for a failure in good governance.

Characterisation of the episcopate as catholic fellow travellers and agents was, also, an integral part of the debate on religious uniformity in the multiple kingdom. In a series of pamphlets dating from 1641 which questioned the legitimacy of the office of bishop and called for their removal

⁷⁸. T. Abernethy, *Abjuration of Poperie* (Edinburgh, 1638). Discussion of Abernethy's public career is provided by A. Roberts, 'Thomas Abernethy, Jesuit and Covenanter' in *RSCHS*, XXIV-pt2 (1991), 141-160.

⁷⁹. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/101 f. 2, Dalhousie Muniments, 'A Declaration and brotherly exhortation of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland mett at Edinburgh 20 August 1647, To their Brethren of England'.

⁸⁰. Bowles, *The mysterie of iniquity*, 16.

⁸¹. *Ibid.*

⁸². Stevenson, *The Covenanters*, 26.

from the English church to conform with Scottish church polity, Alexander Henderson denounced bishops as the "reliques of popery" and "friends to the Antichristian church"; declaring that "Rome and Spain may be glad at the retaining of the name of Bishops".⁸³ Prior to the outbreak of the first civil war in England in 1642 when settlement of the religious question – the *causus belli* according to many contemporaries – remained elusive, the blame fell, invariably, on the "Malignant party of Papists and evill-affected persons, especially of the corrupt and dissolute Clergy by the incitement and instigation of Bishops and others".⁸⁴ Similarly, the moral, political and constitutional justification for Scotland's extension of military assistance to the English parliamentary régime, as specified in the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, centred on the perception promoted by covenanting ideologues that any attempt to resolve the differences in church polity and policy between the king and parliament had been frustrated by the bishops in league with catholics and royalists. Typically, as in *The Declaration of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland: Concerning the present expedition into England, according to the Commission and Order given from their Meeting at Edinburgh, August, 1643*, it was declared that attempts to settle religion, peacefully, and prevent further martial conflict had failed "so prevelent were the counsels of the Popish, Prelaticall, and the Malignant party".⁸⁵ Perceived as an ally of puritan interests in the church of England, the general assembly in a letter from the synod of Zealand which was published as a tract in 1643 was reminded of its

⁸³. A. Henderson, The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1641), A5; Henderson, The Bishops Doom, 25–6; A. Henderson, Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty perswading Conformity of Church government, as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations (In.p.), 1641), 9.

⁸⁴. A. Henderson, The Scotts Declaration in Answer to the Declaration, sent unto them by their Commissioners now at London, From the Honourable Houses of Parliament of England: Expressing their Care to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood; And their Affections to Reformation both to Kirk and State (London, 1642), 10.

⁸⁵. The Declaration of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland: Concerning the present expedition into England, according to the Commission and Order given from their Meeting at Edinburgh, August, 1643 (London, 1643), 2–3.

obligations to help preserve puritan gains in liturgical matters; for, otherwise, a reversion to Laudian Arminianism would "only encourage Papal agents in their plots and work".⁸⁶

Charles I was not immune, however, from inferences that he was a catholic sympathiser. The presence of prominent catholics at court who, it was feared, exerted undue influence on the king thereby colouring his administration's policies gave rise to this claim. One anonymous pamphleteer thus spoke of "a Jesuited faction, about the Court and in the Kingdome, whose Counsellis have been deepe to contrive the ruine of Parliament and Kingdome".⁸⁷ The impact of a catholic presence on the morality of the court was of concern too. In a petition to the king, the general assembly suggested that the licentious behaviour of courtiers which manifested itself in "publicke scandals and much prophanes" was attributable to catholic influence.⁸⁸ However, polemical denunciation of the catholic dominance of the Caroline court centred, most often, on the queen, Henrietta Maria. As a devout catholic, her reliance on a dozen priests as well as a bishop in her household to minister to her spiritual needs and devotions provoked criticism.⁸⁹ In sermons dating from the late 1630s, covenanting ministers questioned the suitability of a French, catholic as a marriage partner for the king. Citing both the religiosity and nationality of Henrietta Maria as negative factors, they decried the fact that she was not only a catholic but a foreigner as well.⁹⁰ The general assembly of 1645, in a

⁸⁶. A Letter from the Synod of Zeland to the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland: Written by them in Latin, and now faithfully translated into English: Expressing 1. Their fellow- feeling of the present condition of the kirks of Ireland and England, & exciting us to the like. 2. Their respects and affection to the Kirk of Scotland. 3. Their zeal to the Reformation of the Kirk of England, in Government and Ceremonies, and to the preservation of Religion there, Against the pride of Popery at this time. 4. And their desire of Unitie in Religion, and Uniformity of kirk-government in his Majesties Dominions (Edinburgh, 1643), 15-8.

⁸⁷. Plaine Scottish, or, Newes from Scotland. Part therof being the Copy of a Letter sent from Edenburgh: And the substance of the Rest being by word of mouth imparted to a Friend in London, by some of no small estimation in that kingdom (London, 1643), 6.

⁸⁸. The Remonstrance of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland To His Maiestie. Sent from the Committee of both Kingdoms the 12 of June last to Sir Thomas Fairfax to be by him sent with a Trumpeter to His Majesties Quarters. Together with an open Letter from the Commissioners of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland here at London to His Majesties principall secretary, desiring him to deliver the Remonstrance to the King, With an Answer of the Lord Digby of the 25 of June to that Letter directed to the right Honourable the Earle of Loudon Lord Chancellour of Scotland (London, 1645), 4.

⁸⁹. Havran, Caroline England, 49.

⁹⁰. U.G.S.C., MS Gen 32/2i, 51b, Sermons by Covenanters: 'A Colection of Seventy Valuable Lecturs and sermons preached mostly in the time of the late persecution by those iminent servants of Jesus Christ Messrs David Dickson, Wm Guthrie, Jo Welch, Jo Blackadder, M Bruce, Gab Semple, Jo Dickson, Ro Fleeming, Jam Hamilton, and Alex Shields, transcribed by Jo Howie from several manuscripts about the years 1778-79 &c'.

remonstrance to the king – authorised by the committee of both kingdoms and printed as a tract – urging him not to reject the current peace settlement, declared that Charles brought himself and his throne into disrepute, by “permitting the Masse and other Idolatry, both in your owne family, and in your Dominions”.⁹¹ Fears of a catholic revival stemmed from the assumption that a catholic queen gave encouragement to her co-religionists, by sponsoring foreign priests and by example, to practise their faith. Such anxieties prompted Alexander Henderson as a commissioner of the general assembly to call, in 1643, for Henrietta Maria to convert from catholicism to protestantism as one of the principal means “to rid the kingdom of popery”.⁹² David Dickson in a tract published contemporaneously, entitled *The Answer of the Generall Assembly in Scotland, To the letter of some of their Reverend Brethren of the Ministry in England, sent by Mr Marshall, and Mr Nye to the said Assembly*, emphasised the importance of the “queen’s deliverance from popery”.⁹³ Similarly, an anonymous pamphleteer reported that an Irish minister, Moses O Neale, at a church service in Edinburgh in 1643 prayed for the queen’s conversion to protestantism.⁹⁴

The religiosity of Henrietta Maria was a pressing issue not only because of the ecclesiastical and constitutional implications but because of the queen’s involvement in public affairs. To some extent, the vacuum created by the death in 1629 of the duke of Buckingham, the king’s closest confidante and adviser, was filled by Henrietta Maria since, from that time on, she was more actively involved in counselling the king. After the outbreak of the Scottish Revolution, she participated in innumerable schemes for the acquisition of foreign troops and financing; notably, from the Spanish crown and the papacy prior to the first Bishops’ War in 1638–39.⁹⁵ The scope of her political involvement was illustrated, too, by the Antrim Plot of 1643. Although royalist plans for a military

⁹¹. Remonstrance of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, 4.

⁹². A. Henderson, The Humble Petition of the Commissioners of the General Assembly to the Kings Majesty. Their Declaration sent to the Parliament of England. Their Letter to some Brethren of the Ministry there. And their commission to their Brither Master Alexander Henderson January 1643 (Edinburgh, 1643), 2.

⁹³. D. Dickson, The Answer of the Generall Assembly in Scotland, To the letter of some of their Reverend Brethren of the Ministry in England, sent by Mr Marshall, and Mr Nye to the said Assembly (London, 1643), 3.

⁹⁴. Plaine Scottish, or, Newes from Scotland, 2.

⁹⁵. For a general synopsis of the negotiating process for Spanish troops and papal subsidies in preparation for the first Bishops War see: Hibbard, Charles I, 104–8.

invasion were foiled in June of 1643 when a series of letters that had been sent by two Scottish nobles – Robert, earl of Nithsdale, and James Gordon, Viscount Aboyne – to a prominent, Irish catholic noble, Randal MacDonnel, earl of Antrim, were intercepted, they gave some indication of the queen's ambitions for a military victory.⁹⁶ The nine papers contained details of a project that had been contemplated since the summer of 1638 with Charles' backing involving the takeover of the Highlands by an Irish expeditionary force.⁹⁷ In their subsequent march southward, the Irish troops under the command of the earl of Antrim planned to augment their numbers with Scottish catholics to attain a military strength of 20,000 troops.⁹⁸ While Nithsdale and Aboyne were tried and found guilty of treason *in absentia*,⁹⁹ the most politically damaging aspect of the aborted invasion for the royalist cause was the revelation of the queen's complicity. It forced the king to issue not only a categorical denial of Henrietta Maria's involvement – and by extension his own – but an order for an official investigation to identify and prosecute the "rayzers and divilgers of such a false scandall".¹⁰⁰ Thus, the covenanting régime's attacks on the queen for her "intermeddleing in matters of religion or publict affaires"¹⁰¹ were not merely a transparent device to deflect criticism from the king but, in addition, they arose from her own considerable political clout. The cumulative effect of the public pronouncements made by the covenanters against Henrietta Maria, then, was that she came to symbolise the Caroline administration's alleged complicity in promoting the international, catholic cause.

Attempts by royalists to counter allegations of crypto-catholicism levelled at the king and his administration, while often vigorous, proved largely ineffectual. Outright denials by Charles

⁹⁶. *RPCS*, VII, 436; *Selected Justiciary Cases, 1624-1650*, ed. S.A. Gillon (Stair Society, 1953), III, 572-4. Caroline Hibbard suggests that the scheme was initially organised by George Con, the papal agent. See: Hibbard, *Charles I*, 94-6.

⁹⁷. For discussion of the Antrim Plot see: D. Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 270-83; Hibbard, *Charles I*, 94-6.

⁹⁸. *RPCS*, VII, 443. The council's declaration outlining the plan which charged Nithsdale and Aboyne with treason was published as a declaration for distribution in burghs.

⁹⁹. *Selected Justiciary Cases*, III, 513.

¹⁰⁰. *RPCS*, VII, No. 382, 649.

¹⁰¹. S.R.O., Ms PA 7/24 f. 233-4, *Parliamentary and State Papers, 1531-1651*.

that he was "popishlie affected"¹⁰² were compromised, for instance, by his acknowledged reliance on catholics for men, money and material to supply his army: a condition justified by the king on the grounds that the "eminent abilities and modest disposition of some few of that profession hath moved us in this great extremitie to make use of their fidelities".¹⁰³ The issue of catholic, political influence tended to be inadequately addressed, too, because of Charles's conviction that it lacked substance and that it was merely a propaganda device manufactured by his opponents to attack royal prerogative and monarchical authority. When the commissioners of the general assembly sent a petition to the king in 1642 which enumerated convenanting disquietude about, in general, the growth of catholic influence in England and Ireland and, in particular, the success of catholic armies in Ireland and England, Charles's duty to alleviate the fear of catholicism was stressed as essential for the protection of the existing ecclesiastical and civil order. It was imperative for him, as the petition stated, to be aware of "how much danger from the power of so malicious and bloody Enemies is apprehended to the Religion and Peace of this kirke and kingdome".¹⁰⁴ Rather than address the message, the king attacked the messengers. Since the petition was printed and distributed in Scotland by order of the general assembly commissioners without royal sanction, he took it as an affront to royal dignity by "Scandalling of Our well-affected Subjects who may interpret the bitternesse and sharpnesse of some Expressions not to be so agreeable to that regard and Reverence which is due Our Person".¹⁰⁵ As well, the authority of the commissioners to issue a statement on matters which were outwith their jurisdiction since they pertained to English and Irish affairs was questioned.¹⁰⁶ As for the specific allegations of catholic sympathising, Charles tended to be dismissive of them; declaring that they were groundless and that they were part of a campaign of misinformation generated by

¹⁰². RPCS, VII, 258.

¹⁰³. Ibid., 372.

¹⁰⁴. To the King's Most Excellent Majesty The Humble Petition of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, 6.

¹⁰⁵. Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁶. Ibid., 8.

troublemakers.¹⁰⁷ Even the efficacy of published declarations in which the king adamantly denied the speculations that he was sympathetic to catholics tended to be undercut by his impulse to interpret the charges as a propaganda assault on monarchical authority. A case in point was an English proclamation that was reprinted in Edinburgh for distribution in Scotland in 1642. In *His Maiesties Declaration To All His Loving Subjects: Published with the advice of His Privie Councell*, Charles was unequivocal in his refutation of the rumours that he was disposed, favourably, towards catholicism; nonetheless, he showed greater concern for the alacrity with which polemicists were able to air their views in public.¹⁰⁸ He therefore ordered the privy council to "proceed with all speed against such, and their Abettors, who either by writing or words, have so boldly and malliciously violated the Laws, disturbed the peace of the Commonwealth; and as much as in them lies, shaken the very foundation upon which the peace and happiness is founded and constituted".¹⁰⁹

Exploitation of the catholic threat was used by royalist propagandists themselves in an attempt to politically discredit their opponents. Indeed, use of the early modern convention which associated puritan attitudes towards sovereignty and the legitimacy of armed resistance with those expressed by Jesuits became a "staple of royalist polemic and historiography".¹¹⁰ In terms of the covenanters, claims of catholic influence on the movement were voiced, initially, by the king in the late-1630s. Charles contended that covenanting activists were fifth columnists in the pay of Rome bent on subverting the established order in England for the benefit of foreign, catholic powers. Consequently, he accused the disaffected leadership of deliberately attempting to foment divisions between ruler and ruled as well as create conflict within the political nation; in other words, 'subversion by division'.¹¹¹ For their part, royalist propagandists assiduously cultivated the traditional, political axiom that Calvinist resistance theory owed much to Jesuit thinking. Pamphlets such as *Puritano-Jesuitismus*,

107. *Ibid.*, 9.

108. *Charles I, His Maiesties Declaration To All His Loving Subjects: Published with the advice of His Privie Councell* (Edinburgh, 1642), 3-4.

109. *Ibid.*, 5.

110. Hibbard, *Charles I*, 15.

111. *Ibid.*, 14-5.

The Puritan Turn'd Jesuite, or Rather Outvying him in those Diabolicall and dangerous Positions, of the Deposition of Kings; from the yeare, 1536. untill this present time; extracted out of the most ancient and authentick authors. Shewing their concord in the matter, their discord in the manner of their sedition offered a comparative analysis of excerpts from puritan and Jesuit writings on the question of monarchical authority and tyranny, largely, to demonstrate their similarities.¹¹² Full expression was given to the thesis in a well-known tract penned in 1640 by a deprived minister, John Corbet, which was entitled *The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Society of Jesu, to the Covenanters in Scotland, wherein is paralleled our sweet Harmony and Correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice*. Writing in a satirical style that was highlighted by the employment of a fictitious, narrative voice cast in a Jesuit *persona*, Corbet drew parallels between the ideology and objectives of the covenanting movement and that of the sixteenth-century, catholic Holy League. Depiction of David Leslie, the covenanting general, as a latter-day version of Ignatius Loyola, the Spanish soldier and priest who founded the Society of Jesus, underlined the comparison made between the covenanters and the Jesuits. It was argued that the essential aims of both organisations were compatible since each advocated the legitimacy of ecclesiastical censure of princes including the right to excommunicate and depose rulers and, in extreme cases, the necessity of regicide.¹¹³ Corbet's pamphlet - which, initially, was attributed to John Maxwell, the bishop of Ross - evoked a direct response from covenanting apologists. Both Sir William Mure in a poem, *Counterbluff*, and Robert Baillie in a tract, *Ladensium*, for example, put forward a rebuttal of the theory to show that covenanting ideology offered no challenge to monarchical authority.¹¹⁴

112. D. Owen, *Puritano-Jesuitismus, The Puritan Turn'd Jesuite, or Rather Outvying him in those Diabolicall and dangerous Positions, of the Deposition of Kings; from the yeare, 1536. untill this present time; extracted out of the most ancient and authentick authors. Shewing their concord in the matter, their discord in the manner of their sedition* (London, 1643).

113. J. Corbet, *The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Society of Jesu, to the Covenanters in Scotland, wherein is paralleled our sweet Harmony and Correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice* (London, 1640), 59-60. Excerpts of the tract are printed in D. Reid, *The Party-Coloured Mind: Selected Prose relating to the conflict between Church and State in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), 65-9.

114. R.D.S. Jack, 'Sir William Mure and the Covenant' in *RSCHS*, XVII, i, (1969), 6; Reid, *The Party-Coloured Mind*, 64.

One of the most ambitious campaigns to diffuse allegations of pro-catholic sentiment involved the King's Covenant: alternatively known as the King's Confession. Although it was conceived by the marquis of Hamilton in September of 1638 as a political device to counter radical presbyterian aspirations for the disestablishment of the episcopacy – which they hoped to fulfill at a meeting of the general assembly planned for Glasgow later in the year¹¹⁵ – the King's Covenant was, also, a royalist disclaimer to the charges of catholic sympathising. More importantly, as a public band, it was the definitive royalist answer to the National Covenant. It was designed to test and challenge the popularity of the covenanting bond on its own grounds by requiring that all government officials and ministers sign it; by offering it for public subscription; and, by making parish ministers responsible for reporting recalcitrants to the privy council.¹¹⁶ In a letter to his councillors dated 9 Sept 1638, Charles observed that the present political disorders had been "occassioned upon jealousies and feares of innovation of religion and lawes as tending to the introduction of poperie, and not without some suspicion as if ourselfe wer inclynned that way".¹¹⁷ Conscious of the need to combat covenanting claims of both the pro-catholic tendencies of his administration and the growing influence of a catholic element at court, the king therefore ordered that the Negative Confession of 1581 and the band of 1589 – which had been signed, originally, by his father, James VI, and members of the Jacobean administration and court – be prepared for public subscription.¹¹⁸ Through formal affirmation of his commitment to the reformed religion with this traditional device, he hoped to give "full satisfaction to thame and to all the world that we never intended the least alteration in the same, and to free our good subjects from all suspicions and feares in that kynd".¹¹⁹ Thus, as in the 1580s, fear of catholicism coupled with apprehensions fuelled by the presence of catholics among the king's confidantes in the 1630s prompted a disclaimer.

115. A.I. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641 (Edinburgh, 1991), 185.

116. RPCS, VII, 74.

117. Ibid., 73.

118. Ibid., 73-4. The Confession of Faith had also been used again in 1590 by order of the general assembly.

119. Ibid.

The format of the King's Covenant was closely patterned after that of the National Covenant, beginning with the Jacobean Negative Confession that was recognised and accepted by all Church of Scotland communicants and ending with a general band of mutual support. Where they differed most, stylistically, was the omission in the King's Covenant of the list of post-Reformation, anticatholic laws which was incorporated into the National Covenant: a distinction which, nonetheless, did not negate the decidedly anticatholic tone and ideological content of the former. Inclusion of the Negative Confession in the first section of the royalist covenant, for instance, made this manifest. Here, signators affirmed their adherence to five, inter-related conditions: first, recognition of protestantism as the "true christian faith" and as the received belief of the Church of Scotland, the crown and the three estates; secondly, denunciation of catholicism with pledges to "abhorre and detest all contrarie religion and doctrine, but cheeflie all kynd of papistrie" and to "refuse the usurped authoritie of that Roman Antichrist" and all catholic doctrine, symbols and imagery; thirdly, rejection of all innovations introduced into the kirk "without or aganis the word of God and doctrine of this true reformed kirk"; fourthly, commitment to defend the "doctrine and discipline of this kirk ... according to our vocation and power all the dayes of our lyves"; and, finally, allegiance to the king's "person and auctoritie ... in the defense of Christ evangell, liberties of our countrie, ministration of justice and punishment of iniquitie" because the "quyetnes and stabilitie of our religion and kirk doth depend upon the saifetie and good behaviour of the King's Majestie as upon a comfortable instrument of Gods mercie grantit to this countree for the maintenance of his kirk and ministration of justice among us".¹²⁰ Moreover, in the last part of the King's Covenant, the general band, the threat posed by catholicism to the reformed religion was emphasised. Subscribers, thus, recognised the significance of protestantism in maintaining political stability along with the vital rôle played by the king as a "zealous and religious prince". Given the perceived threat from the "anti-christian league and confederacies" of catholics, they not only promised to suppress all manifestations of catholicism but they swore to provide military support in response to any royal summons "aganis whatsoever

¹²⁰. For all of the above references see: *ibid.*, 67-9.

forrane or intestine powers or papists and thair partakers sall arrive or rise within this yland". Additionally, signators pledged to assist and defend one another "in all and whatsoever querrells, actions, debats" which might arise. Finally, although they agreed to end all private feuds for the greater good, there was, nonetheless, a dispute mechanism put in place to allow "seven or five indifferent freinds chosin by his Majestie" to arbitrate any differences which could not be settled by recourse to law.¹²¹ Therefore, ostensibly, the King's Covenant was a testimony to its subscribers' abhorrence of catholicism; yet, in reality, it was drawn up to curb the political gains of protestant opponents of the Caroline administration. While the king justified the oath as an offensive mechanism in the face of an internationally-based catholic threat, it was, in fact, a defensive response to the success of the National Covenant.

Despite royalist ambitions for a nation-wide subscription campaign, response to the King's Covenant was muted. Support among members of the political nation was forthcoming with an initial copy of the document listing sixteen earls and a marquis;¹²² yet, broader acceptance proved more elusive. While, approximately, 28,000 signatures were collected before the end of 1638, subscribers tended to be concentrated in the northeast and central Highlands where the influence of regional magnates such as the earl of Huntly helped ensure their compliance.¹²³ However, even among the crown's staunchest supporters in the conservative north, a willingness to commit to the King's Covenant was hampered by controversy. In Aberdeen, for instance, where anticovenanting sentiment, as articulated by the Aberdeen Doctors earlier in the year, was strong among both the town oligarchy and the general populace compared to the other burghs and where advocacy of the royalist band therefore seemed assured, the King's Covenant was signed, often, only with qualifications. Two of the earliest signators, Robert Baron and James Sibbald, who were

¹²¹. *Ibid.*, 69-72.

¹²². *Ibid.* There were thirty individuals who appended their name to the bond according to the privy council records including seventeen holding the rank earl or above; that is, "Hamilton, Traquair, Roxburgh, Mairshell, Mar, Murrey, Linlithgow, Perth, Wigton, Kinghorne, Tullibardin, Hadintoun, Annandall, Lauderdaill, Kinnoull, Dumfreis and Southesk". Other members of the landed estates included "Belheaven, Angus, Lorne, Elphinstone, Naper, Daljell, Amont, J. Hay, S. Thomas Hop, S.W. Elphiston, Ja Carmichael, F. Hamilton Blakhall".

¹²³. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 185.

ministers in the burgh insisted that in doing so "they do not understand Perth articles and Episcopall government, or any doctrine, rite or ceremony not repugnant to scripture, or to the practice of the ancient or moderne reformed and sound churches" to be condemned by the King's Covenant.¹²⁴ Indeed, this issue of whether the King's Covenant included a reaffirmation of episcopacy prompted the Caroline administration to issue print material clarifying the oath's intent. In an untitled, printed pamphlet signed by the marquis of Hamilton, for example, the question was discussed in some detail and it reached the conclusion that the King's Covenant did not abjure episcopacy. To reinforce the point, a list of legislation relating to the establishment of the office of bishop between 1567 and 1617 was appended to the tract with explanatory notes and examples to validate the episcopal system of church government.¹²⁵

But, the inability of royalists to generate popular enthusiasm for the King's Covenant that was comparable to the National Covenant was not only attributable to the evident confusion over its purpose. The organisational acumen displayed, previously, by the king's opponents in rallying the country behind the national subscription campaign for the National Covenant proved difficult to replicate. Neither the commissioners appointed to oversee the gathering of subscriptions nor the parish ministers responsible for enforcing the royal edict by reporting recalcitrants were committed, overwhelmingly, to the king's cause; rather, the majority were covenanting activists who showed little inclination to promote, what was viewed as, a rival band.¹²⁶ It was the covenanting reaction to the King's Covenant, however, that helped ensure its failure in garnering popular support. Official release of Charles' proclamation ordering adherence to the King's Covenant on 22 September was greeted that same day by the reading of a formal protestation at Edinburgh's market cross by Archibald Johnston of Wariston on behalf of the dissident

¹²⁴. Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, vol. 1643-1747, 138.

¹²⁵. S.R.O., Ms GD16/50/4, Airlie Muniments.

¹²⁶. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 185. In theory, local ministers were responsible for gathering names of those in their parish who refused the subscription and, if they failed to co-operate in compiling the lists, they were to be fined £40 which was to be deducted from their stipends. However, it is doubtful if many complied or, indeed, if any were fined because of the general weakness of royal authority at this time.

leadership.¹²⁷ This petition was, in turn, printed as a pamphlet for public distribution, entitled *The Protestation of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Borrowes, Ministers and Commons, subscribers of the Confession of Faith and Covenant, lately renewed within the Kingdom of Scotland, made at the Mercate Crosse of Edinburgh the 22 of September immediately after the reading of the proclamation*.¹²⁸ Directives detailing the methodology, style and content of petitioning to be utilised against the provision for mandatory, public subscription of the King's Covenant throughout Scotland were issued by the covenanting leadership. The format recommended for the burghs was outlined in *The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh when the Late proclama[tio]n published at Edinburghe the 22 of September shall happin to be proclaimed containing some reasons against the subscription of the confession without the explicatio[n], which hath bein so solemntie sworne and subscriyved by us*.¹²⁹ As part of the campaign, a co-ordinated propaganda effort was launched involving the broad distribution of tracts and broadsheets that offered a wide-ranging critique of the King's Covenant. A document composed by Archibald Johnston on 24 September outlining "six neu arguments against this neu politick oath" served as the basis of the propaganda attack.¹³⁰ Prepared, originally, for presentation at meetings of the "lords and barons" to make them "mor sensible of it",¹³¹ handwritten copies of the paper appeared as a broadsheet, *Reasones againes the new oathe and subscription*, which circulated throughout much of the country.¹³² Moreover, anonymous pamphleteers such as the writer of *Some reasons against the New politick subscriptione* borrowed heavily from the arguments marshalled by Johnston to dissuade potential signators.¹³³

127. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, I, 392.

128. The Protestation of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Borrowes, Ministers and Commons, subscribers of the Confession of Faith and Covenant, lately renewed within the Kingdom of Scotland, made at the Mercate Crosse of Edinburgh the 22 of September immediately after the reading of the proclamation (Edinburgh, 1638).

129. S.R.O., Ms GD 16/15/3, 'The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh'.

130. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, I, 392.

131. Ibid.

132. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/42, Dalhousie Muniments, 'Reasones againes the new oathe and subscription'.

133. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/41, Dalhousie Muniments, 'Some reasons against the New politick subscriptione'.

In general, the public debate initiated by the polemicists against the King's Covenant centred on a mixture of religious, political and moral objections. First, in terms of religion, much was made of the royalist band's implicit support for episcopal polity in the established church which, as one pamphleteer argued, made it unacceptable for "we have sowne to forbear the approba[tio]ne therof".¹³⁴ The contention was made, too, that the King's Covenant was part of an episcopal "plott to subvert our Covenant" with the bishops subscribing it "albeit contrare ever (to their profession) deceitfully and against Ther oune consciences".¹³⁵ That it failed to address covenanting grievances about the introduction of religious innovations as exemplified by the Caroline Prayer Book and the Book of Canons was emphasised as well.¹³⁶ Both broadsheets and directives, for example, maintained that since the new liturgy and the canons – although withdrawn from usage – had not been rejected by the king that an ambiguity in policy existed creating confusion and thus lending encouragement to "popery".¹³⁷ Secondly, in political terms, the King's Covenant was denounced as erastian, representing not only the worst aspects of state intervention in ecclesiastical affairs but impinging on an individual's conscience: a view which prompted the remark that "It is most horrible to make religion subservient to policie, and anie confession of faith to traill at the heels of men's pleasure for obedience".¹³⁸ As well, constitutional arguments were set forth pointing out that since the King's Covenant was imposed by royal decree, it impinged on the authority of the generall assembly in religious matters. It was contended, too, that in neglecting to consult a general assembly – or, indeed, a parliament – that the validity of the king's proclamation could be questioned.¹³⁹ Finally, in moral terms, concern

¹³⁴. *Ibid.*, f. 1.

¹³⁵. *Ibid.* In his diary, Archibald Johnston contended that the "comun people" declared "God saive the king; bot away with bischops, thes traitors to God and man, or any uther covenant bot our owing". See: *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, I, 392.

¹³⁶. *Ibid.*, f. 1; S.R.O., Ms GD 16/15/3, 'The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh'; S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/42, 'Reasones againes the new oathe'.

¹³⁷. S.R.O., Ms GD 16/15/3, 'The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh'; S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/42, 'Reasones againes the new oathe'.

¹³⁸. S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/41, 'Some reasons against the New politick subscriptione', f. 2.

¹³⁹. S.R.O., Ms GD 16/15/3, 'The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh'; S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/42, 'Reasones againes the new oathe'.

about the King's Covenant centred on the implications that it had for the concept of banding in general. If those who had already taken the National Covenant were to subscribe it, it was maintained that their commitment to the concept of a covenant would be suspect. For the Scottish people to embrace this royal oath therefore trivialised the act of communal banding; making it appear that they were merely playing with oaths "as children doe with their toyes, without necessitie".¹⁴⁰ Thus, it was asserted that "we are not to multiplie solemne oathes and covenants upon our part" for to do so would make them seem like "transgressors in making rashe vowes".¹⁴¹ Concern was voiced that the image of the covenanting movement – elsewhere in Britain and on the continent – would be tarnished by subscribing another covenant, in that, it was suggestive of capriciousness: "that our faith changeth with the mounie or once the year. Other reformed churches may justlie wonder at our inconstancie in changing our confession without one reall necessitie".¹⁴² Therefore, a combination of religious, political and moral arguments were employed as a means of persuading the country at large not to subscribe the King's Covenant.

The potential, political implications of the King's Covenant were also of prime importance in the propaganda debate. A variety of scruples were addressed concerning the impact that the King's Covenant might have on public opinion in general and, if in eliciting a favourable response, whether this would diminish the popularity of the National Covenant, in particular. In the guidelines issued by the disaffected leadership for formulating burgh petitions, acceptance of the royalist covenant was depicted as the death-knell for the National Covenant: "by this new subscription our Late covenant may be quite absorbed and buried in oblivion that where it was intended and sworne to be an everlasting covenant never to be forgotten it shall never more be remembered"; thus, it "shall prove equivalent to the rendering of the covenant".¹⁴³ The weight of royal authority behind the King's Covenant was regarded as a particular threat to the covenanters since it was perceived as the ultimate sanction with the potential to overshadow the popularity of

¹⁴⁰. The Protestation of the Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Borrowes, Ministers and Commons, f. 11.

¹⁴¹. S.R.O., Ms GD 16/15/3, 'The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh'; S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/42, 'Reasones againes the new oathe'.

¹⁴². Ibid.

¹⁴³. Ibid.

the National Covenant.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, it was contended that in tendering the King's Covenant as an alternative to the National Covenant, there were connotations of a royal pardon which implied that the National Covenant had no constitutional or political legitimacy.¹⁴⁵ The claim was made, then, that the King's Covenant was part of the Caroline administration's strategy not only to divide its opponents but to create wider divisions in both church and state.¹⁴⁶ For this reason, the public was reminded of the conditions of the general band of the National Covenant which obligated its signators to defend and protect one another.¹⁴⁷ Thus, the suggestion was made that subscribers of the King's Covenant who, previously, had signed the National Covenant would be committing perjury for the latter's general band had sworn them to support one another. All told, the polemical critique of the King's Covenant reflected the covenanting anxiety that the royalist band had the potential to erode populist support for the National Covenant. This view was shared by Walter Balcanquhall, a royalist minister, who in writing to the earl of Morton in October of 1638 observed of the covenanters that "they are more incensed now then befor: I can only conceive they are displeased the people should receive any good from his Majesties favour and not from their own power".¹⁴⁸ Therefore, the determination of covenanting propagandists to preserve the political gains made by the movement by the fall of 1638 was a political imperative that fuelled their ideological attack on the King's Covenant and, in turn, helped to blunt the band's impact on the public consciousness.

During the Restoration period, the polemical use of anticatholic rhetoric by covenanting ideologues to help stimulate a populist backlash against the governments of both Charles II and James

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Nonetheless, polemicists argued here that the National Covenant's complete lack of royal authority was a positive asset; or, as it was put, "And altho that we could have wished that his Majestie had added both his subscription and authoritie unto it yet the lesse constraint fra authoritie the more libertie and the more libertie the Less hypocrasie and more sinceritie hath appeared".

¹⁴⁵ S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/41, 'Some reasons against the New politick subscriptione', f. 2. Here, it was contended that "all those who subscribes The new confession of faith accepts a pardone from the kingis majestie for ther subscriyving the former and be consequence doe deny ther former subscriptione ther unto".

¹⁴⁶ S.R.O., Ms GD 16/15/3, 'The forme of protestation to be used at every burgh', f. 1-3; S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/42, 'Reasones againes the new oathe'.

¹⁴⁷ S.R.O., Ms GD 45/1/41, 'Some reasons against the New politick subscriptione', f. 2.

¹⁴⁸ S.R.O., Ms GD 150/3444/1, Morton Papers, 'Letter from W. Balcanquhall to the earl of Morton dated October 1638'.

YII was less discriminate and more direct in its focus on the crown than that of Charles I's reign. Despite the more authoritarian approach of the post-Restoration governments to dissent, covenanting propagandists exploited protestant apprehensions about a Counter-Reformation by directly implicating the king in a popish plot to destroy the established order in church and state. Although Charles II remained a protestant until his death-bed conversion to catholicism in 1685, rumours that he was a catholic and allegations about his clandestine practice of that faith were revived, periodically, throughout his kingship.¹⁴⁹ Public speculations on Charles's religiosity which dated from his years in exile in France and the Spanish Netherlands in the 1650s became so prevalent that the 'Cavalier' parliament in England in 1661 approved legislation making it illegal to call the king a catholic.¹⁵⁰ In Scotland, covenanting propagandists remained undeterred, however, in promulgating the view that the king as a cryptocatholic posed a threat to the *status quo* in church and state. An anonymous poem of 1678, entitled 'The Parliament House to be let', implied that the arbitrary nature of the Restoration administration was reflective of papal influence and the king's affiliation with the catholic church.¹⁵¹ It was reported to the duke of Queensberry in 1682 that covenanting ministers at illegal prayer meetings, in an attempt to encourage their congregations to renew the National Covenant, denounced the king as a "papist" and declared that an ecclesiastical reconciliation with Rome through a national conversion would be effected by royal fiat; for, it was contended, given his affinity to catholicism, Charles II "desseined to force it on them".¹⁵² Doubts about Charles' commitment to protestantism were fuelled, too, when news of his acceptance of the Last Rites of the catholic church in February of 1685 were widely publicised after his death. Hand-written copies of two papers – purportedly written by Charles II and found by his brother, James VII, shortly after the death of the former – were circulated relating to the death-bed conversion. While both papers affirmed Charles's belief that the catholic church was the only true church, one contained the even more controversial conviction that he

149. Discussion of Charles' rumoured conversion is provided by A. Fraser, King Charles II (London, 1979), 149-51; 257-8; 277-8; R. Hutton, Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (Oxford, 1989), 92-3.

150. Hutton, Charles the Second, 166.

151. N.L.S., Adv. MS 19.1.12 f. 900 - 91, Collection of pasquils and satirical poems late 17th century.

152. S.R.O. Ms GD 224/171/8/No.48, Buccleuch Muniments – Transcripts of Queensberry Letters Vol. I-18, 'Letter from J. Grahame to [the duke of Queensberry] dated Moffat 17 April 1682'.

considered the Reformation in England to have been a "pretended Reformation".¹⁵³ Confirmation of the authenticity of the documents was provided by James VII who, at the end of each paper, attested that they were discovered in the royal chambers: one in a strong box and the other in the king's closet.¹⁵⁴ Whether copies of the papers were produced and distributed by royalists or their opponents is unclear;¹⁵⁵ nevertheless, regardless of their origins, they were bound to have an impact on protestant opinion, in general, and public perceptions, in particular, about the stability of the established order in church and state.

Attempts were made to undermine the political credibility of the government of Charles II through accusations that the king's catholic sympathies dictated public policy. It was a covenanting convention, for instance, to depict the Restoration church settlement as a key incentive as well as a preliminary measure for ushering in a catholic revival in the country. The radical, presbyterian denial of the concept of the Apostolic Succession which was based, primarily, on the belief that there were no scriptural precedents for diocesan episcopacy prompted covenanting propagandists to contend that Restoration church polity with its inclusion of bishops mirrored the hierarchical structure of the catholic church and, thus, "poperie & prelacie" were, as Sir Robert Hamilton put it in a circulating letter of the 1680s, equally "untrue to the power of godliness & sound doctrine, according to our solemne engagements".¹⁵⁶ In a manifesto distributed during the Rebellion of 1679, *The declaration of the presbyterians now in armes in the west of Scotland*, it was asserted that the people of Scotland had been "deprived of religious purity since the reestablishment of Prelacie".¹⁵⁷ Such views were echoed at the populist level by a convicted, covenanting dissident, Alex Hume, whose speech from the scaffold in 1682 was distributed as a handwritten broadsheet, *The Last Speech of Alix Hume portioner of*

153. S.R.O., Ms GD 188/20/13/9, Guthrie of Guthrie Manuscript.

154. *Ibid.*

155. Fraser, *King Charles II*, 452. Here, Fraser refers to a printed version of the papers.

156. U.G.S.C., MS Gen 1009/ 11, f. 1-2.

157. S.R.O., Ms GD16/51/7, Airlie Muniments, 'The declaration of the presbyterians now in armes in the west of Scotland'.

Hume who suffered at the Crose of Edinburgh Dec 29 1682.¹⁵⁸ Given that signators of the Rutherglen Declaration as well as the Sanquhar Declaration styled themselves as the "treue presbiterian Antiprelatick & Anti-Erastian persecuted partie in Scotland",¹⁵⁹ re-establishment of the episcopacy with the Restoration church settlement was interpreted, in general, as detrimental to the reformed tradition.

Condemnation of the administration's ecclesiastical policy on the grounds that its erastian nature presaged a reunification of the church of Scotland with Rome was a recurring theme of covenanting mass, domestic propaganda. Radical manifestos issued by the Cameronians after the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion of 1679 were replete with expressions of antipopery that implicated the crown in a scheme to subvert the reformed religion. In both the Rutherglen Declaration of 1679 and the Sanquhar Declaration of 1680, the extensive critiques offered of Charles's kingship rested on the underlying premise that royal policy was inspired by the prospects of a Counter-Reformation. In the Sanquhar Declaration, for example, the king was denounced as a "tyrant & usurper" whose installation of an episcopal polity for the church "usurps" the progress of reformation in the "severall steps therof from poperie, prelacie & lykwise Erastian Suprmacie".¹⁶⁰ Similarly, in the Queensferry Paper of 1681, adherents pledged to "free the Church of god from the thraldom and tyranie and incroachment and corruptions of prelacies on the one hand and Erastianism one the other hand". Here, active civil disobedience against Charles II and his administration for the alleged implementation of a church policy and polity which aimed at effecting a Counter-Reformation was advocated; thus, the radical document called for the "overthrowing of that power that hath established that prelacie and Erastianisme of the Churches and exercised such a lustfull and arbitrarie tyrinie of the subjects seeking againe to introduce Idolitrie and superstitiones in thess lands contrair to our Covenants". The claim was made, too,

¹⁵⁸ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen1009/8, Covenanting MSS, 'The Last Speech of Alix Hume portioner of Hume who suffered at the Crose of Edinburgh Dec 29 1682'.

¹⁵⁹ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, 'The declaration and testimonie of the treue presbiterian Antiprelatick & Anti-Erastian persecuted pairite in Scotland'; Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, III, 212; U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, Sanquhar Declaration; S.R.O., Ms GD 16/46/35; Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*, 241-2.

¹⁶⁰ U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, Sanquhar Declaration; S.R.O., Ms GD 16/46/35.

that "Idoltrie and superstitione" were "both much inlaidged and revived in our tymes"; hence, armed insurrection against the state was justified as a means of combatting a catholic revival.¹⁶¹

During the late 1670s, the polemical focus of anticatholic rhetoric was enlarged to include James, duke of York. The prospect of his succession as the king's heir apparent worked to stimulate protestant anxiety about the growth of catholic influence under Charles's rule. James's personal conversion to catholicism was a source of controversy for the administration when it occurred in the early 1670s, but, it failed to become a dominant point of public contention in the multiple kingdoms until the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-80. Although the Exclusion Crisis which involved a series of unsuccessful campaigns to introduce legislation denying the duke of York his heritable right to succeed to the throne on the grounds that his catholicism made him ineligible was conducted in England by a well-organised coterie of Whig parliamentarians, nonetheless, it obviously had significant repercussions for Scottish politics.¹⁶² Its immediate consequence was the appointment of the duke of York as Lord High Commissioner, replacing the discredited earl of Lauderdale as the king's chief representative and councillor in Scotland. While the gravity of the constitutional crisis precipitated by the Exclusion bills in England, initially, spawned rumours that James would be exiled to the continent,¹⁶³ his departure to Edinburgh offered a satisfactory compromise for the king, in that, it helped to reduce political tensions in England and served to strengthen his ability to manage Scottish politics. The subsequent reaction to the catholic duke of York's tenure as the royal commissioner, however, was mixed. Granted, Edinburgh's intellectual élite generally welcomed James and they were able to capitalise on his presence in the town.¹⁶⁴ But, popular sentiment proved less amenable to the acceptance of a catholic as the chief, royal

161. S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/21/5, Queensferry Paper; Wodrow, History of the Sufferings, III, 207-11; Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, 240-1.

162. Fuller discussion of the Exclusion crisis in England is provided by J.R. Jones, The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-83 (Oxford, 1961); T. Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis (Cambridge, 1990), 96-188; J.R. Jones, Country and Court: England 1658-1714 (London, 1989), 197-216.

163. S.R.O., Ms GD224/171/5/22, Buccleuch Muniments - Transcripts of Queensberry Letters Vols.1-18.

164. For a discussion of the duke of York's contribution as a patron of Scottish intellectuals see: H. Huston, 'York in Edinburgh: James VII and the Patronage of Learning in Scotland, 1679-1688' in New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland, 133-55.

official. One measure of public disquietude about the increase of catholic influence as personified by the duke of York was the antipopery demonstration that occurred in Edinburgh in December of 1680 in which Edinburgh College students along with apprentices and servants carried papal effigies through the streets in a mock procession. The slogan of the mass protest which was embroidered on the "badge of bleu ribbons in ther hats" summarised protestant antipathy: "No Pope, no Priest, no Bishop, no Atheist".¹⁶⁵

Such populist sentiments were echoed by covenanting propagandists. Radical, Cameronians in the Sanquhar Declaration of 1680 were critical of both the political elite's acquiescence to James' appointment and the royal decision to promote a catholic as the king's chief administrator. Thus, in the manifesto, they declared that their adherents "resents the reception of the ducke of york" and condemned his appointment as Lord High Commissioner as "a reproach of our church and nation".¹⁶⁶ During the following year, when signators of the Apologetical Declaration renounced the authority of Charles II and the legality of his administration since 1660, the parliament of 1681 where the duke of York had presided was singled out for special approbation. All Restoration policies, parliaments, conventions and statutes were rendered null and void by the militants but "particularly the late parl[iamen]t holden att ed[inburgh] the 28 of July 1681 by a commissioner professedly popish and for his villanny expelled his native land, w[ith] all the acts and Lawes therin statuted".¹⁶⁷ Moreover, the political debate engendered by the Exclusion Crisis centering on the question of James' suitability as a catholic to govern in the future was perpetuated by covenanting ideologues in Scotland. The Rutherglen Declaration of 1679 which declared war on the state characterised the duke of York - "that profest papist" - as "repugnant to our principles and vows to the most heigh god" and formally protested "ag[ains]t his

¹⁶⁵ Historical Selections from the Manuscripts of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall (Bannatyne Club, 1837), I, 19. Lauder maintains that the demonstration had an impact on popular protest in England: "I hear the watermen and apprentices of London, in this far have imitat us (though otherwayes they disdain us) that they have all got up the bleu ribbon with 'No Pope' woven on it".

¹⁶⁶ Ms Gen 450, Sanquhar Declaration; Ms GD 16/46/3522.

¹⁶⁷ S.R.O., Ms GD 34/759, Hay of Haystoun Papers, 'Ane act and apologetick declara[tio]ne of the trew presbyterians of the church of Scotland' dated '15 of December 1681'. For another manuscript copy with slightly different wording see: S.R.O., Ms GD 157/1861, Scott of Harden, Lord Polwarth.

succeeding to the crown and what ever have been done ag[ains]t ... in prejudice to our worke of Reformation".¹⁶⁸ Two years later, in the Apologetical Declaration, the traditional, protestant association of catholicism with absolutism was exploited in its condemnation of the prospect of James' kingship with the warning that as a catholic monarch, he, would "offer a worst tyranny than his brother".¹⁶⁹

After James' succession as monarch in 1685, the protestant convention of equating catholicism with tyranny persisted as a theme of covenanting, polemical discourse. The covenanting critique of James' kingship rested on the assumption that protestant anxieties about catholicism as expressed since the Reformation were not only justified but that they were manifest in the policies formulated by the government of James VII. Attempts to introduce a policy of toleration beginning in 1686 crystalised the public debate on the king's religion and, concomitantly, its effect on the growth of catholicism for covenanting ideologues. Ostensibly, James' proposal to legalise worship for catholics and nonconformists along with the removal of civil restraints on their political involvement was motivated by altruism; for, as he informed the privy council in August of 1686, it would be of benefit for the "Ease of our Roman Catholic subjects ... and to give some additionall ease to those of Tender Concienses" in order to "convince the world of our Inclination to Moderation".¹⁷⁰ However, the implementation of toleration had the practical, political advantage of shoring up monarchical authority by providing a convenient mechanism for James to regain the royal prerogative in making civil appointments. Granted, both the anticipated stimulus that toleration might give to a catholic revival as well as the projected economic benefits associated with religious plurality based on the Dutch model were key considerations for the administration's promulgation of toleration, yet they tended to be of secondary importance to its chief aim of strengthening the authority of the crown.¹⁷¹ Moreover,

¹⁶⁸. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 450, 'The declaration and testimonie of the treue presbyterian Antiprelatick & Anti-Erastian persecuted pairite in Scotland'; Wodrow, History of the Sufferings, III, 212.

¹⁶⁹. S.R.O., Ms GD 34/759, 'Ane act and apologetick declara[tio]ne of the trew presbyterians of the church of Scotland'; S.R.O., Ms GD 157/1861.

¹⁷⁰. RPCS, XII, 435.

¹⁷¹. Donaldson, Scotland, 381-3; Jones, Country and Court, 234-6.

James' decision to eschew parliamentary sanction and grant toleration to catholics – as well as nonconformists – by issuing royal Indulgences in February and June of 1687 lent credence to the traditional, protestant depiction of catholic rule as arbitrary.

For their part, covenanting polemicists viewed the government initiative as a broad-based, catholic conspiracy to undermine the *status quo* in church and state. In *Reasons Wherefore a Consent to abolish the penall statutes agt papists cannot be Given by any who own the present Government in Church and State*, an anonymous pamphleteer declared that the promotion of toleration was the consequence of a resurgence of international catholicism whose influence both at home and abroad and also "at court of late" boded ill for the preservation of the established church in Scotland. Removal of the penal laws against catholics was said to be tantamount to a self-destruction of protestantism; thus, it was suggested that "all the securities we have in Law for our religion" would not only be undermined but "we consent to abolish utterly the protestant religion in Scotland".¹⁷² Radical Cameronian leaders urged their followers to refuse to comply with the government policy, calling on them separate from the established church and disassociate themselves from any collaborators: a tactic which was maintained among the most militant of the radical, presbyterian leaders even after the Revolution of 1688–89. In his death-bed testimony of 1701 which was distributed as a handwritten broadsheet, Robert Hamilton offered a retrospective assessment of the direction of government policy since the Restoration. Arguing that the lack of scriptural precedent for toleration justified its rejection, he declared that James's promotion of toleration was the culmination of a cryptocatholic agenda launched with the Restoration church settlement and perpetuated through Charles II's ecclesiastical policies including the three Indulgences of 1669, 1672 and 1678. Accordingly, he advised his adherents to,

Listen to no [con]ference with the min[iste]rs & professors of your generation untill the Public defections of the Lord from the doubtfull source of all our Ruine & misery,

¹⁷². S.R.O., Ms GD 16/57/56, Airlie Muniments, 'Reasons wherefore a Consent to abolish the penall statutes agt papists cannot be Given by any who own the preseth Government in Church and State'.

that sin of the publicke Resolutions & compliance wth prelacy, Ch[urch] Ruling & Indulgences and Tolerations untill the vindicating of the pres[en]t course.¹⁷³

Thus, protestant assumptions about catholic hegemony were reinforced by the covenanters' response to James VII's legislative initiative on toleration.

Therefore, the exploitation of anticatholic sentiment was a dominant feature of covenanting, mass domestic propaganda. Early modern prejudices and fears about the growth of popery both at home and abroad were stimulated by covenanting critiques of the kingship of Charles I, Charles II and James VII. Through the association of royal policies and programmes with a popish plot to undermine the established order in church and state, covenanting polemicists attempted not only to cultivate a backlash against successive, Stewart régimes but to win popular approval for their own rival political and ideological vision. By focusing attention on the prevalence of court catholicism, propagandists helped to ensure that questions about the Stewart kings' ability to provide good governance remained central to the public discourse. There was, nonetheless, a measure of restraint and discrimination in the usage of anticatholic rhetoric by covenanting spokesmen which belied its emotive power. Thus, while propagandists were reliant, to a significant degree, on the predictability of an adverse protestant reaction to claims of increasing, catholic political influence in order to galvanise popular support for the movement, such a strategy was not static; rather, it altered to reflect the changes which occurred in Scottish politics between 1638 and 1689.

¹⁷³. U.G.S.C., Ms Gen 1009/14, Covenanting Mss, 'Testimony of Sir R. Hamilton dated 5 September 1701'.

Chapter VIII

Kingship, Authority and the Right to Resist

Part I: 1637-1659

I.

Anticatholic rhetoric also formed the subtext for a public discourse on broader political and constitutional issues which centred on the relationship between ruler and ruled. By exploiting protestant fears of a catholic revival, covenanting polemicists offered, in essence, a critique of the Stewart dynasty's style of kingship which became part of a more wide-ranging debate on the nature of the monarchy, sovereign power and the royal prerogative. Although much of the rhetoric generated on the subject of kingship and authority between 1638 and 1689 was conventional and conservative, more radical visions concerning monarchical power and the right to resist were put forward by some covenanting ideologues in their public pronouncements, especially as the century progressed. Views on the function of the crown, while voiced in the mass, domestic propaganda produced throughout the period, therefore, tended to become more unorthodox in inverse proportion to the covenanting movement's ability to shape public policy. Moreover, as a corollary of their efforts to promulgate a particular vision of kingship and authority, propagandists challenged some of the most fundamental beliefs and values of contemporary cosmology as articulated by the established order and exemplified by the Stewart dynasty, both implicitly and explicitly, including those pertaining to the socio-political obligations and duties of governor and governed. One measure of their success in this polemical enterprise was that a significant proportion of the Scottish people were willing not only to countenance but to participate in political activities between 1638 and 1689 which either defied or diminished sovereign power.

In general, the parameters of the seventeenth-century political debate on the question of kingship were framed by traditional attitudes and common assumptions about hierarchy, order and deference. Early modern Scotland was a highly stratified, hierarchical society in which change was regarded as inimicable to preserving order. In terms of politics, this attitude was shaped, to a

significant degree, by the contemporary belief in the Great Chain of Being: a theoretical construct which gave currency to the view that the hierarchical design of the cosmos was responsible for the natural equilibrium sustaining the relationship between ruler and ruled. The cosmology provided by the Great Chain of Being theory envisioned a divinely-ordained universe that was comprised of a series of connecting spheres. The paradigm was all-encompassing; ranging from a celestial hierarchy commanded by God and staffed by angels of varying ranks to an astrological hierarchy headed by the sun and composed of planets categorised according to their influence to a bestial hierarchy on earth where the lion dominated the prescribed animal order.¹ When the Great Chain of Being doctrine was applied to humankind, its implications were more diverse. Most importantly, for civil society, a king was ascribed the paramount place of authority in a social and political hierarchy based on degree, rank and order. However, its ramifications extended to the most basic human level, too, with the pattern replicated in the body so that the head presided over the hierarchy of organs. While the concept of the Great Chain of Being offered a structural rationale for the workings of the universe in general, it had special significance for the socio-political order. Given that the parallel systems of hierarchy were regarded as comparable, analogies were drawn between the corresponding parts of one ordered system and another thereby establishing a powerful symbolism which reinforced the natural order. The paramount figures of each hierarchical system, for instance, were commonly equated so that, as David Wootton suggests, a "network of correspondences could be drawn, establishing a more than metaphorical link between God, the sun, the king, the head and the lion".²

Contemporary perceptions of political dissent were coloured by a broad acceptance of the notion of the natural order with its well-developed sense of each individual's place in the scheme of things. All social, economic and political relationships were defined by this received belief; thus, any challenge to the basic, hierarchical structure was said to contain the seeds of destruction for civil society as a whole. The divinely-inspired concept of the natural order that tied tenants to their

¹. Fuller discussion is provided by C.S. Lewis, The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature (Cambridge, 1971), 92-121; 198-215.

². D. Wootton ed., Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writings in Stuart England (Harmondsworth, 1986), 28.

heritors; servants to their masters; wives to their husbands; and children to their fathers as private individuals was the same underlying principle investing the civic order which cemented the relationship between subjects and their king.³ Central to the maintenance of this infrastructure was the firm belief that the lynch-pin of a well-ordered society was the ready acknowledgement of status concomitant with the fulfillment of one's prescribed rôle. As an outgrowth of the socio-political model for the ordering of society which had evolved in the middle ages, this paradigm served to perpetuate the lingering feudalistic ties of duty and obligation that bound men together for their mutual benefit. By convention, superiors and inferiors were linked to one another not only for the dual purpose of servicing their individual needs and aspirations but, as well, for the greater good of preventing societal chaos. These commonplace ideas about deference and authority were rooted, however, in biblical teachings. Scriptural injunctions such as St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans 13:1-7 which declared, in part, that "every soul be subject unto higher powers" as well as the first epistle general of St. Peter 2: 13-18 which urged submission to authority - "Honour the king. Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear" - helped shape this mode of thought. In addition, it was viewed as axiomatic that superior and inferior alike were cognisant of both their relegated duty and their assigned obligation for preserving the unity and harmony of the natural order by fulfilling their designated function in society. Violation of this *code* whether by ruler or ruled - through the use of arbitrary authority by the former or through willful disobedience to authority by the latter - was anathema for it threatened the harmonious ordering of the universe.⁴ One indication of the penetration and acceptability of the belief in hierarchy and deference for early modern society was the extent to which it permeated the work of contemporary writers including William Drummond of Hawthornden, William Dunbar and David Lindsey in Scotland as well as William Shakespeare and Philip Spencer in England.⁵ Faith in the natural order therefore acted as a talisman of social and political stability, warding off social disruption, unrest and societal breakdown.

³. For a fuller discussion see: S.D. Amussen, An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England (Oxford and New York, 1988), chap. 2.

⁴. T.I. Rae, 'The historical writing of Drummond of Hawthornden' in The Scottish Historical Review, LIV (1975), 38.

⁵. Ibid.

The language and imagery associated with the Great Chain of Being theory found expression, as well, in the early modern perception of political culture as the body politic.⁶ The metaphor reflected contemporary thinking that the public sphere should be regarded as an homogeneous entity which was characterised by the symbiotic relationship of its chief components; that is, the crown, the nobility, parliament, the church and the people. The health and well-being of the public sphere – like that of the human body – was thought to depend on the harmonious workings of each of the constituent parts with the other. Hence, as M. J. Mendle in his study of the constitutional, political and religious issues raised in England during the Long Parliament rightly puts it,

Every aspect of public life was seen as part of a single whole. The parts of the kingdom flourished only when the whole flourished. The whole worked well only when each part worked well. The age had its special language for it, the metaphor of the body politic. It was simply an extended analogy between the state and its parts, and the human body and its limbs and organs. The King was the head. The Lords and the Commons, the clergy, and the 'people' were organs or limbs – significantly there were not conventional associations with specific parts of the body in the seventeenth century. Still, without any of them the body politic would die or be crippled. Conversely, without the head to lead and inform the parts were helpless. They were unintelligent and without wills of their own. It was monstrous to use the favoured word, for organs to behave like a head, it was also treason.⁷

With the 'mutuality of interests'⁸ linking the crown, the political nation and the people, it was therefore assumed that political and social stability rested on co-operation and consensus.

The principles associated with the Great Chain of Being theory were of significant import for the fundamental changes which marked early modern kingship after the Reformation. The advance of protestantism which resulted in the demise of universal catholicism in western Europe led, as Jenny Wormald in her overview of late-fifteenth to early seventeenth-century Scottish history observes, to the "shattering of the religious unity of the west, and the developing idea of the 'nation-state', [which] meant that the power of the secular ruler was, at least in theory, immeasurably enhanced, as heads of individual states and leaders of reform or defenders of the old faith".⁹ In the case of Scotland, too, the

⁶ For a general discussion see: O. Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. F.W. Maitland (Cambridge, 1938), 22 ff.

⁷ M.J. Mendle, 'Politics and Political Thought 1640-1642' in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. C. Russell (London, 1981), 219.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁹ J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London, 1981), 146.

unique opportunity afforded by the regnal union of 1603 augmented royal authority and led – as Keith Brown points out in an examination of the changing nature of seventeenth-century, British kingship – to James VI and I projecting himself as a “King-emperor”, intent on establishing a “new identity for the monarchy”.¹⁰ The popular acceptance of the Stewarts as mystic healers was also indicative of the attitudinal change towards the sovereign. As Marc Bloch in his comparative analysis of early modern belief in the royal practice of *scrofula* in England and France has demonstrated, this conventional view of the crown was reinforced through customs and rituals including the touching for the king’s evil which highlighted the semi-divine nature of the king’s person.¹¹ Moreover, in Scotland, the magisterial qualities and preterhuman symbolism which the Great Chain of Being theory bestowed on a sovereign complemented the new attitude towards kingship. Ascribing attributions of godliness to the person of the monarch, for instance, became a common feature of political discourse; thus, the Scottish privy council in the seventeenth century, at times, addressed the king as the “livelie image on earth of the great God” who was imbued with “transcendent grace” as God’s “immediat vice regent”.¹²

Above all, however, the conceptual framework provided by the Great Chain of Being theory served as a key component for the development of a new ideological approach to kingship as exemplified by the doctrine of divine right of kings.¹³ Although kingship, traditionally, was considered a sacred trust divinely bestowed on the office and person of the monarch, this view was amplified, especially in the seventeenth century, by monarchical claims of royal absolutism based on divine right. In a treatise published in 1598 which offered one of the most definitive statements of divine right doctrine, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James VI declared that a king possessed a constitutional right to impose his will based on the three, incontrovertible grounds of scripture, the “fundamental

10. K.M. Brown, ‘The vanishing emperor: British kingship and its decline 1603–1707’ in Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603, ed. R.A. Mason (Cambridge, 1994), 87.

11. M. Bloch, The Royal Touch: Sacred Majesty and Scrofula in England and France (London, 1973).

12. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. P. Hume Brown, 2nd series (38 vols., 1905), VII, 74, 251.

13. For a general discussion of the divine right of kings’ theory see: J.N. Figgis, The divine right of kings (Cambridge, 1934); J.W. Allen, A history of political thought in the sixteenth century (London, 1951); C. Morris, Political thought in England: Tyndale to Hooker (London, 1953).

Lawes of our owne Kingdome" and, the "Law of nature".¹⁴ Since the source of monarchical authority was identified as divine unction, the king was said to be accountable only to God for his actions because, as James put it, "they sit vpon God his throne in the earth, and haue the count of their administration to giue vnto him".¹⁵ Such sentiments were echoed by Charles I in 1628 in reaction to a factious session of the English parliament which included presentation of the Petition of Right; for, as he declared in his speech prorogating parliament, "I owe an account of my actions to none but to God alone".¹⁶ There was the expectation, then, that "Divine Correction" – like the character in David Lindsey's sixteenth-century play, *A Satire of the Three Estates*, – could be relied on to ensure that kings eschewed self-interest for the public good and health of the commonweal primarily for the sake of their souls.

Along with the contention that, as God's lieutenant, the sovereign was not subject to earthly powers was the ancillary belief that any manifestation of resistance to the monarchy was anathema since it was considered sinful to oppose God's will. Contemporary acceptance of Biblical teachings as well as the Great Chain of Being theory concomitant with a projection of political culture as the body politic provided the basis for this claim by prominent advocates of divine right. A succinct elaboration of this view was offered, for instance, in 1610 by James VI and I in his speech to the English parliament:

The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth: for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. There are three principal similitudes that illustrate the state of monarchy: one taken out of the word of God, and the two other out of the grounds of policy and philosophy. In the Scriptures kings are called gods, and so their power after a certain relation compared to the divine power. Kings are also compared to fathers of families: for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people. And lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man ...

14. 'The Trew Law of Free Monarchies' in The Political Works of James I, ed. C.H. McIlwain (Harvard, 1918), 54.

15. *Ibid.*, 54-5.

16. S.R. Gardiner ed., The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660 (Oxford, 1962), 73.

I conclude then this point touching the power of kings with this axiom of divinity, That as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power.¹⁷

Similarly, Jean Bodin, the leading sixteenth-century, French political theorist, who was an influential exponent of royal absolutism made a strong case for the argument that, in a monarchical state, sovereignty lay ultimately in the person and office of the crown.¹⁸ In *The six bookes of a commonweale* which was first published in 1576 as a work of anti-Huguenot propaganda during the French Wars of Religion, Bodin offered a wide-ranging analysis of the nature of sovereign power; examining the three forms of the state which had evolved that were commonly referred to in Renaissance typology as rule by one, the few and the many: or, in the words, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Central to his thesis was the conceptualisation of sovereignty – reposing in the institution of the monarchy – as authoritarian, indivisible and omniscient. It was his contention, for instance, that a state possesses the inherent right to wield absolute power over its citizens as its legislative function makes clear. However, he argued further that, under a monarchical system of government, sovereignty belongs to the prince rather than to a legislative assembly such as parliament.¹⁹ Fear of anarchy and the imperative of preserving order in a civil society underlay his belief in the importance of maintaining sovereign power. It was the specter of disorder, too, which led him to warn against the dangers of political extremism; thus, both the abuse of royal power through arbitrary rule by legitimate kings as well as the subjects' right to resist tyranny were denounced as unacceptable, largely, on the grounds that they contravened divine will. Even though Bodin "saw himself as an enemy of arbitrary rule", his work, as David Stevenson points out, provided a "charter for tyrants".²⁰ For its promoters, then, the theory of divine right which also included a

17. L.B. Smith and J.R. Smith, eds., *The Past Speaks: Sources and Problems in English History* (Lexington, 1993), I, 333-4. See also, G.W. Prothero, ed., *Select Statutes and other constitutional Documents, Illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (Oxford, 1913), 293-5.

18. See: J.H.M. Salmon, *The French religious wars in English political thought* (Oxford, 1959), 3; Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), I, 208.

19. J. Bodin, *The six bookes of a commonweale. A facsimilie reprint of the English translation of 1606*, trans. R. Knolles and ed. K.D. MacRae (1606; reprinted ed. Cambridge, 1962), bk. 1, Ch. 8, 96-8.

20. D. Stevenson, 'The Letter on sovereign power' and the influence of Jean Bodin on Political Thought in Scotland' in *SHR*, LXI (1982), 36.

belief in primogeniture offered the moral criteria for a ruler's constitutional supremacy and, as such, it gained broad acceptance. But, as a specific political doctrine, it proved controversial since it was used to legitimise the right of a monarch to exercise absolute authority.²¹ Quasi-deification of the king thus took on new importance in the seventeenth century because it was linked by divine right theorists to the legitimacy of absolutism.

Yet, despite the theoretical claim made in the name of divine right that the limits of monarchical power were not subject to the determination or judgement of any temporal agency, practical application of the doctrine was kept in check by political exigencies. In examining the constitutional and political issues which affected relations between crown and parliament in Jacobean England, Alan Smith concludes that "James was notoriously fond of making exalted theoretical claims about his authority, but these must be set against the occasions when he quite explicitly recognised that there were specific limitations to his powers".²² Similarly, Perez Zagorin in his comparative analysis of early modern, European revolutions and rebellions notes, rightly, that although there was a tendency towards monarchical absolutism in England, France and Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such an impulse was circumscribed by legal, political and ecclesiastical constraints. It is his contention that the style of kingship practised in the three countries was, in general, absolutist; however, he makes the point that none of the rulers exercised unlimited power largely because, in each case, they "confronted genuine limitations based on law, custom and religion; each of them also had to deal with various institutions, including representative assemblies or parliaments in kingdoms and provinces, in which some of the most important of these limits were specifically embodied".²³

Traditional expectations of kingship, also, worked as a counterweight to manifestations of unlimited absolutism. Certainly, in fulfilling his destiny as God's vice-regent, the sovereign was expected to perform his duties and carry out the functions of his office as dictated by convention.

²¹ W.H. Greenleaf, Order, empiricism and politics (Oxford, 1964), chap. 2-3.

²² A.G.R. Smith, 'Constitutional Ideas and Parliamentary Developments in England, 1603-1625' in The Reign of James VI and I, ed. A.G.R. Smith (London, 1977), 162.

²³ P. Zagorin, Rebels and Rulers 1500-1660 Vol. I: Society, states and early modern revolution: Agrarian and urban rebellions (Cambridge, 1984), 90.

Political wisdom in Scotland had long adhered to the view as expressed by Classical thinkers such as Aristotle and Virgil and reiterated in scripture that the primary function of the crown was twofold: to defend the realm and administer justice. This sentiment was echoed by James VI in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* when he maintained that the main duty of a king was to act responsibly as the chief lawgiver; or, as he put it, "To minister Iustice and Iudgement to the people ... To advance the good, and punish the euill ... To establish good Lawes to his people, and procure obedience to the same".²⁴ The monarch's rôle as the chief lawmaker and the dispenser of justice in the realm was not only a measure of good kingship but, conventionally, it was considered a prerequisite for social and political stability. Roger Mason in an article on the conservative nature of fifteenth-century, political thought suggests that "as the fount of justice the king's judicial role was obviously of the first importance, but equally clearly the concept of justice has much wider connotations which in the later middle ages led it to be interpreted as nothing less than the maintenance of a stable social and political order".²⁵ Moreover, as Mason points out, the medieval and early modern perception of justice as virtue and thus a distinguishing feature of a virtuous king accounts for the insistence by a pantheon of Scottish political commentators – John Ireland, Walter Bower, John Fordun, George Buchanan and James VI – that the personality of the ruler was the keystone of the *bonum commune* because the king had the moral responsibility to act as the *exemplar* of virtue both to set an example for and to be emulated by his people.²⁶

That the health of the commonwealth was dependent to a considerable degree on the moral proclivities of the ruler was a recurring theme of the didactic literature on princely conduct which was published during the Renaissance. As blueprints for a model king, the *specula principum* – or, 'mirrors of princes' as they were known – offered conventional advice on good kingship which emphasised that a ruler should not only comprehend the essential precepts of governing but embody the

24. 'Trew Law of Free Monarchies', 55.

25. R. Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny, and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth Century Scotland' in *SHR*, LXVI (1987), 129.

26. *Ibid.*, 125–51. esp. 131, 129, 134, 149.

highest moral values.²⁷ Moreover, the traditional expectations of kingship that still pertained in the seventeenth century which stressed the quality of virtue in princes placed a high premium on the belief that "conformity to the law was what distinguished the true 'virtuous' king from the evil 'vicious' tyrant".²⁸ As Brian Levack has shown, views on kingship developed in the polemical literature produced in support of the regnal union of 1603 emphasised the necessity of the crown's subjection and adherence to the law. An unpublished tract by the Scottish legalist John Russell which was entitled, 'Ane wther treatise contieninge the duty and office of ane christiane prince ... in the administratioun of his imperiall crounes' made the case that rulers had a duty to act as paragons of legality for the ruled to emulate. Although he invoked the early modern concept of the 'king's two bodies' and thus differentiated between a monarch's public and private obligation in this regard, at the same time, Russell reasoned that the king should be subject to the law.²⁹ When King James lectured the English parliament in 1610 on the nature of monarchical power, he also acknowledged this commonplace ideal:

But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed upon, but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws.³⁰

Although both Russell's and James's approach to kingship were coloured by their theoretical advocacy of divine right doctrine, nevertheless, they endorsed the general principle that the actions of an exemplary ruler were circumscribed by the law whether divine, natural or positive.

Both the relative novelty and the controversial implications of divine right theory as a basis for monarchical absolutism were critical factors in preventing unbridled application of the ideology in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although European monarchy might aspire to redefine itself in the wake of the Reformation in order to achieve absolutism as championed by royalist

27. R. A. Mason, 'Rex Stoicus: George Buchanan, James VI and the Scottish Polity' in New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland, eds. J. Dwyer, R.A. Mason and A. Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1982), 12.

28. *Ibid.*, 14.

29. B.P. Levack, 'Law, sovereignty and the union' in Scots and Britons, 231-4.

30. Smith and Smith, eds. The Past Speaks, I, 333-4. See also: Prothero, ed., Select Statutes and other constitutional Documents, 293-5.

lawyers and political philosophers like Bodin, its efforts were, in large measure, reactionary: a conservative response to competing, political theories which had already gained some currency. General agreement exists among historians that contemporary perceptions of sovereignty were profoundly affected by the ideological struggles of the Reformation period which, by centring on issues related to religious uniformity, prompted, as a consequence, a re-evaluation of the moral, political and constitutional *status quo* with respect to the nature of lawful authority and the right to resist it. Roger Mason, in a study of the polarisation of post-Reformation, Scottish political thought, observes that, throughout Europe, the "Reformation crisis precipitated debates over the nature and location of sovereignty which resolved themselves into more or less blatant clashes between proponents of popular constitutionalism and the upholders of royal absolutism".³¹ In assessing the causes of the English Civil Wars, J.H. Elliot draws a parallel with earlier, continental revolts to suggest that the drive for ecclesiastical conformity by early modern, European states resulted in political disorder:

The experience of sixteenth - and early seventeenth - century Europe had tended to suggest that religious uniformity was the *sine qua non* of political stability. The revolt of the Netherlands, the protracted civil wars in France, and most, recently, the Bohemian rebellion, all appeared to lend weight to that venerable maxim - 'one faith, one law, one king'. Political opposition notoriously fed on religious dissent, and for the courts of Paris, Vienna and Madrid no combination was more to be feared than that between Protestant extremists and Estates.³²

He makes the point, too, that while radical protestants were not, intrinsically, antiauthoritarian, they shared a collective *ethos* that allowed for political dissent and they could rely on their communal zeal as well as an organisational infrastructure to mount, if necessary, an effective opposition which "boded ill for princes of a differing creed".³³

But, whether the theories of civil disobedience and popular sovereignty propounded by protestant reformers should be considered original remains moot, especially as they relate to Calvinism. Michael Waltzer, in his study of radical politics in the early modern period, argues that Calvinism as a unique ideology inspired the "new politics of revolution" as manifested in the

31. R.A. Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians' in *Scots and Britons*, 113.

32. J. H. Elliot, 'England and Europe "A Common Malady"' in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. C. Russell (London, 1981), 247.

33. *Ibid.*

sixteenth-century wars of religion throughout western Europe and that the most prominent defenders of a populist and secular theory of civil disobedience were Calvinists.³⁴ Modification of this view is offered, however, by the work of Quentin Skinner, Brian Tierney and Francis Oakley. In a seminal work on the origins of resistance theory, Skinner agrees with the basic premise of Waltzer's thesis that Calvinists were leading advocates of the right to resist but, as he clearly documents, the Calvinist theory of revolution was not original. Rather, it drew heavily on catholic theories of good government as propounded by political writers such as William of Ockham and conciliarists including Jean Gerson in the fourteenth century as well as the arguments defending popular sovereignty developed by the Sorbonnistes, Jacques Almain and John Mair, for Louis XII's appeal to the General Council of the Church in 1512 in his dispute with Pope Julius II on the inter-related questions of where the *locus* of ecclesiastical authority between the corporation and head of the church resided and where ultimate, political power in the state rested. Equally, the theoretical tracts produced by Lutheran writers including Philip Melanchthon, Martin Luther and Nicholas von Amsdorf, beginning in 1530, justifying the lawfulness of political resistance in response to an escalation in the imperial campaigns aimed at suppressing the German, reformed movement – most notably, that mounted by Charles V in his attack on the Schmalkaldic League after 1546 – were precursors of the radical, Calvinist political ideology which evolved from the 1550s.³⁵ Similarly, in tracing the evolution and development of constitutional thought from the early medieval to the early modern period, both Tierney and Oakley stress the significance of the intellectual debt owed to the medieval conciliarists by early modern theorists of popular sovereignty.³⁶

In Scotland, too, political exigencies combined with the radical changes which marked the relationship between church and state during the Reformation-Rebellion acted as a catalyst for a

34. M. Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study of the Origins of Radical Politics (Cambridge, Mass, 1965), 2.

35. Q.R.D. Skinner, 'The Origins of the Calvinist Theory of Revolution' in After the Reformation, ed. B.C. Malament (Manchester, 1980), 309–30; esp. 316–24. Further discussion of the ideological roots for the Calvinist arguments on the right to resist is provided by Q. Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought (Cambridge, 1978), ii, chap. 7.

36. B. Tierney, Religion, Law and the Growth of Constitutional Thought, 1150–1650 (Cambridge, 1982); F. Oakley, 'On the Road from Constance to 1688: The Political Thought of John Major and George Buchanan' in Journal of British Studies, 11(1962), 1–31.

debate on the nature of kingship. In contrast to fifteenth century political theorists and commentators such as Fordun and Ireland who in equating kingship and the commonweal promoted an "ideology of patriotic conservatism", some of their sixteenth-century counterparts made a distinction between the crown and the common good to justify the legitimacy of civil disobedience thereby radicalising political thought.³⁷ The critique of monarchy offered by George Buchanan in the 1570s to account for the Reformation-Rebellion and justify the deposition of Mary, queen of Scots, concomitant with the Knoxian and Melvillian reformers' increasingly circumscribed view of the extent of the king's authority in the church as a godly magistrate - an antierastian stance which began in the 1560s and became more strident as the century progressed - were part of a growing orthodoxy which compelled James to formulate his political theories in the 1590s as expressed, in particular, in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* and, in his didactic guide on kingship, *Basilikon Doron*.³⁸ James's literary efforts to combat the radical political doctrines on the nature of kingship espoused by Buchanan, especially his advocacy of tyrannicide, were reinforced by pro-royalist pamphlets including Adam Blackwood's *Pro regibus apologia* of 1581; Ninian Winzet's *Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum* of 1582; and, William Barclay's *De regno et regali potestate* of 1600.³⁹ Although, in contrast to the reformers' godly prince, Buchanan's view of the ideal ruler as a 'Stoic King' embodied secular and moral values which were humanistic rather than biblical,⁴⁰ nevertheless, both models of kingship constituted a challenge to royal authority in their advocacy of limited monarchy.⁴¹ In addition, Buchanan's monarchical model and his theory of popular sovereignty were ideologically compatible with reformed thinking;

37. Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny, and the Right to Resist', 147-8.

38. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 148-9.

39. J.H. Burns, 'George Buchanan and the anti-monarchomachs' in *Scots and Britons*, 138-58.

40. Mason, 'Rex Stoicus', 11.

41. For a discussion of Buchanan's political thought see: J. H. Burns, 'The Political Ideas of George Buchanan' in *SHR*, XXX (1951), esp. 60-8; H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan and the Ancient Scottish Constitution' in *English Historical Review*, Supp. 3, 1966; I.D. Macfarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981); Oakley, 'On the Road from Constance to 1688', 1-31; Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, ii, 338-45. For a discussion of the significance of the godly magistrate in reformed thought see: K.M. Brown, 'In Search of the Godly Magistrate in Reformation Scotland' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (October, 1989), 553-81; J.M. Wormald, 'Princes' and the regions in the Scottish Reformation in *Church, Politics and Society in Scotland 1408-1929*, ed. N.M. MacDougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 65-84; M. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638' in *International Calvinist 1541-1715*, ed. M. Prestwick (Oxford, 1985), 241-7.

providing two generations of Scottish protestant leaders with the rhetorical ammunition to combat royal supremacy in the church. As Roger Mason makes clear, James VI's promulgation of divine right doctrine was an integral part of the struggle for control of the Scottish church in the 1580s and 1590s between the crown and the presbyterians led by Andrew Melville. For their part, the Melvillians were intellectually allied with Buchanan thus his writings served to both affirm their historical evolution and validate their present opposition to James' ecclesiastical policies. Hence, as Mason points out, "*De jure regni* outlined a theoretical justification of popular sovereignty and the accountability of kings to their subjects, [while] the *History* embodied those ideas in a sweeping survey of the Scottish past culminating in a whitewash of the rebels of the 1560s. To the presbyterians, it was an ideal 'official' history and was seen as such from the moment of its publication in 1582".⁴² Thus, the ideological forces which compelled James to articulate his vision of ideal kingship also served to keep the royal blueprint for autocracy more of a theoretical rather than a practical construct.

Recent studies of late-sixteenth century political thought have confirmed the diversity of influences which shaped contemporary, polemical writing and how deeply rooted it was in early modern, Scottish political culture. As Rebecca Bushnell in a comparative analysis of the neo-classical politics of George Buchanan and James VI shows, Buchanan's radical political vision as expressed in *De jure regni apud Scotos* and the *Rerum Scotticarum historia* drew on historical precedent, custom and tradition whereas James' ideological stance depended, primarily, on natural law and the use of analogy for its validation. To justify Mary's deposition, Buchanan thus invoked a time-honoured, "body of traditions which primarily described the reciprocal responsibilities of the nobility and monarch ... [which he held] to be consonant with a kind of divine or 'eternal law', which was the basis of his political theory".⁴³ That Buchanan's contractual theory of kingship and his endorsement of elective, limited monarchy was grounded firmly in Scottish political culture is endorsed by Ted Cowan's study of the political views of Archibald Campbell, the marquis of Argyll. The Scottish nobility's traditional

⁴². Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the presbyterians', 124.

⁴³. R.W. Bushnell, 'George Buchanan, James VI and neo-classicism' in *Scots and Britons*, 95.

assumption that they had a responsibility to control kings concomitant with prophecy and Gaelic literary conventions that promoted the head of Clan Campbell as the rightful ruler are identified as key factors that helped shape Argyll's attitude towards kingship thereby affecting his political involvement as a covenanting leader. Moreover, in common with Buchanan in *De jure regni apud Scotos*, such cultural influences led Argyll in a tract, *Instructions to a son*, to advocate limited monarchy on the grounds that the prospect of tyranny necessitated restrictions on the use of sovereign power.⁴⁴

It is therefore apparent that, in a highly stratified, hierarchical society, early modern Scottish belief in the concept of the natural order with the crown as a central lynchpin for sustaining social and political stability was deeply ingrained. Since the monarchy was regarded as an essential mechanism for maintaining the established order, criticisms voiced about the nature of royal authority were viewed, in a wider context, as a potential catalyst for anarchy; leading to the destabilisation of the socio-political infrastructure. This begs the question, then, of how did covenanting polemicists overcome such a powerful belief system to justify resistance to the *status quo* and to persuade a significant proportion of the Scottish people that it was acceptable to rebel against their social and political masters? Between 1638 and 1689, propagandists promulgated a well-developed body of ideas focusing on the moral and constitutional legitimacy of the movement's political actions in an attempt to influence popular opinion. That their efforts resulted in sporadic acts of both active and passive civil disobedience against the crown for over five decades – as evidenced, for instance, by the mobilisation of peasant armies and by the popularity of mass conventicling – stands as a testament to their success in the art of persuasion. What is particularly noteworthy, however, is that they did so despite a deep-seated reverence for order, deference and authority. How, then, did covenanting, mass domestic propaganda deal with such popular perceptions in an effort to win populist support?

⁴⁴ E.J. Cowan, 'The political ideas of a covenanting leader: Archibald Campbell, marquis of Argyll' in Scots and Britons, 244-9, 253-9.

II.

In 1646, a unique propaganda exercise took place that pitted the standard bearer of divine right, Charles I, against a leading spokesman for covenanting ideology, Alexander Henderson. The paper dispute in which they engaged – consisting of almost a dozen letters which were printed as tracts – dealt with the issue of altering church government in England, in particular, but touched, in general, on the related subjects of sovereign power, popular reformation and rebellion. In his first letter, the king posed two, basic questions which, in essence, encapsulated royalist anxieties about the nature of the ideological struggle between the crown and the covenanters: “what warrant there is in the Word of God for subjects to endeavour to force the Kings Conscience? or to make their alter Lawes against his will?”⁴⁵ Such queries were consistent with Charles’s long-held conviction that the chief, political objective of the covenanters was the destruction of royal authority. In March of 1638, in response to what he saw as the privy council’s ineffectual handling of the petitioning campaign which culminated in the National Covenant, the king expressed concern about compromising with the protesters because of the dilatorious impact this might have on sovereignty; for, as he stated, “we can never conceive that the countrie is truelie quyet when legall auctoritie is infringed, for, altho it may have a seeming settlement at first, it cannot so long continue when the king’s true auctoritie is not truelie preserved”.⁴⁶ Identifying the covenanting movement as antimonarchical was made more explicit in a royal proclamation of February 1639 which was printed in London and ordered to be read out at all church services in England.⁴⁷ In *A Proclamation and Declaration to inform Our loving Subjects of Our Kingdom of England of the seditious practises of some in Scotland, seeking to overthrow Our Regall Power under false pretences of Religion*, it was thus maintained that the Scottish dissidents sought not merely ecclesiastical reform but the overthrow of the monarchical system of government; or, as Charles put it,

45. The Papers which passed at New-castle betwixt His Sacred Majestie and Mr Al: Henderson: Concerning the change of Church-Government. Anno Dom. 1646 (London, 1649), 4.

46. RPCS, VII, 15–6.

47. For a discussion of the tract in the context of a pamphlet war see: D. Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution 1637–1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters (Newton Abbot, 1973), 131–3.

These disorders and tumults have been thus raised in Scotland, and fomented by factious spirits, and those Traiterously affected, begun upon pretences of Religion, the common cloak for all disobedience, but now it clearly appears the aim of these men is not Religion (as they falsely pretend and publish) but it is to shake off all Monarchical government and to vilifie Our Regall power justly descended upon Us over them.⁴⁸

When parliament in 1639 ratified an act by the general assembly which abolished episcopacy and declared it unlawful, the king in a directive to the High Commissioner, the earl of Traquair, reiterated his view that the covenanters "ayme at nothing but the overthrow of Riall auctoritie contraire to all their professions".⁴⁹

While some royalist adherents such as the earl of Roxburgh cautioned against the dangers of seeing seditious intent in the opposition and therefore advised Charles in 1638 to take the covenanters' grievances at face value and focus on the issues, this was a minority viewpoint.⁵⁰ More commonly, royalist supporters and pamphleteers tended to reinforce and amplify the king's perception of the covenanters as antimonarchical.⁵¹ During the mass subscription campaign for the National Covenant in 1638, opponents like John Forbes of Corse – a professor of Divinity at King's College in Aberdeen and one of the leading Aberdeen Doctors – emphasised what the broader implications of the covenanting manifesto were for sovereignty. In his tract, *A Peaceable Warning to the Subjects in Scotland*, it was the moral and constitutional legitimacy of signing a document which did not give adequate recognition to royal power which was of greatest concern to Forbes.⁵² Hence, the sentiment expressed by the anonymous poet, "P.J.", who accompanied the king's attendants from Edinburgh to Glasgow during a

48. A Proclamation and Declaration to inform Our loving Subjects of Our Kingdom of England of the seditious practises of some in Scotland, seeking to overthrow Our Regall Power under false pretences of Religion (London, 1638), 2.

49. Historical Manuscript Commission, 9th Report Appendix (1885), No. 131, 250.

50. Scottish Record Office, Ms GD45/1/39, Dalhousie Muniments, 'Copy of letter from the earl of Roxburgh to Charles I dated July 1638'.

51. For example, see: HMC, 9th Report App., No. 275, 259. Draft letter from the earl of Traquair to the marquis of Hamilton dated [17 May 1638]; The Iniquity of the Late Solemn League, or Covenant Discovered. By way of a Letter to a Gentleman desiring information upon the Poybt. Whereunto is subjoynd the Covenant it selfe ([Oxford], 1643), 1-14.

52. G.D. Henderson, ed. The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History (Edinburgh, 1957), 91.

royal visit to Scotland in 1641 was typical of the royalist attitude to dissent when, in 'A Scottish Journie', he declared, "A poxe upon them all/ That would have monarchy goe lesse or fall".⁵³

Defending the covenanting cause against royalist charges that it was antimonarchical was an important feature of the mass, political propaganda produced under the rule of Charles I. This was, largely, due to the evolving political culture since the rapid advance of the covenanting, political agenda between 1637 and 1642 had resulted in major political and constitutional change which was achieved at the expense of monarchical power. By 1642, the provisional government had established a radical version of a constitutional monarchy. While lip service was paid to the king's authority, the covenanting administration had consolidated its own power by an incremental stripping away of the traditional rights and prerogatives of the crown. Having called and prorogued parliaments and general assemblies; passed and enacted laws; levied and collected taxes; declared war, raised troops and held general musters of all fencible men; and, established informal, diplomatic ties with other nations including France, the Low Countries and the Palatinate, the covenanters had relegated Charles I, in effect, to a figurehead with only the vestiges of power. Other than retaining the crown's right to dispense patronage by granting peerages and titles, the sole authority vested in the king by the covenanter-dominated administration was the ratification of legislation which, in effect, was purely nominal for all laws and decrees passed by the government were presented to Charles as a *fait accompli*. To offset criticism of the regime and to undercut accusations of sedition, covenanting polemicists characterised the movement's opposition to the king, in general, as conservative, altruistic and patriotic. During the petitioning campaign of 1637-38, when royal proclamations and privy council decrees denounced the protest as seditious, a concerted effort was made to identify the covenanting cause with the public good by emphasising its legitimacy. The petitions read out at the market crosses in Stirling and Edinburgh on 20 and 22 February 1638 respectively by Archibald Johnston of Warriston and John, earl of Cassillis as spokesmen for the nobles, barons, burgesses and ministers protesting against the Caroline religious policies including the imposition of the new prayer

⁵³. Anon., 'A Scottish Journie: Being an account in verse of a tour from Edinburgh to Glasgow in 1641' in Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, ed. C.H. Firth (Scottish History Society, 1904) II, 287.

book stressed that their opposition stemmed from a "prepostorous zeal and not out of any disloyaltie or dissafectioun".⁵⁴ Similarly, in a covenanting supplication of August 1638, their treatment as seditious rebels was said to be a cause of "bitter complaint" which "confirmed all our adversaries misinform[ti]ones" and thus "provoked his Ma[jes]tie to us[e] his power against us as a disobedient peopall that we may be brought to deserved ruine & conditione".⁵⁵

Literary propaganda issued by the covenanting leadership to co-ordinate the public subscription campaign for the National Covenant attempted to assure potential adherents that their support indicated their commitment to preserving political stability. One broadsheet, *Motives [and] directiounis for unione in the good cause now in hand*, for instance, emphasised the importance of disciplined solidarity among the protestors and the righteousness of their cause; declaring that, "To unifie without vertue and equitie is nothing bot ane conspiracie & combina[ti]on so where we have srenth and rightiousnes goeing before our unitis to that necessar harmonie".⁵⁶ Conserving the public good was propagated, often, as the *raison d'être* of the movement in an effort to evade the treason laws: hence, the distinction was made between a private conspiracy by individuals carried out for personal aggrandisement and a mass show of discontent by the "collective bodie of ye kingdome" in the national interest as was suggested in *The Lawfulness of the subscription of the confession of faith*. Here, in response to royalist claims that signators to the National Covenant were involved in "making of a band against the law & act of parliament", it was argued that adherents were not perpetrating an act of sedition aimed at undermining existing authority; rather, they were affirming the *status quo* because the chief purpose of the document was for the "maintainence of religion and for preservation of laws, liberties & peace of the kingdom".⁵⁷ When charges of rebellion were levelled at the movement by the

⁵⁴ S.R.O., Ms GD22/3/792, Cunningham Graham Muniments, 'Covenanting protestation read at Stirling mercat cross [Feb. 20 1638]'; S.R.O., Ms GD26/10/15, Leven and Melville Muniments, 'Instrument of Protest dated Edinburgh, February 22, 1638'. For printed versions see: *Records of the Kirk of Scotland, containing the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies, 1638-54*, ed. A. Peterkin (Edinburgh, 1843), 59-60.

⁵⁵ S.R.O., Ms GD16/46/40, Airlie Muniments, 'To his Matie Commissioner the complaint & supplication off his maties subjectes heartilye grieved'.

⁵⁶ S.R.O., Ms GD45/1/47, Dalhousie Muniments, Copy of 'Motives [and] directiounis for unione in the good cause now in hand'.

⁵⁷ S.R.O., Ms GD45/1/48, Dalhousie Muniments, 'The Lawfulness of the subscription of the confession of faith [1638]'.

High Commissioner, the earl of Traquair, at the Edinburgh General Assembly in 1639, they were countered by a public acknowledgment of the traditional, historical legitimacy of the Scottish crown and the king's preeminence as God's viceregent which was accompanied by a pledge to defend the person and office of the crown in accordance with the law and the "duty of good subjects".⁵⁸ Systematic campaigns intent on portraying covenanters as royalist advocates were launched, periodically, to shape populist opinion. Even after martial confrontation between the crown and the covenanters in the Bishops' Wars, it remained of critical importance to the movement to dispel its antimonarchical image as was evident in one condition of the Treaty of Ripon of 1641 which stipulated that the "Loyalty, integritie, and faithfulness of his Majesties subjects of Scotland towards his Majesties Royall Person, and Government, may at the closing of this Treaty of Peace, and at the time of public Thanksgiving for the same, be made knowne in all places, and all Parish Churches of his Majesties Dominions".⁵⁹ Ministers were instructed by the commissioners of the general assembly in 1643 that it was their duty to counter charges of antiroyalism in their sermons and, to expose their critics as the king's enemies by explaining the "difference betwixt the King's power and just authoritie, and the pretending and abusing thereof by such men for their own private ends; and to show what opposition to such men and their wayes, is a true testimony of faithfulness and loyalty to the King".⁶⁰

Rhetorical attempts to dispel charges of political radicalism and to associate the covenanters with conservative altruism in its attitude towards the crown resulted in a projection of the movement as a champion of the national interest. The propaganda generated by the Engagement was especially illustrative of this characterisation. The question of whether the interests of the king took precedence over the interests of the commonweal was central to the political controversy engendered by the alliance struck between the king and moderate covenanters in December of 1647 that was ratified by parliament in early March of 1648. Negotiations with the king which were handled, primarily, by

58. J. Aiton, The Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, giving a History of the Second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and of the Covenanters, During the Reign of Charles I (Edinburgh, 1836), 669.

59. Articles of the Large Treaty Concerning the establishing of the Peace betwixt the Kings Majesty and the People of Scotland, and betwixt the two Kingdomes. Agreed Upon by the Scottish, and English Commissioners in the City of Westminster the 7th day of August 1641 (London, 1641), 22.

60. A Necessary Warning to the Ministerie of the Kirk of Scotland, from the meeting of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly at Edinburgh 4 Jan. 1643 (Edinburgh, 1643), 9.

the earls of Loudoun, Lauderdale and Lanark ended in an agreement to provide Charles with military aid to invade England in exchange for his commitment to religious, fiscal and constitutional concessions. Under the terms of the Engagement, the king was required to establish a presbyterian settlement and religious conformity on a trial basis; to obtain payment of the arrears owed to Scotland from the "brotherly assistance" as stipulated in the Solemn League and Covenant with England and reimbursement of the outstanding debt incurred by the Scots army in Ireland; and, to bring about a "complete union" in the multiple kingdom. Implementation of the pact was contingent on Charles's ratification of the Covenant by statute; fulfillment of his rôle as a godly magistrate by agreeing to suppress heretical and schismatic views in England; adherence to an earlier agreement to establish presbyterianism for a three year, trial period in the south; and, formulation of a more permanent church settlement in England in consultation with the Westminster Assembly of Divines which was to include twenty royal nominees. For their part, the Scots agreed to mount an invasion of England if the parliament there refused to consider a personal treaty with Charles and allow him to return to London. Thus, martial intervention hinged on the English parliament's disbanding of all troops and agreeing to respect the crown's prerogative to control the militia; dispense patronage in the form of civil offices and honours; and, maintain a royal veto over legislation.⁶¹ Reliant as they were on decisions made by the English parliament, these conditional clauses were highly provocative in that they were not only contrary to the parliamentarians' official negotiating stance as articulated in the Four Bills but they had already been firmly rejected.⁶² Indeed, the substance of the Engagement had been promoted to no avail by the Scottish commissioners at London earlier in the year; hence, the pact itself had little chance of winning acceptance. When the Scottish commissioners had broached, initially, the subjects of a royal veto over legislation and the king's control of the militia - or, the "Power of War and Peace" - both were dismissed as denials of parliamentary authority.⁶³ To the proposal to disband the armed forces, the English parliament had argued that maintenance of the present troop strength was essential

61. For a complete text of the Engagement see: Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, 347-52.

62. For texts of the Four Bills and the king's reasons for rejecting them see: *Ibid.*, 335-47, 353-6.

63. An answer to the chief, or materiall Heads & Passages in the late Declaration, called the Declaration of the Kingdome of Scotland: and Answer of the Commissioners To both Houses of Parliament upon The new Propositions of Peace and the foure Bills (London, 1648), folios 14, 16.

to provide security in case "Adversaries should arise". Moreover, in contrast to the Scots' view that the army enslaved the king and subjects, it was answered that "they are kept on foot that England may not be slave to King and Scotland". It was the English, parliamentarians' contention, too, that the army needed to be kept on foot as a better alternative to a militia because trained bands "take housekeepers from Trade, Wives, Children and Servants" and, as well, they impoverish the country as "the Plow and Trade pays the Soldier". In addition, it was suggested that Charles' retention of the traditional, monarchical right to dispense patronage and confer honours would have only adverse consequences. Not only would loyalists of the crown be promoted but, given the potential backlog, their numbers would be substantial; resulting in a dilution of the nobility's power and prestige. Furthermore, it was claimed that English money would be used to maintain Scottish nobles as formerly and, also, Scots would be the recipients of English honours. Taken together, these arguments were seen as reason enough by the proponents of the parliamentary cause to deny the king his hereditary rights and privileges.⁶⁴ Therefore, given the existing attitudes of the English parliamentarians, the conditional clauses in the Engagement were offered, ostensibly, in good faith but, in reality, they were designed as self-serving. For the Engagers, they offered a moral premise for a declaration of war against England by allowing the administration to claim that their planned military expedition was not an act of aggression against another sovereign state; rather, it was a defensive measure performed in obligation to the Solemn League and Covenant in order to protect monarchical authority.

Opponents of the Engagement in Scotland led by the more radical covenanters claimed that the agreement with the king was against the best interests of the country. Ministers labelled its promoters as a "popisch, prelaticall and malignant partie ... quhois number and insolencie in expressions and carriage is of late exceidinglie increased" and whose activities threatened protestantism, the reformation and the Solemn League and Covenant.⁶⁵ In *An Information of the present condition of Affairs, and Declaration Concerning present duties from the Commission of the General Assembly unto the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland*, it was maintained that the Engagement was

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 18-9.

⁶⁵ *The Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale 1589-1596, 1640-1649*, ed. J. Kirk (Stair Society, 1977), 240.

illegal, sinful and "destructive to Religion and the Union betwixt the Kingdomes" which was carried out by "Malignants" and "disaffected men in parliament" despite the opposition of "considerable numbers of the House".⁶⁶ By invading England on behalf of the king, the Engagers had therefore "threatened ruin and desolation to the Lord, and tended to the rending a sunder of the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, the overturning of the work of God, and the putting of an Arbitrary and unlimited power unto the hands of the King, and the setting up of the Popish Prelaticall and Malignant party".⁶⁷ A declaration from the general assembly to parliament in March of 1648 sought justification of the invasion of England with respect to its legality particularly in light of the Solemn League and Covenant. It demanded, too, that Scotland oppose the pro-royalist party if it should rise in arms because it was an enemy to the "caus and covenant" and that parliament declare Charles's "offers concerning religion" inadequate and that it obtain guarantees of the king's adherence to the Solemn League and Covenant in order to establish presbyterianism throughout the multiple kingdom prior to the restoration of royal authority. Moreover, it called for individuals serving on public committees and in the military to be of proven loyalty to the cause of the Covenant, giving "constant pruiFFE of ther integritie and faythfulnes in this caus". Also, a parliamentary commitment to include the general assembly in the decision to pursue the Engagement because of its impact on religion was demanded by the commissioners. With this declaration, anti-engagers therefore characterised themselves as the champions of the national interest for the implementation of these guidelines was regarded as a means to unify the country "in ane unanimous undertaking of such duties as are requisit for the preservation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, the guid, peace and saftie of the kingdomes".⁶⁸

Popular sentiment against the Engagement was cultivated through the use of pamphleteering, the pulpit and supplication. Tracts such as *A short information from the Commission of the General Assembly, concerning the Declaration of the Honourable Court of Parliament lately emitted to the*

66. An Information of the present condition of Affairs, and Declaration Concerning present duties from the Commission of the General Assembly unto the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1648), 1.

67. *Ibid.*, 5.

68. Lothian and Tweeddale Records, 236-7.

Kingdom, which was published in May of 1648 were issued by the radical kirk party to fuel mass opposition to the pro-Engagement administration. Criticism of the government was broad-based with complaints made of its laxity in enforcing the laws against malignants and its handling of negotiations with the English parliament, in general, and its inability to extract concessions from Charles, in particular.⁶⁹ The political credibility of the administration was impugned further with the demand that only those of "integrity and faithfulness" be allowed to sit on committees and to manage the war "so as to encourage the people to support them".⁷⁰ Ministers in the localities were relied on to co-ordinate mass opposition to the Engagement. In the spring of 1648, for instance, a directive condemning the Engagement as contrary to the national interest was sent to the presbyteries which was to be read out in each parish church. Disciplinary sanctions were to be imposed against any ministers or parishioners who voiced dissent with citations issued to appear before the general assembly to "render an account of ther disaffection and disobedience to that which so much concernes the covenant and the ends theroff".⁷¹ When parliament convened on 1 June 1648, it was inundated by petitions from towns, shires and presbyteries denouncing the Engagement. While only a sampling of the supplications, twenty-two, were read out in parliament, they contained similar reservations. According to the broadsheet, *Intelligence from Edinburgh*, the prospect of war with England was seen as foolhardy; thus, the petitioners urged parliament "to desist from ingadging the kingdome in a speedie warr untill all other meanes by treaty or other wayes should be first assayed".⁷² The alliance with the king was viewed with suspicion because, firstly, no safeguards for settling religion had been installed and, secondly, it would involve a "conjunction with malignants who were preferred enemyes of the Covenant and of Religion".⁷³ Some of the petitions also contained scathing, personal attacks on the duke of Hamilton, questioning his motives and his political credibility as the leader of

69. A short information from the Commission of the General Assembly, concerning the Declaration of the Honourable Court of Parliament lately emitted to the Kingdom (Edinburgh, 1648), 2, 3.

70. *Ibid.*, 5.

71. *Lothian and Tweeddale Records*, 235.

72. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642-55, ed. M. Wood et al. (Edinburgh, 1931-1967), 401.

73. *Ibid.*

the pro-Engagement faction and depicting him as an enemy of the people.⁷⁴ While the opposition's momentum in parliament was curtailed by the presentation of counter-petitions the following day in conjunction with a decision to refer the matter to a sub-committee which were tactics orchestrated by Hamilton,⁷⁵ the substance of its critique enjoyed wider airing in subsequent tracts produced in both Scotland and England. What the pamphlets tended to stress most was that, on the one hand, Hamilton's credentials as a "friend to Presbytery"⁷⁶ were questionable and that, on the other hand, his duplicity in the past suggested that he had designs on the crown in line with a long-standing family ambition.⁷⁷

The covenanting movement's commitment to Calvinist ideology and its promotion of a presbyterian polity for the established church were critical factors in helping to shape the contemporary, propaganda debate on monarchical authority. In large measure, the propagandists' rhetorical efforts to combat the perception of antiroyalism centered on the argument that the presbyterian belief in the division of powers in church and state - characterised by Andrew Melville as the 'Twa Kingdoms' - was not incompatible with monarchical government. Even though the presbyterian model for governing the church contravened the Jacobean statute of 1594 which declared royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, the movement's polemicists offered a concerted defence of presbyterianism, largely, by stressing what they saw as its moral, political and constitutional benefits for the king. The Glasgow General Assembly's decision to dismantle the episcopacy in 1638 by outlawing the office of bishop in the established church and banning churchmen from civil offices in defiance of the crown's authority served to confirm royalist suspicions about the covenanters' as

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. The Designs and Correspondencies of the present Committee of Estates and That part of the Scottish Nation which is now entred into this Kingdom in Hostility, in some measure discovered by two Packets of Letters intercepted in the North, and sent up to the House of Commons. With an Introduction and Some Marginall Notes and Animadversions, By a private Pen (London, 1648), 5.

77. Ibid., 17. See also: The Scots Cabinet Opened. Wherein you have a short and full Account of the secret Transactions of the late affaires, by the Scots Commissioners with the King and Parliament, and the invisible steps by which wee are brought to a new Warre. Together with some Quaeries concerning a Personall Treatie, Propounded to awaken the Spirits of all true English-men, to take heed of the Scots Designes (London, 1648); The manifold Practises and Attempts of the Hamiltons, and particularly of the present Duke of Hamilton Now Generall of the Scottish Army To get the Crown of Scotland. Discovered in an intercepted Letter written from a Malignant here in London to his friend in Scotland (London, 1648).

dissidents thereby necessitating public expressions of the movement's loyalty to the crown. In addressing the issue at the general assembly, Alexander Henderson referred to presbyterianism as "a beautiful, a powerful, a profitable order" that was "very pliable also, or of such a nature, that it can well agree with monarchical government in a commonwealth".⁷⁸ Rigorous defence was offered for the ideological belief in the parity of ministers which, Henderson argued, necessitated the dismantling of the episcopacy; however, as he concluded, putting the principle in practise did not impinge on the king's sovereignty:

it is but a false aspersion cast upon this order and government of the house of God, to say, that it is an enemy to monarchical government, while as there is none so suitable thereto as it, O, say they, there is nothing but confusion in presbyteries where there is an equality. To these we would say, are not the senators of the college of justice all equal? and are not the privy-counsellors equal? And shall we say, because they are equal, they cannot consist with monarchical government? Nay, presbyteries, synods, provincial and general assemblies may as well stand with monarchy, as the colleges of justice, the council of any other judgement seat; yea, in all these there is a parity, and yet it occasions no confusion.⁷⁹

What were regarded as the political advantages of a presbyterian system for church organisation were highlighted in the pamphlet literature, often, by drawing unfavourable – and, at times, spurious – comparisons with an episcopal church polity. In seeking religious conformity with England as a means to solidify the political gains made by the Scottish Revolution, covenanting spokesmen used this tactic to address the issue of disloyalty. In a tract, *Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty perswading conformity of church government, as one principall meanes of continued peace betweene the two nations*, which was published in 1641 in the aftermath of the second Bishops' War, the power of the bishops was said, historically, to rival that of the crown while, by contrast, the authority of general assemblies had proven, it was claimed, to act in co-operative partnership with the king:

All which all these wayes have proceeded from Bishops seeking their own greatnesse, never from assemblies, which unlesse overruled by Bishops, have beene a strong guard to Monarchy and Majestracy, both the one and the other being the ordinances of

⁷⁸. A. Henderson, The Bishops Doom. A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly which sat at Glasgow anno.1638. On occasion of pronouncing the sentence of the greater excommunication against eight of the bishops, and deposing or suspending the other six. By Alexander Henderson, moderator of that and several subsequent assemblies. With a Postscript on the present decay of church discipline (Edinburgh, 1792), 24.

⁷⁹. Ibid.

God: The Church shall be peaceably governed by common consent of Church-men in assemblies; In which the Kings Majestie hath alwayes the eminency which is due unto the supreme Magistrate, and by which all heresies, errorrs and schismes abounding under Episcopall government shall be supressed, and not by Church men, who, being out of their oune element must needs stirre and make trouble to themselves, & the whole State, as wofull experience hath taught.⁸⁰

In *The Declaration of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland: Concerning the present expedition into England, according to the Commission and Order given from their Meeting at Edenburgh, August, 1643*, it was maintained that ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Scotland worked in tandem within the boundaries of their designated jurisdictions.⁸¹ Similarly, Robert Baillie in a pamphlet issued in 1646 - in response to tracts written by John Maxwell, a deposed prelate, and Patrick Adamson, a Jacobean archbishop of St. Andrews, which had emphasised that presbyterianism challenged the king's sovereignty and thus engendered political and constitutional uncertainty - argued that, on the contrary, political stability was a product of the consensual, tripartite relationship of the general assembly, parliament and the crown. The legislative functions of the civil and ecclesiastical bodies, for example, were characterised as complementary; for, as Baillie contended,

it is the Law of the kingdome that the Assemblies determination in matters proper to its cognitance should be obeyed, if any thing new be acted, which requires a civill sanction, the Commissioners of the Assembly supplicate the next ensuing Parliament for their ratification, which for common is easily obtained, the clear equity of the matter purchases a ready agent. If there happen to be cause why the Parliament should not be satisfied, the assembly by their reasons is perswaded to be of the Parliaments minde; no such unanimous Courts in the Universe, as the Parliament and Generall Assembly of Scotland, they never had any difference, but what bad Courtiers and Prelates procured for their oune interests put these pests of the Church and State to a corner, the King,

⁸⁰. A. Henderson, Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty perswading Conformity of Church government, as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations (n.p., 1641), 10-11.

⁸¹. The Declaration of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland: Concerning the present expedition into England, according to the commission and order given from their Meeting at Edenburgh, August, 1643 (London, 1643), 9.

Parliament and Assembly shall never differ, but alwayes concurre for the strengthening and comforting one another.⁸²

Thus, the royalist portrayal of presbyterianism as a natural enemy of monarchy was countered by the covenanting depiction of it as an ally to the civil power, in general, and to royal authority, in particular.

III.

Despite the royalist tendency to equate covenanting opposition to Charles I's policies with subversion of the crown, the movement's polemicists were, in general, strong advocates of the monarchical system of government. Covenanting attitudes towards kingship rested on traditional assumptions about the origins and structure of authority; thus, God was always acknowledged as the fount of all earthly power. An hierarchical typology of the natural order consisting of the deity followed by Christ and, then, the king as God's 'vice-regent' or 'supreme magistrate' on earth ruling over a subservient people was taken as the inviolable protector of social and political stability. Samuel Rutherford in his work, *Lex Rex, or Dispute from the Just Prerogative of King and People*, began with the basic premise that all systems of government were from God and thus divinely ordained: "All civil power is immediately from God in its root ... God hath made man a social creature, and one

82. R. Baillie, An Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, from the manifold base calumnies which the most Malignant of the Prelats did invent of old and now lately have been published with great industry in two Pamphlets at London. The one Issachars burden & c. written and published at Oxford by John Maxwell, a Scottish Prelate, Excommunicate by the Church of Scotland, and declared an unpardonable Incendiary by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. The other falsely intituled A Declaration made by King James in Scotland, concerning Church government and Presbyteries; but indeed written by Patrick Adamson, pretended Archbishop of St. Andrews, contrary to his own conscience as himself on his Death-bed did confesse and subscribe before many Witnesses in a Write hereunto annexed (London, 1646), 36.

who inclineth to be governed by man, then certainly he must have put this power in man's nature".⁸³ In a sermon delivered to the English House of Lords in 1645, Alexander Henderson drew an analogy between the king as a vigilant guardian over his people and the natural inclination of the strong to guard the weak; comparing ruler and ruled to the "tall cedar and the low shrub growing at the root of it".⁸⁴ Recognition of the natural order was explicit when Henderson further declared that "In a state there be superiors and inferiors, the Lord who hath appointed in nature ... the elephant and the mole hath also in policy appointed kings, princes, and nobles, to rule and govern and others of lower condition to honour and obey".⁸⁵ Elsewhere, Henderson characterised rebellion as "an abomination before God"; declaring that "The true reformed religion abhors disobedience, and gives to Caesar that which is Caesars".⁸⁶

While styling themselves as upholders of a monarchical form of government, covenanting polemicists also championed the cause of limited monarchy. It was, therefore, a common feature of their mass political propaganda to argue that the purpose of the movement's opposition to Charles I's government was to restrict royal authority rather than usurp it. The antierastian views promoted by radical presbyterians since the sixteenth century on the question of royal supremacy in the church and the significance, in their ideology, assigned to the role of the godly magistrate were key elements that shaped covenanting rhetoric on the subject of the monarchy. While the preeminence of the crown in a civil society went - in propaganda terms - largely unchallenged, royal supremacy in the church was denounced, repeatedly, as unacceptable. Drawing on the Melvillian tradition in the Scottish church of

83. S. Rutherford, Lex, Rex, or The Law and the Prince: A Dispute from the Just Prerogative of King and People: Containing the Reasons and Causes of the Most Necessary Defensive Wars of the Kingdom of Scotland, and of their Expedition for the Aid and Help of their Dear Brethren of England; in which their Innocency is Asserted, and a Full Answer is Given to a Seditious Pamphlet Entituled "Sacro-Sancta Regum Magestas", or The Sacred and Royal Prerogative of Christian Kings; under the name of J.A. but Penned by John Maxwell, The Excommunicate Popish Prelate: With a Scriptural Confutation of the Ruinous Grounds of W. Barclay, H. Grotius, H. Arnisaeus, Ant. de Domi Popish Bishop of Spaloto and of Other Late Anti-Magistratical Royalists, As the Author of Ossorianum, Dr Ferne, E. Simmons, the Doctors of Aberdeen, etc in Forty-four Questions (reprint, Harrisonburg, 1982), 1.

84. A. Henderson, A Sermon, Preached Before the Right Honourable House of Lords, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, upon Wednesday the 28th of May, 1645 (Edinburgh, 1846), 117.

85. Ibid.

86. A. Henderson, A Sermon preached by the Reverend Mr. Alex. Hendersone, before the sitting doune of the Gen. Assembly begun the 12 of August, 1639 (n.p., n.d.), 5.

the 'Twa Kingdomes', covenanting polemicists elaborated on the belief in the "mutual subordination" of authority in the state and the church as well as on the differences in the nature of civil and ecclesiastical power to demonstrate not only the compatibility of the institution of monarchy with the established church, but to justify limitations on the civil magistrate's influence on church policy and polity. An equal partnership between magistrates and ministers operating within their own designated spheres of influence was said to constitute the basis of a well-governed commonwealth:

But while both are about the same things, causes, and persons, it is a very different way: the power of the one is but ministerial, and the weapons of his warfare are spiritual, not carnal; but the power of the other, though in respect of God, whose minister he is, it be ministerial, yet in respect of his subjects and inferiors, it is magisterial, and hath authority to compel and coerce. The magistrate may not go to the pulpit to preach or minister the sacraments, nor may he, as he is a magistrate exercise ecclesiastical discipline; but ought by his authority to command all these necessary duties to be done. And the minister may not ascend to the tribunal to judge civil or criminal causes, yet ought he to teach, and in the name of God exhort that justice be done to all, by which every one may have that which is due unto him.⁸⁷

Validation for the circumscribed role of the christian magistrate in church affairs was offered by allusions to history and scripture with the evangelising power of the pulpit used to propagate these views. The general assembly in 1641, for instance, reprinted a work by the sixteenth-century reformer, John Craig, *Ane forme of examination before the Communion*, which reiterated the long-held precept that the function of the christian magistrate in the church should be to "defend the true religion, and discipline and punish all troublers and contemners of the same".⁸⁸ To ensure broader dissemination of this view, ministers were ordered to acquaint their congregations with Craig's work and to "exhort their flocke, to buy the said Booke, and reade the same in their Families, whereby they may be better instructed".⁸⁹ In sermons, the limited role assigned to the godly magistrate was elucidated more fully. In "A breife refutation of the doctrine of Erastianisme" which was delivered in 1644, the anonymous minister delineated the radical presbyterian stance on state interference in church matters; arguing that "there is a Government appointed by Christ in his kirk different from

⁸⁷. Henderson, *Sermon, Preached Before the Right Honourable House of Lords*, 125, 118-9.

⁸⁸. J. Craig, *An Act by the General Assembly of Scotland: Being a forme of examination at the speciall desire of the Kirke; by them thought to be so needfull, that every pastor exhort his flocke, to buy the said Booke, and read the same in the Families, whereby they may be better instructed And that the same may be read, and learned in Lector Schooles* (London, 1641), 5.

⁸⁹. *Ibid.*, frontispiece.

the civill government ... this government is not in the handes of the civile magistrate bot in the hands of christs oune officers which he hes appointed for governing his hous by inserting of church censures".⁹⁰ Here, state control of church policy and polity was deemed unacceptable on the grounds that it would not only undermine the stability of the church by subjecting it to the potential capriciousness of civil officials but it would be contrary to scripture.⁹¹ The minister, also, attempted to prove that the reluctance of English parliamentarians to implement a presbyterian polity for their established church in compliance with the Solemn League and Covenant stemmed from their misunderstanding about the allocation of authority and the balance of power between church and state under a presbyterian system of church government. By defining the separate spheres of influence of civil and ecclesiastical officials, he tried to alleviate fears that the presbyterian church courts would augment their authority to such an extent as to render them more powerful than parliament by encroaching on its privileges.⁹² Moreover, he maintained that, if there was a threat to parliamentary sovereignty, it came not from the church but from its "owne servants"; declaring that

Our Kings have still been feared for this and Malignants also goeing under the name of Royalists, they thought they could not gett their throne secure if soe be chryst got leave to reigne beside them And this amongst in anie others hath made their throne shake. O that kings would be wise ... it wer their wisdome to be faithfull in what is committed to them bot for the government of his house it is not in their chartor and soe anything which will not thryve in their hands, their prudentiall lawes and rules will do noe good.⁹³

The antierastian premise that an acknowledgement of the king's power did not extend to church matters was encapsulated in a sermon given by Alexander Henderson at the Edinburgh General Assembly in 1639 which was, in turn, published as a tract. Whereas he advocated the necessity of recognising royal authority and maintaining an "inward reverence to princes", he rejected the king's claim to monarchical supremacy in the church: "I wisshe his oune prayers were never heard that doeth not heartillie pray for his Majestie. But the question is, What is his part in religion and matters

⁹⁰. National Library of Scotland, MSS 153 f. 37, Lauriston Castle Collection, 'Sermons 1644', .

⁹¹. *Ibid.*

⁹². *Ibid.*, f. 41, 44, 51.

⁹³. *Ibid.*, f. 52.

ecclesiastical?... Royall inspection belongs to Kings over all this kingdome ... As for the head of the Kirk we acknowledge none but Christ".⁹⁴

Inherent in the covenanting vision of kingship were guidelines for rendering obedience to royal authority based on the concept of a godly magistrate which found its fullest expression in their ideal of a 'covenanted king'. It became the mantra of covenanting idealogues that their preservation of Charles I's authority depended on both his fulfillment of the rôle of a godly magistrate in defending the established church and his ability to meet the common expectations of good kingship in protecting the commonwealth. This dual imperative was evident in the National Covenant when signators pledged themselves to "stand to the defence of our dread Sovereigne, the Kings Majesty, his Person and Authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true Religion, Liberties and Lawes of the Kingdome".⁹⁵ And it was reiterated in the Solemn League and Covenant with adherents swearing to "preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes".⁹⁶ Moreover, each manifesto denied that there was either a present or a future ambition to usurp monarchical power since it was declared in the National Covenant that "we have no intention nor desire to attempt any thing that may turne to the dishonour of God, or to the diminuation of the Kings greatnesse and authority"⁹⁷ while in the Solemn League and Covenant it was stated that "we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness".⁹⁸ Pamphleteers like Richard Ward, an English minister, in his guide to the Solemn League and Covenant which was printed in 1643 promulgated the standard, covenanting view that loyalty to the crown was dependent on its ability to carry out its twin functions as defender of the faith and protector of the nation's liberties: "We promise to endeavour to preserve his Majesties person and authority, to wit, so long as he really endeavours the preservation, and defence of the true Religion,

⁹⁴. Henderson, Sermon preached by the Reverend Mr. Alex. Hendersone, before the sitting doune of the Gen. Assembly, 5-6.

⁹⁵. G. Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents (Edinburgh, 1974), 200.

⁹⁶. Ibid., 209.

⁹⁷. Ibid., 200.

⁹⁸. Ibid., 209.

and Liberties of the Kingdom."⁹⁹ Covenanting demands for royal accountability, also, incorporated the dual imperatives of good kingship into their promotion of limited monarchy as the best form of government. Alexander Henderson in a sermon delivered at Westminster Abbey to an assembly consisting of members of the House of Lords in 1645 made the case that while civil authority was divinely ordained, specific forms of government were the product of human endeavour and thus subject to temporal conditions for their legitimacy: thus, he contended that,

magistry and civill government in the general is from God, and, is ordained of him, but the particular different forms of civil government are from men, and yet all of them lawful; whence it followeth, that civil power is not absolute but limited, first, by the will of God whose minister the magistrate is, and next, by such laws and limitations as are agreed upon to be the foundation of that power.¹⁰⁰

A strict criteria was set by covenanting polemicists on the issue of whether obedience was owed to rulers by the ruled. The Calvinist theory of revolution which advocated that, in extreme cases, the estates of the realm had the obligation to lead the resistance against tyranny in a defensive war shaped covenanting rhetoric on the question of obedience as did traditional, Scottish attitudes to popular sovereignty as articulated by sixteenth-century political theorists such as John Major, Hector Boece, John Knox and George Buchanan.¹⁰¹ The issue was of such relevance to one rank and file member of the covenanting movement that quotations from covenanting sermons and tracts on rebellion were collected in a contemporary commonplace book.¹⁰² 'Blind obedience' to a king was pronounced undesirable when it directly conflicted with the dictates of conscience or when there was the perception that the royal commands were contrary to God's will. Such thinking was heavily promoted by the covenanting ministry. According to Archibald Johnston, David Dick in a sermon given in August of 1638 declared that obedience to rulers was neither mandatory nor necessary since it was

⁹⁹. R. Ward, The Analysis, Explication and Application, of the Sacred and Solemn League and Covenant. For the Reformation and Defense of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and safety of the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland. Enjoyed by the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament in England, and the States of Scotland, to be taken by every man throughout all the three Kingdomes. Very useful, and profitable to be read, observed, and kept by all who take the said Covenant (London, 1643), 2.

¹⁰⁰. Henderson, Sermon, Preached before the Right Honourable House of Lords, 118.

¹⁰¹. D. Stevenson, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland 1644-1651 (London, 1977), 236.

¹⁰². University of Glasgow-Special Collections, Ms Gen 162, 'Common-place book of Moral excerpts'.

"Better to obey God than man; wherby he proved that disobedience to God could not be obedience to authoritie, it might weal be disobedience to man".¹⁰³ Advocating the defiance of authority was taken one step further by a Lothian minister, John Chairtres, when in March of 1638 at a church service in Currie he invoked a biblical text - II Chronicles chapter 15 verses 12-13 - regarding the covenant, emphasizing that "whosever would not seek the Lord God of Izrael sould be put to death, whither great or small, man or woman".¹⁰⁴ Allegiance to the crown was predicated on the legitimacy of the ruler himself as well as the validity of his methods of governing. In a sermon preached at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, Alexander Henderson stated that loyalty to a superior was contingent on three conditions: whether he had his "calling from God"; whether his "commandments be lawful";¹⁰⁵ and, whether he subordinated his desires to the dictates of a higher power. Under this rubric, if a superior's authority derived from an unlawful office, it was contended that "we owe them no obedience" and if they were legitimate superiors who "command what is unlawful we are not bound to obey them".¹⁰⁶ Moreover, if civil or ecclesiastical authorities did not carry out their responsibilities in accordance with the wishes of their immediate superiors, then the obedience of those under them was no longer guaranteed; or, as Henderson phrased it, "whenever men begin to go out of line, forget their own subordination, then these that are under them become no way subject to them, because they go out of the right order".¹⁰⁷ The right to resist was therefore justified - and, indeed, said to enjoy divine sanction - in the event that a ruler dispensed with the law:

if a prince or magistrate who had such subordination from God, depart out of the line, and command things unlawful, shall the people obey them; and go out likewise from under the line. No, no protection of God, and the sweet influences that comes down alongst to all that keep themselves under this line; for the blessing comes down the straight line of subordination, and keeping the line are sure to get a blessing.¹⁰⁸

The right to resist established authority and the legitimacy of a defensive war emerged as a prominent theme of covenanting mass political propaganda in order to justify the necessity of engaging

103. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639, ed. G.M. Paul (S.H.S., 1911), I, 377.

104. Ibid., 327.

105. Henderson, Bishops Doom, 18.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., 17.

108. Ibid.

in martial confrontation with the crown. During the First Bishops' War, covenanting polemicists conducted a co-ordinated campaign promoting the view that armed resistance against the king was a moral and constitutional imperative. In February of 1639, for instance, covenanting ministers attended a fast that was held "for reconciliation, union, direction, protection" of the cause; receiving further instructions that, on return to their respective parishes, they were to "informe al thair people both of the then stait of the quaestion, not for the bair naime of a bishop, but for al the differences betwixt Proclamat[ion] and Protestat[ion] as also for laifulness and necessitie of defending ourselves in this caice by airmes". As part of this propaganda initiative, David Dick delivered a sermon based on Psalms 142 verses 3-5 "anent Davids defending himself in the caive against Saule, whairupon he cleired both the stait of the quaestion, and lawfulness of resistance".¹⁰⁹ Other leading covenanters including Archibald Johnston of Wariston, the earl of Cassillis, Robert Baillie and Alexander Henderson supplied pamphlets on the issue of armed resistance for general distribution including Henderson's well-known tract *Instructions for Defensive Arms* which was printed, subsequently, in England prior to the outbreak of the civil war in 1642 to lend weight to the English parliamentary cause.¹¹⁰

The ideological promotion of a mixed or constitutional monarchy by the covenanters during the rule of Charles I found its foremost expression in Samuel Rutherford's *Lex, Rex, or The Law and the Prince; A Dispute from the Just Prerogative of King and People*.¹¹¹ The treatise which was published in 1644 was part of a public discourse on the nature of kingship which had been initiated by a royalist pamphleteer, John Maxwell, with his tract entitled *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*. In his work, Maxwell denounced the English parliamentarians' promotion of the concept of popular sovereignty and the right to resist tyranny as constitutionally legitimate on the grounds that it was inconsistent with constitutional practise and tradition. In an attempt to prove his point, he set forth a series of

¹⁰⁹. *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, 411.

¹¹⁰. Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, 133.

¹¹¹. For a fuller discussion of Rutherford's work and its significance see: J.D. Ford, 'Lex, rex *isto posita*: Samuel Rutherford on the origins of government' in *Scots and Britons*, 262-90; R. Gilmour, *Samuel Rutherford: A Study* (Edinburgh, 1904); Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 236-9; 290-1; E.J. Cowan, 'The Making of the National Covenant' in *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 1638-51*, ed. J. Morrill (Edinburgh, 1990), 81.

hypothetical propositions – in the style of a devil's advocate – to demonstrate the flaws in the popular sovereignist position. For instance, if political authority derived from the people and was reliant on their consent, then, not only could they exercise their right to depose rulers but they had the authority to control parliament in the sense that legislation should require popular sanction before it gained the force of law. Also, since the makeup of the populace altered continuously, the people were not obliged to adhere to the constitutional conditions of previous generations. To underscore how untenable these premises were, Maxwell cited George Buchanan as the only political writer to have supported such views and to acknowledge that "if the people were sovereign they could never transfer that sovereignty". Furthermore, he contended that the idea of monarchical accountability to the people was spurious since it was based on a false assumption that the parliamentary principle of *salus populi suprema lex est* – the safety of the people is the supreme law – inferred that 'the public' was a separate and distinctive order of society. Arguing that, in a hierarchical society, the king and his administration were an integral part of the *populus*, Maxwell maintained that the public good could not be juxtaposed against the interests of the king for they were indistinguishable. Thus, he concluded that public authority could not be used to oppose the monarch.¹¹²

By contrast, Rutherford in *Lex Rex* endeavoured to show that sovereign power originated with and was reposed in the people – that is, the *valentior pars* or "the weightier part" – in order to refute Maxwell's thesis and to vindicate the popular sovereignist claim that the problems inherent in arbitrary government necessitated radical, constitutional solutions. Through forty-four chapters styled as 'Questions', Rutherford explored the nature of civil society with respect to its origins and its sources of authority as well as the relationship of ruler and ruled, in general, and the duties, functions and limitations of kingship, in particular. In the preface, he declared that the advance of arbitrary government in recent years compelled him to write the tract; contending that "popery and defection had made a large step in Britain, and that arbitrary government had over-swell'd all banks of law, that it was now at the highest float".¹¹³ In his analysis of the origins of sovereign power, he recognised that

¹¹². J. Maxwell, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas* (Oxford, 1644), esp. pp. 95–101, 146–9, 173–8.

¹¹³. Rutherford, *Lex Rex*, xxi.

civil society was the product of divine unction; but, he set out to prove that "there is no reason in nature why one man should be king and lord over another".¹¹⁴ Arguing that "all men be born equally free" and thus in a state of nature there were no natural superiors, he reasoned that the formation of government and the delegation of authority to another such as a king grew out of a secondary or artificial law of nature dictated by an individual and communal need for self-defense. Royal authority, therefore, derived from the common consent of the people who collectively "resigneth their power to one or more rulers", having the "power to appoint what government they shall think good".¹¹⁵ In response to the divine right tenet that the "kingly office itself come from God", Rutherford thus declared that

I conceive it is, and floweth from the people, not by formal institution, as if the people had by an act of reason devised and excogitated such a power: God ordained that power. It is from the people only by a virtual emanation, in that respect a community having no government at all may ordain a king or appoint an aristocracy.¹¹⁶

Rutherford's prescription for good kingship placed a premium on responsibility, co-operation and accountability. In assessing the relationship between ruler and ruled, he characterised the ideal king as a tutor rather than a father - and thus one who could be called to account for his administration - exercising a brand of authority which was more "fiduciary and ministerial" rather than "masterly".¹¹⁷ While conceding that a proper reverence towards a monarch by his subjects was his due, nonetheless, he emphasised the ultimate superiority of the latter over the former: "But simply absolutely the people is above, and more excellent, than the king, and the king in dignity inferior to the people".¹¹⁸ Given that the "power of creating a man a king is from the people", the community had the right not only to allocate royal authority by "giving it to this man, not to that man, that he may rule over them" but to limit it so that "they may measure out, by ounce weights, so much royal power, and no more and no less" and make it conditional in order to "take again to themselves what they gave

114. *Ibid.*, 2.

115. *Ibid.*, 3.

116. *Ibid.*, 6.

117. *Ibid.*, 69, 64.

118. *Ibid.*, 77-8.

out upon condition if the condition be violated".¹¹⁹ For Rutherford, then, elective, limited monarchy dependent on the suffrages of the people accorded with divine will since "God intendeth the king for the people's good, and not the people for the king's good".¹²⁰ Moreover, this advocacy of popular sovereignty had broader constitutional implications, as well, for given that the people were the "fountain-power", parliament was considered to be the embodiment of their authority possessing an ultimate sovereignty that was indispensable for monarchical rule. Thus, Rutherford argued that,

If we consider the fountain-power, the king is subordinate to the parliament, and not co-ordinate; for the constituent is above that which is constituted. If we regard the derived and executive power in parliamentary acts, they make but a total and complete sovereign power; yet so as the sovereign power of the parliament, being habitually and underived a prime and fountain-power, (for I do not here separate people and parliament,) is perfect without the king, for all parliamentary acts, as is clear, in that the parliament make kings, make laws, and raise armies, when either the king is minor, captived, tyrannous, or dead; but royal power parliamentary without the parliament, is null, because it is essentially but a part of the parliament, and can work nothing separated from the parliament, no less than a hand cut off from the body can write.¹²¹

Central to Rutherford's thesis on governors and governed as presented in *Lex Rex* was his critique of various forms of government. Through the use of biblical analogies and the application of natural law principles, he attempted to demonstrate, in particular, the unacceptability of absolute monarchy. The common, absolutist subscription to the tenet that the king was above the law or, *Rex est lex viva, animata, et loquens lex*, - the king as king, is a living, breathing, and speaking law - was denounced as both malevolent and unnatural: "Now, an absolute power above a law is a power to do ill and to destroy the people, and this the people have not themselves, it being repugnant to nature that any should have a natural power in themselves to destroy themselves, or to inflict upon themselves an evil of punishment to destruction".¹²² Not only was absolute power "contrary to nature, and so unlawful" but it was viewed as a prescription for social anarchy since "one who, by nature, can sin against his brethren such a one as cannot sin against any but God only, and maketh him a lion and an unsocial man".¹²³ Moreover, he contended that absolutism as a form of government lacked divine

¹¹⁹. *Ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁰. *Ibid.*, 13.

¹²¹. *Ibid.*, 186.

¹²². *Ibid.*, 101-2.

¹²³. *Ibid.*, 104.

sanction for, as Rutherford put it, "I utterly deny that God ever ordained such an irrational creature as an absolute monarch".¹²⁴ This scathing critique of autocracy led Rutherford to conclude that the ideal form of government was limited monarchy.¹²⁵ Among the advantages inherent in constitutional monarchy was the protection it offered against disorder, instability and disobedience; thus, citing the workings of contemporary Scottish and English governments as models for a well-governed commonweal, Rutherford maintained that,

A limited and mixed monarchy, such as is in Scotland and England, seems to me the best government, when parliaments, with the king, have the good of all the three. This government hath glory, order, unity, from a monarch; from the government of the most and wisest, it hath safety of counsel, stability, strength; from the influence of the commons, it hath liberty, privileges, promptitude of obedience.¹²⁶

Arguing – in counterpoint to Maxwell – that the "safety of the people is the supreme and cardinal law to which all laws are to stoop",¹²⁷ he therefore asserted that, in comparison to other forms of government, limited monarchy was most compatible with the interests of the commonweal: "Power and absolute monarchy is tyranny: unmixed democracy is confusion: untempered aristocracy is factious dominion: and a limited monarchy hath from democracy respect to public good, without confusion".¹²⁸

Covenantal theology and Calvinist resistance theory were both invoked by Rutherford to substantiate his claims that, in the face of tyranny, the people possessed an inherent right to resist authority. Kingship as a sacred trust bound a ruler to a contractual relationship with his subjects in which there were the expectations of a reciprocal adherence to the law. Failure to comply with the agreement on the part of the ruler was autocracy and thus sufficient grounds for the populace to resume sovereignty and deny any authority to a despotic monarch: "Power is not an immediate inheritance from heaven, but a birthright of the people borrowed from them; they may let it out for their good, and resume it when a man is drunk with it".¹²⁹ The reciprocal oath between rulers and ruled which placed a "mutual civil obligation upon the king to the people, and the people to the

¹²⁴. *Ibid.*, 118.

¹²⁵. *Ibid.*, 190.

¹²⁶. *Ibid.*, 192.

¹²⁷. *Ibid.*, 119.

¹²⁸. *Ibid.*, 116.

¹²⁹. *Ibid.*, 123.

king",¹³⁰ was a binding commitment that Rutherford considered a key criteria for defining tyranny and necessitating active resistance. As a leading proponent of covenantal theology, he contended that popular adherence to monarchical authority was dependent on the king's "co-active power to fulfill his covenant".¹³¹ In the event that a monarch ceased to exercise his authority in a beneficial manner for the covenant, the obligatory obedience of a subject to his king was nullified: "The law shall warrant to loose the vassal from the lord when the lord hath broken his covenant".¹³² In addition, the Calvinist imperative of advancing protestantism was cited as one specific reason for launching a defensive war against autocracy. If a king as a godly magistrate proved unable or unwilling to maintain and protect the true religion, then it was incumbent on the people to assume this responsibility even if it necessitated active defiance of authority: for, as Rutherford argued,

The king, as a man, is not more obliged to the public and regal defense of the true religion than any other man in the land; but he is made by God and the people king, for the church and people of God's sake, that he may defend true religion for the behalf and salvation of all. If therefore he defend not religion for the salvation of the souls of all in his public and royal way, it is presumed as undeniable that the people of God, who by the law of nature are to care for their own souls, are to defend in their way true religion, which so nearly concerneth them and their eternal happiness.¹³³

In advocating the right to resist an autocratic ruler, a distinction was made between the king *in abstracto* and the king *in concreto*. While Rutherford stressed the importance of support for the institution of monarchy, he maintained that allegiance to the person of the king was reliant on the latter's legitimate use of royal power: "We must needs be subject to the royal office for conscience, by reason of the fifth commandment; but we must not needs be subject to the man who is king, if he command things unlawful".¹³⁴ The abuse of royal authority, especially when it led to the "destruction of laws, religion and subjects" was characterised as a "power contrary to law, evil, and tyrannical" which "tyeth no man to subjection".¹³⁵ Thus, the contractual arrangements between the king and the

¹³⁰. *Ibid.*, 54.

¹³¹. *Ibid.*, 198.

¹³². *Ibid.*, 199.

¹³³. *Ibid.*, 56.

¹³⁴. *Ibid.*, 145.

¹³⁵. *Ibid.*, 141.

people as established by scriptural tenets and natural law principles were the keystone of Rutherford's denial of royal, absolutist claims.

How representative Rutherford's ideas on kingship were for the early covenanting movement as a whole is a moot point,¹³⁶ nonetheless, seminal aspects of his philosophical perspective such as his advocacy of constitutional monarchy as the most effective form of government were shared by covenanting polemicists. Although the movement's willingness to challenge royal authority resulted in the diminution of the king's power by 1649 because of the cumulative effect of the covenanters' political, constitutional and military victories, its ideological commitment to the monarchy as constituting the best form of government remained intact as the Scottish reaction to Charles I's trial and execution made clear. With the defeat of the Engagers' army – known to some as "Duke Hamiltons army"¹³⁷ – and Charles's refusal to agree to the demands outlined in the Treaty of Newport at Carisbrooke Castle, the English House of Commons ordered that the king be brought from the Isle of Wight to Westminster where he was charged with treason and directed to stand trial on 20 January 1649. Despite an official protest presented two days later by the Scottish commissioners, the earl of Lothian, Sir John Cheislie and William Glendinning,¹³⁸ Charles was found guilty of treason on 27 January and ordered to be beheaded on a special scaffold erected at Whitehall on the 30 January. Right up to the eleventh hour, the Scottish commissioners issued declarations and letters which were often published as pamphlets protesting the king's trial and sentence. A letter from them to Lord Fairfax which was sent on 29 January called for leniency in an attempt to convince the English parliament not to carry out the death sentence against Charles. It was pointed out that preservation of the king's person had been requested repeatedly; thus, on instructions from the Scottish parliament, the commissioners reiterated the argument that the execution of Charles would be prejudicial to the national interest; political stability in the multiple kingdom; and, international protestantism. Since the king's person had been entrusted to the English parliament, it was said to reflect on the honour of Scotland and the faith of England "to take away his life". After reminding the English of the ties

¹³⁶. Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 239.

¹³⁷. *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere 1640-1654*, ed. E.J. Courthope (S.H.S., 1928), 187.

¹³⁸. *Ibid.*, 188.

binding the two nations as exemplified by the Solemn League and Covenant, the commissioners declared that there would be an unsettled peace if the king was executed. In terms of posterity, they urged the English parliament to consider the future consequences of their actions and the "dangerous evils and grievous calumnies" that would result from Charles's death. Moreover, they maintained that his death would "stir infamy abroad" and serve as a reproach against protestantism and the reformation. Thus, the Commissioners advised the parliamentarians in England to employ all legal means to stop the planned execution.¹³⁹

Scottish attitudes to the death of Charles I concomitant with the reaction in the country to the abolition of the crown underlined the nation's commitment to monarchical rule. Within a week of the king's execution, parliament issued a declaration which was widely circulated in print that proclaimed his son, the prince of Wales, as Charles II and it dispatched a representative, Sir Joseph Douglas, to the Hague in Holland to appraise the new king of developments in Scotland.¹⁴⁰ Literary propaganda sought to reinforce the political *status quo* by exonerating the Scottish nation from any complicity either in the act of regicide or in the establishment of republicanism. In a poem addressed to Charles II, 'Cry of Blood', Sir William Mure depicted the king's death as a providential test of faith that would serve to rejuvenate the cause of the Covenant. In characterising the execution of the king as sinful, Mure was adamant both in his defence of Scotland's innocence in the matter and in his condemnation of England's guilt.¹⁴¹ The Scottish commissioners continued to petition the English parliament protesting against regicide; enumerating long-standing grievances between the two nations; and, advocating the restoration of Charles II. In a paper issued on 24 February which detailed Scotland's relations with England since 1642, the English parliament's rejection of the Engagement in 1647; the execution of the king to the "dissent & protestation" of Scotland; the English declarations prohibiting the proclamation of the prince of Wales as king; the voting away of the "kingly office"; the repeal of oaths particularly the Solemn League and Covenant; and, the movement towards toleration in England as

¹³⁹ S.R.O., PA 7/24 f. 241, Parliamentary and State Papers 1531-1651.

¹⁴⁰ Proclamation issued by estates of parliament, 5 February 1649 (Edinburgh, 1649); S.R.O., Ms GD 16/50/45, Airlie Muniments; *Journal of Thomas Cunningham*, 188.

¹⁴¹ R.D.S. Jack, 'Sir William Mure and the Covenant' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, XVII-pt. I (1969), 11-12.

reflected in *An Agreement of the People* were all condemned as measures carried out without the advice and consent of the Scots. Thus, the Scottish commissioners formally protested against the policies; demanded that Charles II be recognised by the English parliament, and, that religious conformity be established.¹⁴² When the English army invaded Scotland in July of 1650, Scottish antipathy to the English brand of republicanism was reinforced. In *A declaration of the Army of England upon their March into Scotland*, it was noted that "many godly people in Scotland are not satisfied with the proceedings of this nation concerning the death of the late king, the rejection of his Issue, the change of the Government and several actions conversant thereabout".¹⁴³

Covenanting ministers attempted to disassociate themselves from the act of regicide so as to deflect blame for their alleged complicity in it. A newsletter, *The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially communicating Martiall Affairs to the Kingdom of England. From Thursday, January 25, to Thursday, February 1. 1649*, which dealt largely with the king's trial reported that in Edinburgh, "The Ministers preach against the Army in England, the usage of the King, and a toleration, and stir up the people to joyne as one".¹⁴⁴ In an "open letter" contained in a reprint of an English tract published in Edinburgh in 1649, presbyterian ministers declared that they had been blamed unjustly for the political conflicts resulting in the king's execution and that it had been only the need to preserve the laws and liberties of the commonweal which had prompted them to participate in political matters. Anxious to refute charges that the ministry had been "instrumental, toward the taking away the life of the King" and concerned with their misrepresentation in pasquils and tracts as a "bloody, traiterous sect", the pamphleteer contended that,

when we did first engage with the Parliament (which we did not till called thereunto) we did it with loyall hearts and affection towards the king, and his posterity. Not intending the least hurt to his Person, but to stop his party from doing further hurt to the Kingdom; not to bring his Majesty to justice (as some now speak) but to put him

¹⁴². S.R.O., PA 7/24 f. 275-9, Parliamentary and State Papers 1531-1651.

¹⁴³. *A declaration of the Army of England upon their March into Scotland* (London, 1650), 3.

¹⁴⁴. *The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially communicating Martiall Affairs to the Kingdom of England. From Thursday, January 25, to Thursday, February 1. 1649* (London, 1649), 10.

into a better capacity to do justice ... not to de-throne, and destroy him which (we much fear) is the ready way to the destruction of all his kingdoms.¹⁴⁵

To highlight the hypocrisy of the political nation, parliamentarians were reminded of their former declarations and covenant pledge to preserve the monarchy as well as their long-held contention that they were fighting not against the king but for religion.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in contrast to English opponents of the crown who endorsed the new political order in their propaganda by justifying the killing of a king and the overthrow of the monarchy as legitimate responses to tyranny,¹⁴⁷ their Scottish counterparts sought to distance themselves from such acts.

IV.

The ideological commitment to kingship expressed by covenanting polemicists between 1637 and 1649 in conjunction with their promotion of constitutional monarchy as the ideal form of government was sustained, for the most part, during the years of Cromwellian rule. Charles II's acceptance, in 1650, of the parliamentary propositions offered to him, initially, in 1649 bound him to honour the conditions of both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant including the establishment of presbyterianism insofar as they did not impinge on his other kingdoms.¹⁴⁸ Even

¹⁴⁵. C. Burges, A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel In and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to capitall punishment. With a short Exhortation to their People to keep close to their Covenant-Engagement (Edinburgh, 1649), 2.

¹⁴⁶. Ibid., 4.

¹⁴⁷. A Continuation of the Narrative being the last and final dayes Proceedings of the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall on Saturday Jan. 27 Concerning the Tryal of the King; With the severall speeches of the King, Lord President, & Solicitor General. Together with a Copy of the Sentence of Death upon Charles Stuart King of England (London, 1648); A declaration of the Army of England, 5; C. Hariss ed., A Scriptural Chronicle of Satan's Incendiaries, Viz. Hard-Hearted Persecutors and Malicious informers, With their Work, Wages, and Ends, who were Instruments of Cruelty against true Worshippers (London, 1670), 10, 13.

¹⁴⁸. The Declaration of the King of Scotland Concerning The Parliament of England, Lord Generall Fairfax, Lord Lieutenant Cromwell and The Lord President Bradshaw & c. And his Last Speech and Propositions to the Scots Commissioners for their advancement of His present Service, the recovery of His Crown and Rights in England, and the restoring of Him to the Exercise of His Royal Power, for the good of all His People throughout his Realms and Dominions. With the Proposals and Resolutions of the Commissioners of the Church and Kingdome; and the Papers interchanged betwixt His Majesty and them; as they were reported in Parliament, and the Generall Assembly (Edinburgh, 1649), 1-4.

though Charles' succession was not dependent on his subscription to the covenants, his status as a covenanted king was a political accommodation that allowed the majority of the political nation and moderate covenanters alike to rally in support of the king. Equally, by acceding to the demands which were presented to him, originally, in Holland by parliamentary envoys, he acquiesced, in effect, to a predominant *ethos* in Scottish political culture which, in requiring the crown to be accountable to the political nation, favoured limited monarchy.¹⁴⁹ When the moderator of the general assembly, Robert Douglas, gave a sermon at the king's coronation in 1651 which was held at Scone, he reinforced this sentiment with his call for Charles to discharge his obligations "to maintain true religion and the liberties of his people ... [and] to abide by the laws of the land as well as by God's law, and to accept the counsel of his traditional advisers".¹⁵⁰ Since the nature of kingship was characterised by Douglas as conditional with a "Covenant or mutuall Contract" between ruler and ruled, failure to fulfill the duties incumbent on the crown was said to warrant popular resistance: "A King abusing his power, to the overthrow of Religion, Laws and Liberties, which are the very Fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be controled and opposed".¹⁵¹

However, support for monarchical government along with a renewed sense of allegiance to the crown which was prompted by the execution of Charles I and exemplified by the succession of Charles II in Scotland was not universal in the early 1650s. Although Charles's status as a covenanted king helped to unite the established order in church and state – which had previously been factionalised over the Engagement – and allowed for the formation of a co-operative, national effort to oppose the English invasionary forces, church officials refused to recognise his kingship prior to his acceptance of the covenants. Few ministers complied with a government directive of 3 August 1650 ordering the observation of fast days for "cause and kingdom".¹⁵² Ten days later, an act of the commission of the general assembly which was circulated in print and manuscript form outlined the reasons for the

149. S.R.O., Ms GD 16/50/93, Airrie Muniments, 'The King's [Charles II's] Answer to the Scots commissioners demands presented to his Matie in holand'.

150. R. Douglas, The forme and order of the coronation of Charles the Second, king of Scotland, England, France and Ireland (Aberdeen, 1651), 6–7.

151. *Ibid.*, 10.

152. S.R.O., PA7/24 f. 12, Parliamentary and State Papers 1531–1651.

church's opposition to the king. Here, it was maintained that since Charles refused to subscribe the declaration, the "kirk and kingdom do not own or espouse any Malignant party, or quarrel or interest"; rather, an adherence to "former grounds and principles" which "do not own king or his interest" was advocated.¹⁵³ Such views were condemned in a tract of 1650 which was written by an anonymous Engager who lived in exile in Holland. In *The Remonstrance of the Assemblie of Scotland arraigned*, radical, covenanting ministers were reproached for promoting sedition in their sermons and they were accused of attempting "under colour of Religion and Reformation to break all the bonds of faith; and duty" with the result that they had destroyed the natural order:

and their tongues being set on fire of hell, have sett on fire the whole course of nature, and by their doctrines of disobedience, let loose all malicious and intemperate spirits to exercise their passions without checks; so as the three Kingdomes have now byn diverse yeares in their furnace of affliction, which these men have caused to be made hott to a prodigious extremitie.¹⁵⁴

Their advocacy of rebellion since 1637 was depicted as a cynical, political ploy to usurp royal authority which made them "Masters of the multitudes" who "set up a Tyranny over mens consciences".¹⁵⁵ Equally, the prospect of the church dictating the conditions of Charles II's kingship with respect to his acceptance of the covenants was rejected as not only as self-serving but unreasonable in light of past experience:

Can his Majestie follow those mens Councells, that first Rebelled against his Royall Father, subverted the government of Church and State in his Kingdomes, betrayed their trust, and at last cruelly murdered him, when not only filiall pietie but Royall blood, and Christian fortitude call him to so just revenge? Where disobedience is groune habituall, impudence is confirmed, and from such persons we may expect unnaturall, and barbarous demandes, not reasonable nor Christian propositions.¹⁵⁶

In response to the general assembly's promotion of the constitutional benefits of limited monarchy and popular sovereignty as well as its injunction to Charles that rulers had a duty to govern "in right and equitie", it was asserted that "wee thinke it monstrous that the people should have the power of

¹⁵³. Strathclyde Regional Archives, Ms T-PM 109/24, Records of the Maxwell family of Nether Pollok, subsequently the Stirling Maxwells, 'Act of Commission of General Assembly dated 13 Aug 1650'. For a printed version see: *West Kirk the 13 day of August, 1650* (Edinburgh, 1650).

¹⁵⁴. *The Remonstrance of the Assemblie of Scotland Arraigned* (n.p., 1650), 4.

¹⁵⁵. *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁵⁶. *Ibid.*, 7.

interpreting that rule, whereby their King should governe, which will prove a boundless, and unlimited misery far exceeding any affliction, that the boundless and unlimited power of any Prince can bring upon a people".¹⁵⁷ The contention was made that they "pretend popular license the Supream law, which is the destroyer of all lawes, and the most dangerous evill to all humane societies".¹⁵⁸ Moreover, on the issue of the right to resist, it was argued that obedience was a fundamental duty of the subject; thus, even if that duty was neglected, it did not alter the natural order for "a subject remains a subject as does a king".¹⁵⁹ Therefore, the general assembly's committment to covenanting principles was said to be emblematic of its subversive intentions for, "the league, & Covenant makes the preserving his Majesties person subordinate to defending Religion, and libertie"; hence, the covenant was characterised as the "Knot of their Treason & framed for that purpose".¹⁶⁰

Deep political and ideological divisions emerged in the covenanting movement between Resolutioners and Remonstrants or Protestors on issues related to the national interest which belied the sense of unanimity on the question of Charles II's kingship. Dissent was voiced in the wake of the general assembly's policy statements of 14 December 1650 and 24 May 1651, the Public Resolutions of the church, which permitted the army to employ former royalists in its defence of the country against Cromwellian troops. Although most Scots including the majority of ministers – known as Remonstrants – proved willing to conform to the directives, a vociferous minority, the Protestors, objected to the policy initiative. Criticism by more radical covenanters focused on the implications of the policy for church-state relations, in general, and, long-standing covenanting objectives and principles, in particular. In a supplication to the committee of estates submitted by ministers in the Stirling presbytery, the Protestors declared that while they supported monarchical government as a civil power, they refused to recognise its jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs.¹⁶¹ Complaint was made that, in attempting to implement the Public Resolutions, civil authorities were interfering in

157. *Ibid.*, 11.

158. *Ibid.*, 18–19.

159. *Ibid.*, 12.

160. *Ibid.*, 14.

161. N.L.S., MSS 497 f. 21, 22, 'The protestation given in by the Ministers of Stirling in the committee at Perth'.

church matters "contrary to divine law, the work of God, the Covenants, acts of the Church, Acts of Parliament & laws & ecclesiastical rights and privileges & liberties of the judicatories of the Kirk".¹⁶² With respect to previous civil citations ordering the ministers to comply with the policy, they questioned the right of the king and his administration to censure their campaign of dissent: "we do not hereby acknowledge his Majesty & your lordships to be competent judges to presbiterial acts & letters or our ministerial function or preaching or any part thereof which are the subject matter of your lordships letter requisition & ordinance because they are ecclesiastical & belong to ecclesiastical assemblies as the only proper judges thereof".¹⁶³ Moreover, the government's order for them to remain in Dundee was denounced as an infringement of their civil liberties since the "hearing of parties before judgement past upon them being a part of that native liberty that is due to all men ... being founded on the light of nature, common equity & reason & agreeable to the word of God & laws of all nations".¹⁶⁴

What underlay these antierastian and legal complaints of the Remonstrant-Protestor faction was the contention that, with the Public Resolutions, royal interests had taken precedence over both covenanting principles and the public good. A petition to the moderator and commission of the general assembly in 1651 by the Remonstrants reminded the officials that the primary objective of the covenanting cause had been to do God's bidding; thus, it reiterated the long-held, covenanting view that opposition to public policy stemmed not from any antiroyalist sentiment but, rather, that it derived from religious conviction.¹⁶⁵ James Guthrie in *The Remonstrance of the Presbyterie of Sterling against the present conjunction with the Malignant Party. To the Commission of the Kirk at St. Johnston* argued against compliance with the Public Resolutions on the grounds that the interests of the kirk and kingdom should be compatible. Not only was the use of "malignants" to fight against

162. *Ibid.*, f. 21, 23.

163. *Ibid.*

164. *Ibid.*, f. 21, 24.

165. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 109/27, Records of the Maxwell family of Nether Pollok, 'Petition to Moderator & Commission of General Assembly by Remonstrants [c. 1651]'.

Cromwell detrimental to the cause of the covenant,¹⁶⁶ but, he maintained that it was equally harmful and contrary to the best interests of the country: "We acknowledge that such persons are not fit to be employed in the defence of the Cause, but cannot conceive how the Kingdome and Cause in this busines can be well seperated".¹⁶⁷

In the propaganda debate generated by the Public Resolutions, church officials stressed that it was a civic responsibility to defend the country and preserve national autonomy; thus, involvement in the war against the English was characterised as a patriotic endeavour. Opponents of the policy were dismissed as unpatriotic by the commission of the general assembly for denying that the integrity of both the country and covenanting ideals was interdependent and thus indistinguishable:

the defending of the kingdome will be the defending of the cause also And we trust no Instrument shall be Employed to the defence of the kingdome to the prejudice of the cause So that we see not that mutch advantage is by that resolution given to the Enemie. And we wonder how it can be said to be Inductive to vytheris to comply with him to the prejudice of the kingdome, as being of lesse value and Importance then the cause except those other be such as have casten off naturall affection to their native kingdome Or Judges those who are presente Enemies to the kingdome Not to be enemies to the cause.¹⁶⁸

The right to resist and the use of physical force against a foreign aggressor was promoted as a nationalistic imperative for self-preservation in the face of oppression. Thus, in replying to the petition presented by the Stirling presbytery, the commissioners justified the policy established by the Public Resolutions as part of the country's "necessarie defence against a foraine enemie who not onlie has unjustlie invaded us, but also through the holy permissive providence of god has slaine many of our brethren with the sword, subdued a greate part of the land and are oppressing the people of god therin".¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ J. Guthrie, The Remonstrance of the Presbyterie of Sterling against the present conjunction with the Malignant Party. To the Commission of the Kirk at St. Johnston (Edinburgh, 1651), 3-4.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶⁸ N.L.S., MSS 497 f. 1-2, 'An answer to the letter of the ministers of the Presbytrie of Stirling to the commission from the Generall Assemblie from the said assemblie dated January 1651'; S.R.O., Ms GD 188/20/13/3, Guthrie of Guthrie Manuscript, 'An answer by the commission of the General Assembly to the presbytery of Stirling's letter or remonstrance, 1651'.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 3.

Historical and moral arguments were marshalled to vindicate the civil and ecclesiastical leadership in its decision to employ royalists in the military and to emphasise the necessity of waging war. The resort to physical force to preserve the commonweal as sanctioned both by the parliament of 1640 and by the reformers in the sixteenth century against the queen regent were cited as precedents for a defensive war.¹⁷⁰ It was maintained that it was the moral and civic obligation of the subject as a member of the "politicall body to preserve the whole to the uttermost of their power" and failure to do so was to be regarded as "murder and treachery ag[ains]t the common wealth".¹⁷¹ Given the circumstances, it was suggested that the use of physical force was a principle of natural law that enjoyed divine sanction and was not contradicted by scripture.¹⁷² Moreover, it was contended that, regardless of previous exclusions from public life such as those stipulated in the Act of Classes of 1649, the current threat of foreign invasion affected all Scots and thus the individual need for self-defence in "protection against violence" as well as the communal need for national preservation dictated the participation of all Scots in a defensive war. In addressing one of the main points of contention articulated by the Protestors, the commissioners posed a rhetorical question: "how shall they act or take up armes for their owne defence and defence of the countrie if they be not called ther unto and allowed by authoritie".¹⁷³ Given Charles II's commitment to the covenant, there was said to be a commonality of interests between the crown and the covenanting cause – "the king and cause are joyned in one" – and, thus, there was no longer any barrier to national unity.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, the Commissioners urged compliance with the Public Resolutions as a means to preserve both the political autonomy and the religious convictions of Scotland on the grounds that the "defending of the kingdome will be the defending of the cause also".¹⁷⁵

The Resolutioners' propaganda effort to garner populist support was reliant on rhetorical appeals which emphasised communal duty and national conscience by equating political action with

170. *Ibid.*, f. 4.

171. *Ibid.*, f. 5.

172. *Ibid.*, f. 6.

173. *Ibid.*, f. 9.

174. *Ibid.*, f. 15.

175. *Ibid.*, f. 19.

loyalty to kirk, crown and country . In a petition to the parliament of March 1651 in which the commission of the general assembly called for a co-ordinated defense of the country, it was declared that the nation's sovereignty, honour and reputation for the present and for posterity hung in the balance:

The eyes of God Augst & men at home & abroad ar upon yow, Religion King & Kingdom are in hazard be of good courage & behave yourselves valiantly ... that the present generation may bless you & the following again may hold yow in everlasting remembrance & admiration for piety towards God his Kirk & your countrey Loyalty to your prince & magnanimity for all.¹⁷⁶

Ministers were ordered to read a general assembly directive to their congregations in 1651 which warned that, with the invasion, the English threatened national freedom and religiosity for they intended "by violence to destroy our Liberties and Government, and to force us to quyte and renounce our Covenant".¹⁷⁷ Failure to comply with civic obligations to fight in a just cause for the common good was denounced as morally reprehensible and disloyal: "As the law of nature doeth bynd and oblige every one, that is a member of the politick bodie of a kingdome. or State, to endeavour to the uttermost of their power, the preservation of the whole ... in a just quarrell and cause, against unjust violence, which if they refuse to doe, they are guiltie of murther, and treacherie agaynst the Common-wealth".¹⁷⁸ David Dickson, a prominent Resolutioner, in a circulating letter addressed to James Guthrie argued that, regardless of past, political affiliations, allegiance to the crown made it imperative that all Scots join in a national effort against the English:

It seemes a disobedience to the kings Lawfull commands derogating from his honor, hindring of his happines, denying unto him the duties due to him as a covenanter a poynt of disloyalty tending to the deminishing of his just greatnes tending by evill example to the reduceing of his other subjects from preservation of the kingdome and the liberties of the subject and tending to put his person in the enemies hands who mainely seele his life.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶. S.R.O., Ms GD18/3968, Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, 'To the Kings Majesty our divine & dread sovereign & the honourable Estates presentlie assembled in the high court of Parl. The humble petition of the Commission of the General Assembly at Perth, 18 March 1651'.

¹⁷⁷. A Solemn Warning to all the Members of this Kirk, from The Commissioner of the Generall Assemblie. With An Act for Censuring such as Act or comply with the Sectarian Armie, Now infesting this Kingdom (Aberdeen, 1651), 12.

¹⁷⁸. Ibid.,

¹⁷⁹. S.R.O., Ms GD 18/3966 , Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, 'Letter from D. Dickson to J. Guthrie c. 1650'.

Thus, in the face of foreign aggression, definitions of the national interest employed a combination of commonwealth and covenantal rhetoric to the extent that they became interchangeable elements in the literary propaganda generated by the Resolutioner-Protestor debate.

Chapter IX

Kingship, Authority and the Right to Resist

Part II: 1660-1689

I.

Prior to his execution for treason in 1661, Archibald Campbell, the marquis of Argyll, produced a work as a didactic guide for his son which dealt, largely, with the manners, training, education and conduct of a nobleman in both private and public life. In *Instructions to a Son*, Argyll reflected on the nature of kingship as well as the relationship between the crown and the nobility and, in doing so, he offered an assessment of the political upheaval occasioned by the Scottish Revolution. While he expressed some regret for his political past as a prominent covenanting leader, he attempted to justify his actions, firstly, by referring to a predominant, historical pattern of crown-noble relations whereby the "Nobility of Scotland, have always bickered with their Princes, and from the insolency of that Custome, not any of our kings have been free".¹ Secondly, as a staunch presbyterian, he cited conscience and religious duty as his chief reasons for taking a leading part in opposing the Caroline administration. In response to the assumption that presbyterianism was antimonarchical, Argyll therefore defended his religiosity by cautioning against rebellious inclinations; nevertheless, he singled out religious commitment as the primary condition for allegiance to the crown:

some have axed, and it hath been along and strong imputation, that this Kirk of Scotland, doth teach sedition against, or at least the diminuation of the Authority of their Princes. For my part I know no such matter, nor do I ever embrace or adhere to such opinions, though censured for them; if any mans entemperature hath vented such dangerous Tenets, or his rash presumption ventilated such questions, have nothing to do with them, disown and disclaim them; and therefore to remove this prejudice from you also, I charge you to make your duty to your Sovereign one of the chief points of your Religion, so far worth as it may consist with your obedience to God, who ought to be served best, and in the first place. There is such a reciprocation between both those services, that commonly they go together.²

¹. A. Campbell, marquis of Argyll, *Instructions to a Son* (Edinburgh and London, 1661), 4-5.

². *Ibid.*, 33-4.

Moreover, in cataloguing the traits and functions of a prince to illustrate the attributes of good kingship, Argyll emphasised the conditional nature of royal authority. On the one hand, rulers had an obligation to the ruled to uphold the law; observing that "Those Princes then begin to lose their estates, when they begin to break the ancient laws, manners and customes, under which their subjects have long lived; for Princes must have as much regard to the safety of their subjects (which consists in the protection of the laws) as of their lives".³ On the other hand, in exercising sovereign power, the king's will was subordinate to God's: "Princes are mistaken that think to raign over men, without permitting God to rule over them".⁴ Argyll's vision of a model prince, therefore, stressed the accountability of the king both in providing good government and in functioning as a godly prince.

The expectations of kingship articulated by Argyll became the dual imperatives by which the post-Restoration, covenanting movement judged the acceptability of Charles II's style, methods and policies for governing Scotland. In anticipation of the restoration of the Stewart monarchy, some covenanting polemicists, initially, sought full reconciliation with the new régime, partly, to diminish past differences and, partly, to enhance the future prospects of presbyterian ascendancy in the established church. Samuel Rutherford, a leading Protestor, in a circulating letter of 1660, *Reasons for petitioning his Majesty after his return, and for owning such as were censured while about so necessary in duty*, endorsed Charles II's return by suggesting that "It is better, now than after sentences and trouble to have recourse to him who is by place *parens patriæ*". Given Charles's status as a "covenanted king", he urged his fellow covenanters to send letters of welcome to the king written not on behalf of the Scottish church but in the name of "a most considerable number of godly ministers, elders, and professors, who both pray for the king, are obedient to his laws, and are under the oath of God for the sworn Reformation".⁵ In accounting for the Remonstrants' opposition to the national alliance forged in 1649 to support Charles II against the English invasionary forces and their subsequent collaboration with the Cromwellian régime during the 1650s, Rutherford emphasised that

³. *Ibid.*, 136.

⁴. *Ibid.*, 137.

⁵. *Letters of Samuel Rutherford: With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents*, ed. A.A. Bonar, (Edinburgh, n.d.), 694.

it was motivated by religious aspirations rather than antiroyalist sentiment; declaring that "they had no sectarian design therein, nor levelling intention". Thus, in an effort to counteract the royalist tendency to associate the radical faction with sedition, he maintained that,

They are gentlemen most loyal, and never were enemies to his Majesty's royal power: but only desired that security might be had for religion and the people of God, and persons disaffected to religion and the sworn Covenant abandoned; otherwise they were, and still are, willing to hazard lives and estates for the just greatness and safety of his Majesty in the maintenance of the true religion, covenant and cause of God.⁶

Other covenanting spokesmen, however, were less accommodating and conciliatory in their public pronouncements regarding Charles's restoration. Alexander Nisbet, an Ayrshire minister, whose study of Ecclesiastes was banned in 1660 because of his promotion of limited monarchy stated that, "It is not to be understood as if none might controule Kings or supreme Magistrates, acting contrary to their Duty, and to the command of the Supreme Lawgiver, seing such have been warrantably contradicted, and opposed".⁷ More radical Protestors led by James Guthrie held clandestine meetings and conventicles in Edinburgh and drew up petitions and tracts which were circulated "for convocating all of their oun judgement, contyneing many particulars ag[ains]t King & gov[ernmen]t of church of England".⁸ Apprehensive that such activities and opinions might result in "raiseing of more tumults" and the "rekydlyng [of] a civill warr amongst his Maj[esty's] good subjects",⁹ the committee of estates launched a crackdown on dissent. Arrest warrants were issued for Guthrie along with ten other ministers and an elder, John Kirko, in an attempt to discover the nature of the illegal gatherings of Protestors.¹⁰ John Dickson's criticism of the government in a sermon at the Rutherglen church in October of 1660 resulted in his citation by the authorities for "scandalous and treacherous preaching".¹¹ Similarly, a warrant was issued to summon James Nasmyth to "ansr for sume

6. *Ibid.*, 695.

7. G. Christie, 'Scripture Exposition in Scotland in the Seventeenth Century' in Records of the Scottish Church History Society, I, iii, (n.d.), 107-8.

8. Scottish Record Office, PA12/8, Committee of Estates 23 August 1660 - 31 October 1660, 'Act for securing Mr James Guthrie and others [August 1660]'. See also: The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ed. P.Hume Brown, 2nd series (38 vols., 1905), X, 465.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. S.R.O., PA 11/13 f. 4b, Register of the Committee of Estates 9 October 1660 - 8 December 1660.

scandalous & injurious speeches vented by him against p[rese]nt authority & actings of the committee of estates".¹² Thus, while some radical presbyterians like Rutherford tried to reconcile their ideological views of kingship with the past, others were more concerned to do so with regards to the future.

In the wake of the Restoration Settlement of 1661 which authorised the reinstatement of an episcopal polity for the church, any identification of the king with the covenanting cause was abandoned by the movement's polemicists. The government's drive for political and religious conformity was launched with the Act for Presentation and Collation in June of 1662 which required ministers to accept the episcopal ascendancy by obtaining collation from the diocesan bishop for their church livings after their presentation to a parish by a lay patron. As we have seen, this legislation which resulted in the deprivation of one-third of the Scottish ministry by February of 1663 along with new regulations for establishing uniformity in worship services which banned *ex tempore* preaching helped give rise to wide-spread conventicling. During the earl of Rothes's tenure as Lord High Commissioner between 1663 and 1666, a repressive policy against nonconformity was pursued which included the enforcement of compulsory church attendance through the imposition of fines and the quartering of troops on recalcitrants along with other prescriptive measures making local heritors and masters accountable for the compliance of their dependents, tenants and servants with the law. By December of 1665, nonconformity, absenteeism from local, parish churches coupled with often violent incidents involving intruded ministers were so wide-spread that conventicling was outlawed as a subversive activity. Although the primary objective of the state's campaign for universal conformity was to instill allegiance to legal authority in church and state, the harsh measures employed against dissenters in policing nonconformist activities resulted in civil disobedience and armed resistance culminating in the Pentland Rising of 1666.¹³

Between 1661 and 1666, condemnation of the erastian, church settlement in conjunction with the policies and people who endorsed it was the overwhelming concern of covenanting propagandists.

12. *Ibid.*, f. 4.

13. See: Chapter IV: Covenanting Propaganda and State Censorship.

Although polemicists used the pulpit and the printing press to lament and criticise the government's suppression of dissent, most advocated passive resistance to the established order through noncompliance with the laws on church conformity. John Welsh, in a sermon given at Irongray in March of 1661, denounced the Restoration Church Settlement by labelling church and state officials including the king as "wicked vyle and abominable men" who were "exalted to places of power and Trust" while the "godlie [were] brought under restraint and persecution".¹⁴ Hugh McKell, chaplain to Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield, was accused of promoting treason in a sermon he delivered in Edinburgh in 1662 where he "most maliciously inveigh against and abuse his sacred Majesty and the present government of church and state, to the great offence of God and stumbling of the people".¹⁵ Contemporaneously, Stewart's son, Walter, a merchant burgher in Edinburgh, was imprisoned for having "vented some speeches tending towards sedition, especially that within these few weeks ... upon occasion of a discourse anent publick differences [during which he] said, before that businesses went as they are going, one hundreth thousand in the thrie kingdomes would loose their lyves".¹⁶ In February of 1663, twenty-six ministers in Galloway were called to account by the privy council for occupying the manse of parish churches from which they had been excluded and for seditious preaching. Thus, they were accused of "persist[ing] in their wicked practises, still labouring to keep the hearts of the people from the present government of Church and State by their pernicious doctrin".¹⁷ Even the Edinburgh Tolbooth was used as a venue for dissent by radical presbyterians. The visitors of prisoners incarcerated in 1663 for their involvement in the public harassment of intruded ministers in Irongray and Kircudbright which had escalated into riots had to be monitored by the authorities because, it was said, that they "doe not only exhort but pray for the saidis persons to persist in their wicked practises, affirming that they are suffering for righteousnes sake and

14. S.R.O., Ms GD188/20/13/8, Guthrie of Guthrie Manuscript.

15. *RPCS*, IX, 277.

16. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, 291.

17. *Ibid.*, 338-9.

condemning all government, and assuring them that God will give them an outgate, which tend highly to the disturbance of the peace both of Church and State if not prevented".¹⁸

John Brown, a radical minister, in *Ane apologetic relation of the particular sufferings of the faithful ministers and professors of the Church of Scotland since august 1660*, which was published in 1665 chronicled the impact that the Restoration government's campaign for political and religious conformity had on the covenanting movement. His critique of Charles's kingship rested on the argument that there were limitations on sovereign power and that, with the Restoration Church Settlement, the royal prerogative had been abused to establish an ecclesiastical uniformity that was untenable and unacceptable. Thus, he made the case that although in the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 adherents pledged allegiance to the crown and swore to defend the king, this was a conditional oath predicated on the king's fulfillment of his role as a godly magistrate in defending the true religion. Hence, Brown argued that since Charles II had abandoned covenanting ideals since 1661 that subjects were no longer obliged to render obedience to the crown.¹⁹ Therefore, as the commonplace book of sermon notes kept by Sir George Maxwell of Pollok from 1662 to 1664 attests, conventicle preachers such as William Houston, James Stirling, Patrick Simpson, Alexander Jameson, Hew Smith and Robert Fleming were unrelenting in their propagation of the covenanting cause. Equally, in the face of state repression, they mounted a concerted, propaganda campaign in which the king and his administration were criticised for abandoning covenanting ideals; promoting an erastian church settlement; and, neglecting to provide good government for Scotland by implementing laws and policies against nonconformists.²⁰

18. *Ibid.*, 384.

19. J. Brown, *Ane apologetic relation of the particular sufferings of the faithful ministers and professors of the Church of Scotland since august 1660* (n.p., 1665), 386–90.

20. Strathclyde Regional Archive, Ms T-PM 114/8, Records of the Maxwell family of Nether Pollok, subsequently the Stirling Maxwells, 'Book of sermon notes probably Sir George Maxwell of Pollok [April 1662– Aug 1664]'.
 21. *Ibid.*, 384.

II.

With the outbreak of the Pentland Rising in 1666, the primary focus of covenanting propaganda on the question of kingship and authority shifted from an advocacy of passive, noncompliance with ecclesiastical and civil officials to a promotion of active civil disobedience and armed resistance against the established order in church and state. Two of the most influential, covenanting tracts of the Restoration were produced in the aftermath of the Pentland Rising which dealt directly with the question of armed revolt. When *Naphtali or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*, which was written by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and John Stirling was published in 1667, it was immediately banned by the government as seditious. Four years later, Stewart's work of 1669, *Jus Populi Vindicatum or The People's Right, to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion*, was similarly condemned by the privy council. Indeed, the political ideology expressed in *Jus Populi Vindicatum* was branded by officials such as the duke of Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharp as dangerously unorthodox and radical. In Lauderdale's judgement, if the tenets espoused in "That damnable traitorous book" were ever put in practise, it would undermine the political and social order: "you have great reason to say no good is to be expected to Bishops or orthodox ministers from a partie which ownes such principles. I adde if that partie prevaile, the King, Monarchie, and all loyal men are utterly destroyed".²¹

In *Naphtali*, the collaborative tract written with Stirling, Stewart maintained that the origins of civil society grew out of two, basic societal impulses. Firstly, it stemmed from religious necessity since the "Maintainance of truth, and the true Worshipe of God, were and are the principle ends and motives of contracting of Societie, and erecting of Governments". Since there was a collective obligation on the part of both ruler and ruled to seek the "publick Advancement and establishment thereof" along with an equal responsibility to deal with "transgressors", it was "uncumbent upon all both joyntly and seperatly" to sustain and perpetuate reformation ideals.²² Secondly, the origins of

21. 'Thirty-four Letters Written to James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale and Charles Maitland, Lord Hatton, 1660-1667' in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society I*, ed. J. Dowden (Scottish History Society, 1893), 265.

22. J. Stewart and J. Stirling, *Naphtali or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* (n.p., [1667]), 18-9.

civil society lay in the need for self-defence from potential internal and external threat. Here, self-defence was characterised as a "right and privilege" held by every individual which constituted the "very first instinct of pure nature, and spring of all motion and action". Moreover, it was contended that in erecting civil society the principle of self-defence was "so far from being surrendred and suppressed"; rather, "it was and is the great ends, and motive, for which all voluntary societyes and policyes were introduced, and are continued".²³ With religion and self-defence as the twin pillars of civil society, the function of a ruler "subordinate to the Most high, and appoynted and limited by his holy will and commandement, for his owne glory, and the Peoples good" was therefore characterised as limited and conditional.²⁴ Given the obligations of a king to God and to the people, "Allegiance was and standeth perpetually and expresly thus qualified ... all allegiance & obedience to any created power whatsoever ... in its owne nature is indispsibly thus restricte".²⁵ Any claims of absolute power were dismissed as unnatural and irrational for,

none pleadeth for absolute submission in the people, and exemption in the prince, but such as have prostrated their consciences to the Princes arbitrament, in a blind and absolute obedience ... seeing subjection is principally enjoyned, for, and in order to obedience, whatsoever reason or authority can be adduced to perswad an absolute and indispsible subjection, will far more rationally and plausibly inferre an illimited and absolute obedience.²⁶

When magistrates over-stepped the parameters of their authority or abused their position by neglecting to serve God and the people as obligated - particularly, if they pursued a policy that was detrimental to the true religion - the right to resist established authority was said to be legitimate. It was argued that, in assessing the criteria for exercising the right of self-defence, individuals "needeth no other pre-requisite, but that of intolerable injury (which for a man to suffer under pretence of the good of the Commonwealth, would be, for the delusion of an empty name, only for the lust of others), really to deprive himself of his whole share and interest therein".²⁷ The contention was made that the "propelling by force of such injurie (that is, to be violated in the matters of Religion) was the justest

23. *Ibid.*, 14.

24. *Ibid.*, 177.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, 28.

27. *Ibid.*, 14.

cause and quarrel, that men in their primeval liberty, could be engaged in";²⁸ thus, regardless of standing laws, resistance to authority in the defence of religion was a warranted and justifiable response.²⁹ Collective resistance in a common cause of "extreame necessity" was validated "by the principle of humanity, & c. and Gods glory".³⁰ A clear distinction was made between disobedience to lawful authority exerting sovereign power in a legitimate manner and arbitrary tyranny:

That riseing up against authority itself, the ordinance of God, and disobeying the powers therewith vested, standing and acting in their right line of subordination, is indeed rebellion, and as the sin of witchcraft; but to resist and rise up against persons abuseing sacred authority, and rebeling against God the Supream, is rather to adhere to God, as our Liege Lord, and to vindicate both ourselves and his abused ordinance for man's wickednesse and tyranny.³¹

Therefore, the case was made in *Naphtali* that since Charles II's kingship was conditional and predicated on his adhering to the covenants- and given that he had broken this bond by pursuing policies contrary to the true religion - that the people were no longer required to render obedience to him; thus, they were justified in actively opposing and resisting his authority.³²

The tract, *Jus Populi Vindicatum or The People's Right, to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion*, not only offered an elaboration on Stewart's political theories of the duties and obligations of ruler and ruled as articulated in *Naphtali*, but it was part of a broader, public discourse generated by the publication of the earlier tract. Much of *Jus Populi Vindicatum* consisted of a detailed rebuttal of Andrew Honeyman's pamphlet, *A Survey of Naphtali*, which was published in Edinburgh in 1668-9 as a royalist response to the political philosophy espoused in Stewart and Stirling's original work.³³ In his preface to *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, Stewart stated that recent, political developments - alluding to the Pentland Rising of 1666 - had motivated him to write the tract because the debate on kingship, authority and the right to resist had been "revived a fresh, by the constantly renewed acts of Tyranny and oppression which, from yeer to yeer, The Powers, acted by the

28. *Ibid.*, 15.

29. *Ibid.*, 8, 18-9.

30. *Ibid.* 16, 17.

31. *Ibid.*, 157.

32. *Ibid.*, 72.

33. A. Honeyman, *A Survey of Naphtali* (Edinburgh, 1668-9).

same Spirit of Enimty to the Cause and Interest of Christ, are exerceing".³⁴ Indoctrination of the masses as to the legitimacy of popular resistance to established authority in the name of reformation was therefore the chief purpose of the pamphlet; or, as Stewart put it,

we made it our designe, to bring this question, which did concerne common people no lesse than the learned, (seing it was a matter of life and death unto them, no less then unto others) home, so far as was possible, to the capacity of the meanest, that they might know, and be distinct in the knowledge, and perswaded of the lawfullnesse, of the grounds of their acting in such a vindication of their Religion and libertyes.³⁵

Thus, to Honeyman's central point that "all convocations and riseing in armes, or subjects entering in leagues without or against the King's authority are treasonable"³⁶, Stewart set out to prove with reference to scripture, history, political philosophy and legal principles that the people were justified in resorting to armed resistance in the face of absolutism.

In an examination of the origins of civil society in *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, Stewart started with the basic premise that man was a rational and social being for whom God created civil society for the common good by arranging the "coalition of people into greater bodyes, consisting of many families under one kinde of government, and political head, and for their mutual good in their necessities, and for protection of the whole body, and every Member thereof".³⁷ Similarly, civil power was designed to preserve the whole and to protect individuals; for, he argued,

Magistracy is God's Ordinance, he having appoynted Superior Heads and Governours, to rule these bodyes that they might be preserved from ruine and destruction. And that he hath put this instinct and dictate of reason into all; so that even barbarous people are led together into such politick associations, under their Governours, for their subsistence in general, for the mutual help one of another, and for the protection of the weaker against the injuries of the stronger.³⁸

34. [J. Stewart], *Jus Populi Vindicatum or The People's Right, to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion. Wherein the Act of Defence and Vindication which was interprised Anno 1666, is particularly justified: The lawfullnesse of private Persons defending their Lives. Libertyes and Religion, against manifest Oppression, Tyranny and violence, excerced by Magistrats Supream and Inferior contrare to Solemne Vowes, Covenants, Promises, Declarations, Professions, Subscriptions, and Solemne Engadgements, is demonstrated by many Arguments. Being a full Reply to the first part of the Survey of Naphtaly &c.* [n.p., 1669], intro., 2.

35. *Ibid.*, intro., 9.

36. Honeyman, *Survey*, 260.

37. [Stewart], *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, 80.

38. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*, 82.

Although civil society was instituted by God, its governmental structure with respect to form, size and duration was determined by the people who, it was said, "reserve themselves a liberty to alter it when they will".³⁹ The principles of natural law dictated that all men were created equal in a state of nature and thus none could claim supremacy by birth or exercise civil authority by hereditary right - "no man coming out of the womb into this world, with a crowne on his head, and a scepter in his hand". Thus, it was maintained that in formulating a "politick society", there was the free election of magistrates with the governor chosen by the people in order to "promove the glory of God, the good of Religion, and their temporal felicity".⁴⁰

In promoting the precepts of popular sovereignty, Stewart contended that the nature of sovereign power was conditional, limited and restricted; equating royal authority to the fiduciary capacity of a "Tutor", "Patron", "Publick Servant" or "Watchman" who were all responsible for the general benefit of their charges.⁴¹ In assessing the relationship between ruler and ruled, he discounted the analogies promulgated by advocates of divine right that the king exerted patriarchal authority akin to that of a parent over a child or a husband over a wife. Royal power, unlike parental authority, was not based on involuntary subjection since it could be restricted, altered or rejected by subjects; thus, it was paternal only in the metaphorical sense that kings should have a "Fatherly care and inspection over their Kingdomes".⁴² As well, relations between the crown and the people were not comparable to that of a husband and wife largely because the obligations involved were an inversion of a marital relationship: "Wives are appoynted for an helpe to the Husband, but the Sovereigne is rather for the Commonwealth, then the Commonwealth for him".⁴³ Moreover, reference to the body politic with the king as head of the commonwealth was dismissed as illogical for, as Stewart suggested, "The Members cannot destroy the Head and live themselves, but Subjects can destroy the Monarch and choose

39. *Ibid.*, 83-4.

40. *Ibid.*, 81, 85, 86, 87.

41. *Ibid.*, 149.

42. *Ibid.*, 144-5.

43. *Ibid.*, 145.

another".⁴⁴ Since a king's power was limited and subject to God, nature and the civil law,⁴⁵ the essential quality of a magistrate's authority was, in Stewart's estimation, "cumulative" and "not privative and destructive"; thus, it was "a power to promote the good of the Realme, and not a power to destroy the same, whether by acting and going beyond their power, or by refusing to act and betraying their trust".⁴⁶

The central thesis expounded in *Jus Populi Vindicatum* was that, as a populist reaction to tyranny, armed resistance was justified as a communal act of self-defence. As the "very first instinct of pure nature", self-defence was defined as an inalienable right possessed by every individual before "society or government were known" and thus, as a "birth-privilege", it could never be surrendered, suppressed or resigned even after the creation of civil society.⁴⁷ Stewart maintained that this theoretical construct was reinforced by natural, positive and civil law as well as scriptural and historical precedents; arguing that it was apparent from the "law of God, the law of Nature, the civil law, the law of Nations, Sound reason, and the practices of Christians, both under the law, and under the gospel, not onely at home but also abroad".⁴⁸ Moreover, he contended that a collective exertion of popular sovereignty in the form of rebellion when warranted was consistent with the principle of *salus populi est suprema lex* and thus it did not constitute an illegal action: "That when strong and inevitable necessity urgeth, in order to necessary and just ends, people may have their owne convocations, even against authority, and de jure be guilty of the breach of no standing law against the same, seing all know that *salus populi est suprema lex*, and that no law or act, when the strikt observation thereof, tendeth to the detriment of the Republick".⁴⁹ While Stewart acknowledged that obedience and deference were owed to a legitimate ruler by the ruled, nevertheless, he emphasised that allegiance was conditional for all powers were superceded by and subordinate to God's.⁵⁰

44. *Ibid.*, 146.

45. *Ibid.*, 160-2.

46. *Ibid.*, 256-7.

47. *Ibid.*, 18, 88.

48. *Ibid.*, intro., 11.

49. *Ibid.*, intro., 18.

50. *Ibid.*, 246, 249, 250.

Such subjection was the lynchpin for Stewart's contention, then, that mass resistance was not only necessary but warranted under particular circumstances in a civil society.⁵¹ Given that the nature of royal authority was fiduciary, people had the right to resist it when "through negligence or wickedness" it was abused and it endangered their lives and liberty.⁵² The perpetuation of unlawful acts; a neglect of duty; a betrayal of the public trust; or, oppression on the part of the magistrate were all considered sufficient grounds for popular resistance.⁵³ Since the authority accorded to a prince was defined and limited by the people, any aggrandisement of that power constituted tyranny thereby necessitating lawful resistance; for, as Stewart speculated,

If it be certane ... that the Prince hath no more power given to him by the People, then what is contained in the conditions upon which he undertaketh the government, and what more he assumes, he usurpeth by tyranny from the People. Then when he usurpeth more power then was given to him, he may be resisted: and the People are allowed to preserve their owne: and when he ruleth contrare to the conditions, and destroyeth these, it is certane He arrogateth to himself a power which was never given to him, yea which was virtually prohibited and discharged to him: and in that case may lawfully be resisted, as is undenyable.⁵⁴

Hence, since the nature of a sovereign's power was not absolute, "Then when he makes his lust a law, and followeth the dictate of his tyrannical, corrupted will, he may be resisted".⁵⁵ Historical precedents were marshalled to substantiate this position. The Scottish Revolution against Charles I and the Reformation-Rebellion of the sixteenth century were both cited as legitimate, populist responses to autocracy.⁵⁶

That rebellion was a necessary mechanism for the preservation of the common good⁵⁷ was especially relevant to the perpetuation of reformation ideals whereby there was a populist obligation to defend the true religion.⁵⁸ The Calvinist belief that, in matters of religious conscience, all were equal

51. *Ibid.*, 153-5.

52. *Ibid.*, 152-3.

53. *Ibid.*, 13-6, 89, 90, 48, 56.

54. *Ibid.*, 143.

55. *Ibid.*, 170.

56. *Ibid.*, 29-30, 32-9, 69-70.

57. *Ibid.*, 44.

58. *Ibid.*, 173-210.

before God was a principle invoked by Stewart to argue that resistance to established authority was a legal act on the part of the people when the state pursued policies contrary to protestantism:

it must be lawful to defend the same true Religion against King and Parliament, when they seek to rob the People thereof, and force corruptions upon them: because King and Parliament have no more authority from God, to oppress the consciences of their Subjects, to corrupt Religion, and force corruptions upon them, then the Turk or the Pope hath: and therefore, no lesse lawfully may they be resisted.⁵⁹

Since the interests of the commonwealth took precedence over the interests of the crown, royal attempts to alter ecclesiastical policy and polity in a manner contrary to reformation ideals not only endangered the common good but were indicative of tyranny: "In so far as they overturne or shake the foundations, they cannot be seeking the good of the Community, but their owne, with the destruction of the Common good, and this is the mark and true character of a Tyrant".⁶⁰ Moreover, to protect the nation from divine judgement, the people had a duty actively to oppose rulers who promoted policies contrary to scripture and detrimental to the true religion because

publicke transgressions of Kings and Princes, do hazard the whole Realm and Commonwealth ... How much reason have People of all rankes, qualittes and conditions, to be doing what lyeth in their power, either to prevent and hinder that these iniquities be not committed, which prove destructive unto the Land, or labour by all meanes to have them done away when committed, before the fierce anger of the Lord break forth?⁶¹

If a king neglected to fulfill his obligations as a godly magistrate and abused his royal authority – that is, when they "turn enemies themselves, and oppresse, plunder and abuse the innocent, and overturne Religion, & presse people to sinful compliance there with" – such actions constituted tyranny and thus warranted popular resistance.⁶² Thus, in the event of tyrannical rule that compromised reformation ideals, a king was accountable both to God and the people for his actions and was subject, legitimately, to the subsequent judgement invoked whether divine or temporal "when in madness and fury, he would not

59. *Ibid.*, 182.

60. *Ibid.*, 183.

61. *Ibid.*, 235.

62. *Ibid.*, 256.

only endanger his owne life in soul and body, but would destroy the inheritance of the Lord, and cut off his faithful and innocent subjects, and destroy the land".⁶³

In advocating armed resistance to established authority, Stewart stressed that there were limitations on the the nature of active civil disobedience with respect to the motivations cited and the methods employed by the people. The theory of popular resistance provided neither a blueprint for populist anarchy nor a licence for regicide; rather, a clear distinction was made between defensive and offensive acts of violence: "We are not speaking of doing violence unto the persones of Soveraignes, or of committing parricide, but only of the matter of resistance, and of natural sinlese self-defence, which is far different from Killing of Kings".⁶⁴ While an aggressive defence by the people in response to violent injustice perpetrated by state officials was deemed legitimate, physical harm to the person of the king was not sanctioned by Stewart; for, as he declared, "We speak not of violenting the Superior, but of warding off the blae and bitter blowes, and such other injuries equivalent to death, done by his bloody emissaries, which may be done without violent re-offending the powers above us".⁶⁵ The contention was made that the objective sought in condoning armed resistance against the king was not rebellion *per se*; instead, it was a corrective mechanism to combat tyranny; or, as Stewart put it, "we resist not the power, but the abuse of power".⁶⁶ Moreover, since the people's right to actively resist sovereign power was warranted only as a collective response to extraordinary acts of autocracy, the case was made that popular resistance was valid only under particular, political conditions:

We plead not for resistance by every one who thinketh himself wronged, but for resistance when the wrongs are manifest, notour, undenyable grievous and intolerable, and done to the whole land, to God's glory, to Christ's interest, to a Covenant sworne and subscribed by all, to the Fundemental lawes of the land, to the compact betwixt King and Subject, to Religion, Lawes, Libertyes, Lives, and all which is dear to People.⁶⁷

Aside from the theoretical rubric on popular resistance, *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, offered a detailed critique of Charles II's style and method of governing. In the tract, Stewart asserted that the

63. *Ibid.*, 265.

64. *Ibid.*, 270.

65. *Ibid.*, 273.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*, 281.

king's right to rule was predicated on his acceptance and adherence to the covenants. Contending that the defence of protestantism was a "maine condition, yea the basis of our political constitution", Stewart argued that popular confirmation and parliamentary ratification of Charles's kingship were tendered only after he had formally subscribed the covenants at his coronation.⁶⁸ Thus, the impetus for communal allegiance to the crown by members of both the general populace and the political nation was Charles's status as a "covenanted king":

He not only renewed these solemne vowes and engagements: But upon these tearmes and conditions, was he admitted; the people declared their willingnesse to admit of him, as King, the sword was put in his hand and accepted, the People did sweare fidelity, and allegiance, according to these Covenants; the like did the Nobles one by one, viz sweare to *be true and faithfull to him, according to the National, and Solemne League and Covenant.*⁶⁹

Since the covenants were sacred, national bands replete with reciprocal obligations on the part of ruler and ruled for the former to fulfill his function as a godly magistrate and the latter to render obedience on that basis, their conditions were considered to be indissoluble; hence, Stewart declared that despite the Restoration government's attempts to rescind the covenants "yet they remaine Covenants, and National ties perpetually obligeing, before God, the King, Nobles, & People of all rankes; and will do, so long as *Scotland is Scotland*".⁷⁰ Charles's failure to meet the main expectations and requirements incumbent on a "covenanted king" invalidated his compact with the Scottish people and thus their allegiance to him was no longer guaranteed:

That when a Prince doth violate his compact, as to all its conditions, or as to its cheef, maine, and most necessary condition, the Subjects are *de jure* free from subjection to him, and at liberty to make choise of another. The very nature of a compact doth cleare this: For it is absurd to say, that in a mutual conditional compact, one party shall still be bound to performe his conditions, though the other performeth none of his conditions, or performeth not the maine and principal one.⁷¹

Insisting that Charles had implemented policies in contravention of covenanting ideals which "overturned the work of reformation", Stewart characterised the king as a "Tyrant without a title for

68. *Ibid.*, intro., 2-3.

69. *Ibid.*, intro., 4.

70. *Ibid.*, intro., 5.

71. *Ibid.*, 117.

his old title expired"; hence, he advocated that Charles be treated as a usurper who deserved to be dethroned.⁷²

To substantiate his call for the abdication of the king, Stewart chronicled the impact of Restoration policies on radical presbyterians, in particular, and the Scottish people, in general. The enactment and enforcement of the laws against nonconformity were regarded as especially indicative of monarchical tyranny and the abuse of power by state officials. The case was made that, in an effort to ensure universal compliance with the Restoration Church Settlement, there was a state-sanctioned, campaign of terror launched against nonconformists; thus, the government

did enact and enjoyne most tyrannically a full conformity unto all these abominations, and presse, in a most horrid and arbitrary manner, the faithfull Servants and seekers of God, to a compliance with these accursed and ever to be abhorred, courses; and upon their simple refusal, did violently and barbarously eject the faithful Servants of Christ, banishing some out of all the three Dominions, incarcerating others, (after they had imbrewed their hands in the blood of the best of our Nobility, and Ministry) and chaseing by their irrational and brutish acts multitudes of them from their flocks and familiars.⁷³

Legislation designed to suppress conventicling and absenteeism from the local parish church was denounced as excessively harsh with disproportionate penalties imposed on those convicted of disobeying the laws: "can any think that a persons absenting himself twice or thrice from his owne parish Church, can be a transgression of such high nature, as no penalty lesse then the fourth part of his Estates can compensate?".⁷⁴ Civil and ecclesiastical authorities were criticised by Stewart for what he considered to be their arbitrary style of governing and their abuse of power. The accusation was made that in prohibiting supplications to parliament which complained of the methods used in policing nonconformity, the king and his administration violated the subjects' constitutional right to seek a redress of grievances thereby demonstrating the autocratic nature of the Charles's kingship.

So that how arbitrarily soever King or Parliament, yea or Council, or any deputed by them, did rage, or should oppresse & injure the Subjects, whether in conscience, body or goods, there was no remedy, nor hope of redresse, no petition or supplication how humble soever, might be once presented by the grieved subjects: yea nor durst they meet together to poure out their complaint unto the God of heaven, the hearer of

⁷². *Ibid.*, 141-2.

⁷³. *Ibid.*, introd., 3.

⁷⁴. *Ibid.*, intro., 6.

prayers, & the righteous judge of heaven and earth. What height of oppression & tyranny this is, Let the world judge.⁷⁵

Bishops along with ministers of the established church were dismissed as those "abjured Prelates, and their base, naughty, scandalous Underlings, the scumme of the earth, the shame of the Church, and the disgrace of the Ministry" who had been given license to "corrupt the word of God, to destroy soules, to tyrannize over consciences, to oppresse the People, to inslave the subjects".⁷⁶ For their part in supporting the Restoration Settlement in church and state, the political nation were characterised by Stewart as immoral and irresponsible; thus, in referring to the nobility, he spoke of them contemptuously as men leading "licentious, luxurious, sensual and brutish lives" who were "drowned in debt".⁷⁷

Central to Stewart's critique of Charles II's style of kingship in *Jus Populi Vindicatum* was his analysis of the Pentland Rising of 1666 as a legitimate, populist response to tyranny. In assessing the origins of the rising, Stewart maintained that government troops deliberately manufactured a confrontation with nonconformists to provoke an uprising.⁷⁸ The tactics employed by Sir James Turner and his soldiers, in executing the laws for conformity in Galloway, were therefore condemned as excessively violent and repressive.⁷⁹ Given these circumstances, Stewart thus set out to depict those involved in the rising as patriots engaged in an act of mass, civil disobedience to preserve the natural order; protect the ideals of the reformation; reinstate the rule of law; and, restore the common good. Contrary to the state's view of the participants as rebels, Stewart argued that they were altruistic conservatives intent on resurrecting the natural order: "Whereas it was rather a riseing for lawful authority, while against persons abuseing their authority, and not walking in the right line of subordination unto the Supream Magistrate and Governour of Heaven and Earth, but rebelling against him in makeing lawes contrary to his lawes, and executing them contrary to his will and command".⁸⁰

75. *Ibid.*, intro., 8.

76. *Ibid.*, 134-5.

77. *Ibid.*, 135.

78. *Ibid.*, intro., 4-6.

79. *Ibid.*, intro., 6-7.

80. *Ibid.*, intro., 10.

The use of physical force against government troops was seen as an legitimate expression of popular sovereignty carried out in vindication of the constitutional principle of *salus populi est suprema lex*; thus, violence was committed "in loyalty to that Supream law The safety of the People, defending themselves against manifest and intolerable tyranny".⁸¹ In resisting authority, those involved in the Pentland Rising demonstrated their commitment to legality and the rule of law since it was the "only meane left for preserving of that which all government and Governours should level at, viz. *The safety of the People, both in soull and body*, their Religion, Lives, Liberties, Privileges, Possessions, Goods, and what was dear to them as men, and as Christians, howbeit it wanted the formality of the authority of Sovereaine, Parliament or Councel".⁸² If *salus populi est suprema lex* constituted the basis of civil society, then, reasoned Stewart, "No man who will not deny this axiome, can condemne them as Traitors, seing they were noble Patriots and loyall to that Supream law".⁸³ In discussing the impetus for the Pentland Rising, he emphasised that it was not a radical attempt to overthrow the *status quo* but, rather, a conservative response to injustice which sought to reclaim and reform the established order in church and state:

The intent and designe of those poor people who rose in armes, was not to dethrone the King, to enjure him, or to lessen his just and legal authoritie, but to resist, repel and defend themselves from, unjust violence and oppression; and to seek reparations of the wrongs done them; and the removal of that detestable and abjured Hierarchy ... and, to have security for their lives, lands, libertyes, consciences and Religion, conforme to the agreement made with his Majesty.⁸⁴

The literary and aural propaganda produced by the covenanters during the rising as well as the scaffold speeches and testaments given by those convicted as rebels prior to their executions were cited as proof of the participants' loyalty to the crown.⁸⁵ The dissidents were therefore portrayed as the champions of the national interest engaged in a necessary act of self-defence against a régime bent on subverting the reformation tradition, covenanting ideals, constitutional rights and civil liberties.⁸⁶ Identification

81. *Ibid.* intro., 11.

82. *Ibid.*, intro., 160.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*, 8-9.

85. *Ibid.*, 9.

86. *Ibid.*, 210-2.

of the Pentland Rising as the "Late Act of defence, being the defence of innocents in the case of extreame and inevitable necessity, against illegal commissions, contrary to the Law of God", then, led Stewart to conclude that it "cannot be branded with rebellion, but accounted an Act of lawful self-defence".⁸⁷

Stewart's interpretation of the Pentland Rising accorded with much of the literary and aural propaganda produced by covenanting polemicists in general. In a handwritten broadsheet entitled *Accompt of countrey changes in Scotland from the year 1650*, the anonymous writer chronicled the progress of the Pentland Rising and its aftermath; especially, the treatment of those sentenced to death for sedition. In discussing the scaffold testimonies of prominent rebels including Major McColloch, Captain Arnott, Gordon of Knockbrech, Alexander Robertson and George Crawford, it was noted that – in their speeches and in the papers which were subsequently circulated – the righteousness of the covenanting cause; the strength of their religious convictions; and, the legitimacy of the rising were the main issues addressed by those permitted to speak prior to their executions in December of 1666. The writer stressed, too, that the rising was not a manifestation of antiroyalist sentiment for the condemned men specifically expressed their allegiance to the crown; hence, "all testified yr loyalty".⁸⁸ Such public pronouncements were reflective of the depositions taken by officials in questioning incarcerated dissidents. Typical was a statement of 21 December 1666 made by a rebel identified as "Robesone" who declared that he had been active in the uprising to carry on the work of the reformers by adhering to the covenant; thus, he participated for the "preservation and defence of the true religion". Citing scripture as precedent, he maintained that self-protection and self-defence had traditionally been practised by Christians when "mens lyves thair Religion & fortunes" were threatened. While he admitted his complicity in the Pentland Rising, he showed no remorse; indeed, he condemned the government's ecclesiastical policy by asserting that "prelacie is cause of so much sin in the country" and he exhorted others to continue the armed struggle for the covenanting cause.⁸⁹ Although covenanting activists denounced royal policy, they continued to express their commitment to

87. *Ibid.*, 171.

88. S.R.O., Ms GD 224/605/1 f. 141–160, Buccleuch Muniments – Transcripts of Queensberry Letters Vol. I–18, 'Accompt of countrey changes in Scotland from the year 1650'.

89. National Library of Scotland, MSS 597 f.140–141v., Papers of the Earls of Lauderdale – in Watson Collection.

the monarchical system of government. As a newsletter of 1667 made clear, deference and obedience to royal authority in conjunction with due acknowledgement of the king's prerogative was commonplace: "far be it from any man not to awne and acknowledge his ma[jes]tie and his authoritie things true and righteous which tho by lau they be extended in such a maner as may occasion some mens scruple to acknowlege that hight of prerogative and tho be imposed by the king and his authoritie may & doe understand the same prerogative to be deu to him".⁹⁰ Therefore, even in the wake of the Pentland Rising when covenanting propagandists were sharply critical of Charles II's kingship, the movement retained its fundamental belief in the institution of the crown.

III.

In August of 1663, the earl of Dumfries drafted a proposal for a new, loyalty oath which was submitted to the Lord Chancellor and, subsequently, presented to the lords of the articles for their consideration. In 'A humble overtour Concerning the taking of the declaration allreadie taken and subscribed be the members of parliament', Dumfries suggested that, rather than impose the oath only on persons in positions of public trust, subscription should be enlarged to include the "bodie of the people". Noting that those appointed to public office would tend to be men of proven loyalty to the crown, he argued that extension of a formal band of allegiance would prove advantageous since "no sure a way doth not apeare to secure the bodie of the people". Therefore, he contended that proffering the oath on a broader basis would provide a measure of tangible confirmation of the Restoration administration's political strength in light of its covenanting opponents:

How much will it not only faint Bwt Even qwy Extinguish the hoops of ill men to sie the bodie of the pepels forsakings thos principels, And breaking those Claims, wherewith they yet Imagine the pluralitie tyed, which Imagination cannot be dissipat by a redier meane then the extendinge of the declarat[i]o[n]e to all heritors and ministers ffor that will at on strok disapoint ther hoops, prevent ther Endeavors, And give a publick testimonie of the Kings securitie.⁹¹

⁹⁰. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/1073, Records of the Maxwell Family, 'Anonymous letter to Sir G. Maxwell dated 14 January 1667'.

⁹¹. N.L.S., MSS 597 f. 95, Papers of the Earls of Lauderdale - in Watson Collection.

The plan to canvass more widely in seeking popular support for Charles's kingship was to be carried out in an effort to emulate the success of the National Covenant since Dumfries observed that, "if it advanced the Rebelious Interest to have the Covenant taken by all, In all probabilitie it is requisit that all should forsake it, by one Cov[en]en[ant] als solemne Least many and the multitude by Induced to Beleyve That Either ther ffourmer obligation is not removed or that they are not Ingaged so vigorously to oppose it, if it should againe revive".⁹²

Dumfries's scheme for securing broad acquiescence to the Restoration Settlement in church and state was both derivative and innovative, in that, it imitated the past and foreshadowed the future. The attitudes expressed were indicative of the early modern view of public oaths as important expressions of individual commitment to collective aspirations. Conventionally, such bonds were thought to be of special significance. Replete with profound, semi-mystical connotations that were bound up with concepts of honour, obligation and duty to both divine and secular authority, it was commonly believed that a formal oath denoted an irrevocable adherence on the part of its subscribers. But, while the notion of a pledge reflected the traditional means relied on to demonstrate support for and deference to the crown or an ideal, its wider application was a precursor of the more unorthodox methods introduced by Charles II's administration to secure that end. Throughout the Restoration period, the use of public oaths and bonds proliferated, largely, as a result of the government's campaign to police and suppress nonconformity. As an important tactic for controlling dissent, formal pledges were administered by the state to obtain assurances from individuals of both their loyalty and good behaviour as well as that of their dependents. As a product of political exigencies, these oaths sought to ensure national stability and unity in the midst of political disorder. They ranged from the band for keeping the peace of 1667 which offered indemnity to rebels involved in the Pentland Rising to the Indulgences of 1669, 1672 and 1679 which attempted to reclaim deprived, presbyterian ministers for the established church by bringing these moderates back into the fold under certain conditions to the oath of allegiance administered in the wake of the crown's assertion of royal

92. *Ibid.*

supremacy over church and state in 1669 to the bands against conventicling of the 1670s. As a lynchpin of public policy, the state-imposed bands became a focal point for dissent beginning in the late-1660s and throughout the 1670s in Scotland and they were responsible for helping to shape covenanting attitudes towards kingship, authority and the right to resist.

During the Restoration period, unconditional bands regulating loyalty and conduct were a major point of contention for the covenanting movement in their opposition to the state's drive for conformity. Propagandists promulgated the view that no oaths should be imposed by the civil authority except for traditional ones of allegiance on the grounds that they contravened religious convictions and constitutional convention. Samuel Rutherford in correspondence with Robert Campbell – a minister from the Dunkeld prebytery who, as a nonconformist, was ejected from his living for his refusal to recognise episcopacy – declared that demands for an unconditional acknowledgement of the crown's supremacy in church and state were a perversion of scripture, the covenanting cause and the reformed tradition:

Beware of the ensnaring bonds and obligations, by any hand-writ or otherwise, to give unlimited obedience to any authority, by only in the Lord. For all innocent obedience to any authority, according to the Covenant, the Word of God, and the laudable example of the reformed churches is now intended to be utterly subverted and condemned: and what is taken from Christ, as the flower of his prerogative royal, is now putt upon the head of a mortal power.⁹³

Similarly, bands for keeping the peace which were offered to convicted rebels in exchange for a royal pardon and imposed on heritors in the aftermath of the Pentland Rising to elicit their greater vigilance in preventing conventicling on their lands were regarded as objectionable more for their implications than their stated intent. A circulating letter of January 1667 which was sent to Sir George Maxwell of Pollok summed up covenanting suspicions that although the band for keeping the peace was, ostensibly, a pledge to uphold the law, its real purpose was part of an incrementalist strategy by the state to commit subscribers to a recognition of royal supremacy in church and state and an acceptance of the episcopal ascendancy. The anonymous polemicist contended that since the oath presumed a denial

⁹³. Letters of Samuel Rutherford, 704.

of the covenants and an acknowledgement of the Restoration Settlement therefore it should be opposed; stipulating that

the maine and onlie scruple so far as I could observe was that the band doth not bind to publicke peace simplie or to true publicke peace which all are bound to perserve but to the publicke peace which is plainlie the present quet of the publicke state and all persons therin included as it is settled and they are secured by law which is the obvious and ould meaning of the words.⁹⁴

The statute of 1669 which asserted monarchical supremacy "over all persons and in all cases ecclesiastical"⁹⁵ acted as confirmation for the covenanters in their critique of Charles's kingship.

The process relied on by the state to introduce and implement the bands proved as objectionable to covenanting propagandists as what the bands purported to achieve. Polemicists questioned the legitimacy of how the oaths were imposed, especially, with respect to their constitutionality. A circulating letter of 1678 reported the reaction of heritors and masters in the southwest to the prescribed bands against conventicling. Imposed by the privy council, the pledges made heritors and masters liable for ensuring that their dependents worshipped at the local parish church rather than resorting to illegal prayer meetings. The anonymous propagandist claimed that there was a general reluctance to subscribe the declarations because, in lacking parliamentary sanction, they infringed civil rights, constitutional practice and historical convention:

some say the Counsell hath not power to requyre such bands it being part of the subjects fundamentall liberty to be only lyable to such as acts of parlia[men]t doe warrant and this they gather both from such acts as statut that the kings subjects should be ruled by his laues & consequently neither be edict nor bands and also from the constant custome that special bands have only bein imposed by acts of parlia[men]t and therefor the oathe of allegiance is not only imposed by one act but also the act gives power to the Counsel to impose it on whom they sall please which had bein superfluous if the Counsel have this power of it self & so of the prorogative declaration & band imposed on such as absent yeare & day from the church which are all appointed by exprest acts & special as to the persons of whom they are to be requyred which was needless & wold be also a smal security of the Counsel may requyre them off whom they please and in a word if the Councell may impose What bands they please their power is greater then that of a parlia[men]t seeing that bands are more binding then laue.⁹⁶

⁹⁴. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/1073, Records of the Maxwell Family, 'Anonymous letter to Sir G. Maxwell dated 14 January 1667'.

⁹⁵. R. Mitchison, *A History of Scotland* (London, 1970), 262.

⁹⁶. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/325, Records of the Maxwell Family, 'Anonymous letter of friend to friend dated 31 January 1678'.

While the writer conceded that the privy council was empowered to institute any means necessary to achieve universal compliance with the laws on conformity, he maintained that the formulation and imposition of bands was not within its jurisdiction; thus, it was an illegal and arbitrary act.⁹⁷ Whether the privy council had the authority to handle supplications arising from its own implementation of policies was questioned by propagandists. A covenanting newsletter distributed in May of 1678 complained that petitions of grievances arising from the government's campaign against nonconformity in the southwest which involved the free quartering of troops and the confiscation of horses and weapons should be dealt with, legitimately and more appropriately, by the king himself and not by royal administrators "for he alwayes told us that the king would & juge it himself & we desyred that what pairt of our complaint contravened the law that the king would judge it in parliament for to judge either by the Councell wes to make our pairtie our juge or by the session wes all or is to make lauderdaill juge of it".⁹⁸

The oaths of orthodoxy proffered by the Restoration government as conditions of employment for ministers were condemned by radical covenanters for their import as well as their effect. The Indulgences issued in July of 1669, September of 1672 and June of 1679 which licensed deprived ministers to preach on condition that they did not engage in nonconformist activity were viewed by opponents as part of the government's two-pronged strategy to gain incremental acceptance of the episcopal ascendancy in the church and destroy the unity of the covenanting cause. Robert McWard in a circulating letter from the early 1670s was critical of the erastian policy; referring to "this transcendent supremacy" as "ane plague" and speculating that "the thing principally aimed at is our compliance or ther with subjection thereto".⁹⁹ Literary propaganda was produced and disseminated which labelled deprived ministers who accepted the Indulgences as collaborators with the Restoration régime and traitors to the cause of the covenant.¹⁰⁰ At conventicles, nonconformist ministers lamented the disintegration of unity in

97. *Ibid.*

98. S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/329/2, Records of the Maxwell Family, 'Anonymous newsletter [c. May 1678]'.

99. N.L.S., Wodrow MSS Folio LVIII, f. 137-8, Correspondence of Robert McWard, 1648-81, 'Letter from R. McWard to A. Wedderburn c. 1670-1'.

100. *Ibid.*, f. 237-44, 'Letter from R. McWard to J. Brown dated 28 August 1673'.

the covenanting movement as a result of the Indulgences; exhorting their congregations to demonstrate firmer commitment in sustaining covenanting ideals.¹⁰¹ Circulating letters and poems produced by prominent, radical presbyterians enjoined adherents to stand fast for religion in the face of adversity.¹⁰² In a note accompanying a broadsheet assessing the current condition of nonconformists which was sent to Sir George Maxwell of Pollok in 1674, it was suggested that if men of substance who believed in covenanting ideology were less concerned for their personal safety and more willing to use their influence for the cause that there would be fewer defections to the established church through the Indulgences.¹⁰³ Thus, the oaths regulating loyalty and conduct which were imposed by Charles II's government in an effort to promote national unity were depicted in the mass propaganda produced by the covenanting movement as weapons of political tyranny geared as much at the inducement of obedience as the abandonment of covenant ideals.

IV.

Covenanting ideology received fresh impetus from the experience of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion of 1679. The emergence in 1680 of the militant Cameronians led by Richard Cameron, in particular, in the aftermath of the rising transformed covenanting attitudes towards kingship, authority and the right to resist. Although the Cameronians constituted the radical fringe of the movement and were viewed as extremists by both established authority in church and state as well as by more moderate covenanters, their political activities served to define the nature of dissent for the

¹⁰¹ University of Glasgow - Special Collections, Ms Gen 32/1b f. 7b-10, 'Sermons by Covenanters: A Collection of Seventy Valuable Lectures and sermons preached mostly in the time of the late persecution by these imminent servants of Jesus Christ Messrs David Dickson, Wm Guthrie, Jo. Livingston, Jo. Kidd, Ro. Cameron, Dl. Cargill, Jo. Welch, Jo. Blackadder, M. Bruce, Gab. Semple, Jo. Dickson, Ro. Fleeming, Jam. Hamilton, and Alex. Shields. Transcribed by Jo. Howie from several manuscripts about the years 1778-79 & c.'; *RPCS*, XII, 660-1.

¹⁰² S.R.O., Ms GD 49/515 f. 7-13, 14-26, Barclay Allardice Papers; Archives of the Scots Church, Rotterdam, Ms Consistory Registers Vol. 1-3, II-pt. 1, f. 43-5, 'Letter from R. McWard to congregation dated 20 January 1678'. This letter is reprinted in W. Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh, 1832), 350-5.

¹⁰³ S.R.A., Ms T-PM 113/317, Records of the Maxwell Family, 'Letter from H. Smith [minister of Eastwood] to [Sir G. Maxwell of Nether Pollok], dated 8 April 1674'.

Restoration government. The manifestos issued between 1680 and 1685 coupled with pamphlets and circulating letters summarising their political and religious beliefs – which were produced until the Revolution of 1688–89 – were instrumental, as we have seen, in provoking a major, governmental crackdown on nonconformity in general as exemplified in the 'Killing Times'.¹⁰⁴ Although in their declarations they projected themselves as the ideological heirs of Samuel Rutherford, John Stirling and James Stewart by citing *Lex Rex*, *Naphtali* and *Jus Populi Vindicatum* as the inspirational guides for their opposition to the crown, their views on obedience and deference to sovereign power; their theories on the right to resist established authority; their methods of combatting repression; and, their attitudes towards the established church were all at odds with those of their precursors.

This militant wing of the covenanting movement was formed as a consequence of the Rebellion of Bothwell Bridge, however, their radical political philosophy was not shared by the majority of participants in the uprising nor was it fully articulated until after the defeat of the rebels. The petition presented by two commissioners of the covenanted army to General Thomas Dalziel in 1679¹⁰⁵ more closely emulated the principles of armed revolt as traditionally put forward by covenanting ideologues than those espoused by their more radical counterparts in the 1680s. *The declaration of the presbyterians now in armes in the west of Scotland* which was drawn up by Robert Hamilton served as a statement of purpose for the dissidents, in that, it justified their resort to arms, declared their grievances and outlined their demands. Complaint was made that the church in Scotland had been deprived of religious purity since the reestablishment of the episcopacy and that government policies to promote ecclesiastical conformity had been implemented in a ruthless manner, constituting an infringement of civil rights. The penalties imposed on nonconformists such as fines, the forfeiture of lands and goods as well as incarceration without due process of the law were denounced as arbitrary and repressive tactics which "in forcing men to leave their homes with their families" were condemned as a "despicable practise". The introduction of martial law in the western shires to police religious conformity – a policy implemented by the quartering in the region of 8,000 soldiers known

¹⁰⁴. See: Chapter IV: Covenanting Propaganda and State Censorship.

¹⁰⁵. Historical Manuscript Commission, 6th Report Appendix (1877), 682. This is 'An account of the battle of Bothwell Bridge, subscribed by Sir Thomas Dalzell, Lieutenant-General, and dated 25 June 1679'.

as the 'Highland Host' - was viewed as indicative of government tyranny; for, as it was claimed in the declaration, "outrages have bein most arbitrarilie excercised upon us ... in 1678 by sending against us armed host of barberous savages [con]trair to all law and humanity". Other major grievances cited included the burden of taxation in Scotland and the harsh methods employed by commissioners such as James Graham, the duke of Claverhouse, in dealing with suspected conventiclers. Thus, the rebellion was projected as an act of self-defense carried out to secure presbyterianism in compliance with the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. The declaration stipulated, too, that the dissidents would remain in arms until their grievances were redressed through meetings of the national assemblies of the political nation and the church which were not controlled by the king; hence, they demanded a "free and unlimited parliament and a free general assembly". A general plea for the cessation of hostilities was tendered on the grounds that the petitioners desired "no more blood" with a patriotic appeal made to "our countriemen in the standing forces of this kingdome some of whom being our frende and kinsmen not to fight against us least in so doeing they be found fighting against the lord whose cause and quarrell we are sure he will evir signallie countenance seing we fight under his banner".¹⁰⁶ Thus, the logic and rhetoric of resistance used in the declaration issued by the leaders of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion echoed traditional covenanting pronouncements.

The majority of those who were active in the rebellion professed a commitment to the monarchical system of government and a recognition of royal authority. There was the inclusion in their declaration of 1679 of the conventional covenanting sentiment as it had appeared, formerly, in both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant that they had "no thought nor intention to diminish his [the king's] just power and greatness" but, on the contrary, that they were fighting for the crown in the defence of religion.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, claims of allegiance to the crown as the motivation for armed resistance in defence of religion continued to be expressed by some of the rebels even after they were convicted of treason. Prior to his execution, Alix Hume, a portioner, declared in his scaffold speech that although he had been branded a traitor for his involvement in the rebellion, he

¹⁰⁶ S.R.O., Ms GD 16/51/7, Airlie Muniments, 'The declaration of the presbyterians now in armes in the west of Scotland'. For another copy see: S.R.O., Ms GD157/ 1851, Scott of Harden, Lord Polwarth.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

considered himself a loyal subject who had fulfilled his obligations to God: "the world represents me as seditious and disloyal but ... I was never against the Kings just power and greatnes ... [for] all that a Christian doth must be of treuth for what [is not] with the command of god cannot be our duty and I wish the lord may help the king to do his duty to the people and the people to do their duty to the king".¹⁰⁸ According to the papers produced by another convicted rebel containing a summary of his examination by the authorities, Charles II's failure to maintain his covenant obligations to the people were sufficient grounds for popular resistance; however, he emphasised that the principle of rendering due obedience to lawful authority was a fundamental part of his christian beliefs.¹⁰⁹ When charges were pressed, other participants in the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion like Alexander Mcdouall recanted their former belief in armed resistance as a legitimate, political activity and signed the bond for peace whereby they pledged, on behalf of themselves and their dependents, to adhere to the laws on religious conformity and attend the local parish church.¹¹⁰

While the extremist rump of the covenanting movement reiterated the litany of grievances aired by their predecessors which centred on Charles II's inadequacies as a covenanted king, his noncompliance with custom and constitutional law; his abuse of power; and, his tendency towards autocratic rule, – especially in light of his promotion of an erastian church settlement – the solutions it proposed marked a major departure from traditional, covenanting ideology. Since the unveiling of the National Covenant in 1638, the majority of covenanting propagandists had stressed their loyalty to the crown as an institution and their recognition of monarchy as constituting the ideal form of government. Therefore, the style of governing and the policies implemented during the rule of Charles I and Charles II had occasioned their opposition with any rhetorical attacks on sovereign power centring on its abuse by the person of the king or his court and councillors. Furthermore, any form

108. U.G.S.C., MS GEN 1009/8, Covenanting MSS, 'The Last Speech of Alix Hume portioner of Hume who suffered at the Crosse of Edinburgh Dec 29 1682'. For a discussion of Hume see also: J.K. Hewison, The Covenanters: A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution (Glasgow, 1908), II, 385.

109. *Ibid.*, No. 9, 'Copy of two letters left by D. McMillan containing his Examination and last testimony as he knew he would be permitted to speak on the scaffold'.

110. S.R.O., Ms GD10/ 464, Broughton and Cally Muniments, 'Bond for the peace by Alexander Mcdouall who as in arms against the king at Bothwell Bridge date 1 July 1682'.

of resistance to the crown whether passive or active had been justified as a last resort undertaken out of self-defense in an effort to bring about change in governmental methods and policies within the state and church. By contrast, radical covenanting propagandists of the 1680s denied monarchical sovereignty by seeking to establish a civil society based on a theocratic form of republicanism composed of a community of believers. To this end, as we shall see, they declared war on the Scottish state; renounced the monarchy of Charles II and James VII; promoted regicide; and, advocated separation from the Scottish state and church.

The earliest expressions of the extremists' views appeared, initially, in the Rutherglen Declaration and the Hamilton Declaration which were drafted at the height of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion in May and June of 1679; however, a fuller elaboration appeared in the Queensferry Paper which was seized by officials after a skirmish with the militants in June of 1680. The Queensferry Paper which was attributed to Donald Cargill, a conventicle preacher, contained a series of pledges encapsulating the radical faction's view of Charles's kingship. The signators vowed to "free the Church of god from the thraldom and tyranie and incroachment and corruptions of prelacies on the one hand and Erastianism one the other hand". To that end, they declared war on the state committing themselves to the "overthrowing of that power which hath established that prelacie and Erastianisme of the Churches and exercised such a lustfull and arbitrarie tyrinie on the subjects seeking againe to introduce Idolitrie and superstitiones in thess lands contrair to our Covenants".¹¹¹ Although the privy council in a report to the duke of Lauderdale on the discovery of the Queensferry Paper, declared that it "did with horroure and amazement read the draught of a new covenant taken upon Mr Donald Cargill and Mr Hall which exceeded our beleiffe and all the wickednesse practised by these murtherers formerly", it also noted that there existed "yet a more execrable paper", the Sanquhar Declaration.¹¹² The militant phase of covenanting propaganda was inaugurated in public when the latter manifesto was read out, subscribed and posted at Sanquhar on 22 June 1680 after a ritualistic procession through

¹¹¹. S.R.O., Ms RH 15/55/21/5, Robert Burnet, W.S. - Miscellaneous Papers, 1641-1726, 'The Queensferry Paper'; R. Wodrow, The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland (4 vols., 1828-30), III, 207-11 and G. Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents (Edinburgh, 1974), 240-1.

¹¹². RPCS, XIV, 481.

the town by almost two dozen militants led by Richard Cameron. In his speech to the gathering, Cameron maintained that resistance against Charles II was justified because – as Samuel Rutherford, James Stewart and John Stirling had contended – the king had violated his pact with God and the people as a covenanted king: the prime condition of his right to exercise sovereign power. Given that the civil and divine contract had been invalidated through the king's negligence of his duties and his abuse of power, however, Cameron went one step further than his ideological predecessors by reasoning that monarchical sovereignty itself could be legitimately rejected by the people:

Honest Lex Rex pleads that the people are free, if the King break the Covenant betwixt him and them. Now the said Charles hath not only broken the Covenant (the leges regnand, in matters civil being broke) but hath also broken that Covenant, by which the Land was married to the Lord, without subscribing whereof the Land would not have brought him out of Holland so that it was made a fundamentall of his right to succeed to the Croune (as Napthali sayes) ... therefore his open breach thereof does fully warrand his rejection by us.¹¹³

In addition, he argued that Charles I was disowned at Newcastle because of his refusal to adhere to the covenant and thus his son should be rejected and disowned as a usurper for "open breach thereof ... having broken all ties which use to bind men". Armed resistance for the violent overthrow of the monarchy was promoted as a legitimate, christian duty that was incumbent on all Scots; hence, to achieve that end, Cameron advocated regicide and the murder of government officials. Those who opposed this call for civil disorder culminating in the death of the king out of a sense of duty and obedience to the institution of monarchy were branded as enemies of the people and the enemies of God; being those who would "obey the devil and his viceregents". As a replacement for hereditary kingship and the monarchical form of government, a proposal was made to establish a new constitutional system of civil administration in which magistrates were chosen by the political nation on behalf of the people. In conjunction with a severing of the constitutional framework of the nation, existing Scottish law was rejected and, in its stead, the new civil state was to be governed according to the judicial law of Moses with the exception of the Mosaic code governing divorce and polygamy. Since the polity and

¹¹³. N.L.S., Wodrow MSS Oct. V, f. 356v-7, Copies of miscellaneous letters, 1679-88, 'Sanquhar Declaration'.

policy of the established church was regarded as unredeemable, Cameron advocated separation thereby creating a self-autonomous, radical presbyterian sect.¹¹⁴

Throughout the 1680s, militant covenanting propagandists assiduously promoted the extremist vision and model of civil and ecclesiastical government as outlined in the Sanquhar Declaration. Donald Cargill in September of 1680 formally excommunicated Charles and, his heir, James, the duke of York, along with prominent royal advisors, councillors and administrators including the duke of Monmouth, the earls of Lauderdale and Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie and, the head of the army, General Thomas Dalziel.¹¹⁵ In the *Declaration of league for mutual defence* produced by fourteen militants at Colton in December of 1680, the signators while identifying themselves as supporters of the Rutherglen Declaration, nonetheless, denounced another radical manifesto, the Hamilton Declaration, "chiefly because it takes in the kings interest which we are loosed from by Reason of his Perfidy and Covenant breaking both to the most high Lord and the Peoples over whom he vows set upon the Crimes of the propagating the Main ends of the Covenants to wit the Reformation of Religion and ... of that usurping to himsell the Royal Perogative of Jesus Christ and [threatening] the liberties of the Church".¹¹⁶ The Apologetical Declaration of 1681 which was to be distributed nation-wide and read out at the mercat crosses in the burghs provided a detailed critique of Charles's style and methods of governing Scotland. The legality of the administration's campaign against nonconformity was questioned; for, it was carried out "in prejudice of our ancient Lawes and Liberties in all the severall pretended and prelimited parliaments and Conventions since the year 1660". Restoration ecclesiastical policies were branded as contrary to the law and thus the right of the civil government to exercise power was denied: "all these Laws, both of good and the kingdome, conditionall and constitute of this gov[ernmen]t are casted ... [and] the highest usurpa[tio]ns and the exerable prerogatives in matters ecclesiasticall and arbitrary gov[ernmen]t in matters civill are usurped and abrogat". Complaint was made that the king had manipulated parliament by introducing adjournments

114. *Ibid.*

115. W.L. Mathieson, *Politics and Religion: A Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution* (2vols., Glasgow, 1902), II, 291.

116. S.R.O., Ms RH 1/2/607, 'Photocopy declaration of league for mutual defence signed by William Wingate et al'.

and dissolutions to ensure royal control thus cutting "off the neck of that noble constitutione of church and state which our noble ancestors had made". The accusation was levelled, too, that Charles had abused the royal prerogative by placing himself above the law in designating himself "supream head" in church and state. This assertion of royal supremacy was seen as a precipitant for autocracy for, as it was suggested, it "imbues then an arrogance into hierarchical gov[ernmen]t with needless trappings of pageantry in civil and ecclesiastical ceremony".¹¹⁷ The impact on the nation of policies cited as illustrative of state repression and tyranny were catalogued in the Apologetical Declaration including those against conventicling which resulted in "men slaughtered in fields". As a consequence of Charles's kingship, excessive taxation had been imposed which was said to have resulted in the "impoverishing of the subjects". Moreover, it was claimed that the state misused its power to tax and that the onerous burden of taxation had been levied to fund the king's lavish and immoral lifestyle; thus Charles was accused of "keeping up a bordell-hous rather than a court, sine there is no court in the world hes carried to so great a hight of depravednesse". Having made the case against the king's as well as his administration's right to govern, the signators expressed the chief intent of the declaration: a denial of the constitutional authority of the Restoration government through a negation of all legislation, programs and policies implemented since 1660. After approving the ideological principles of the Rutherglen Declaration and Sanquhar Declarations, it was therefore asserted in the Apologetical Declaration that,

by the p[resen]tt reforms [we] annull and make voyd [wha]tsomever hes been done by Charles Stewart and his accomplices, in prejudice of or ancient Laws and liberities, in all the whole pretendit and premitted parl[iamen]ts and conventions since the year 1660 And particularly the late parl[iamen]t holden att ed[inburgh] the 28 of July 1681 by a commissioner professedly popish and for his villanny expelled his native land, with all the acts and Lawes therin statuted.¹¹⁸

Thus, the Apologetical Declaration in its assessment of the constitutional, political, economic and social condition of the country since 1660 served as an indictment of Charles's kingship.

¹¹⁷. S.R.O., Ms GD 157/1861, Scott of Harden, Lord Polwarth. For a slightly different version of the manifesto see: S.R.O., Ms GD 34/759, Hay of Haystoun Papers, 'Ane act and apologetick declara[tio]ne of the trew presbyterians of the church of Scotland dated 15 of December 1681'.

¹¹⁸. Ibid.

The militant agenda calling for a repudiation of sovereign authority, a denial of the constitutional system of government and a rejection of the established church was therefore to be achieved through a campaign of guerilla warfare to overthrow the Restoration régime in conjunction with a plan to create a rival state and church. It was promulgated further in the Lanark Declaration of 12 January 1682 which was authorised by the United Societies; the Apologetical Declaration of 8 November 1684; and, the Sanquhar Declaration of 28 May 1685.¹¹⁹ Aural, visual and literary propaganda aimed at bolstering the morale of grassroots supporters and winning broader acceptance among the general populace was produced to further the radical program. Official reports chronicling the seditious activities of the Cameronians provide one perspective on the extremists' polemical endeavours in the early 1680s. A military brief filed in July of 1680 by soldiers attempting to capture Richard Cameron, contained a summation of the rebel fugitive leader's latest propaganda efforts in the southwest: "Cameron was at Robertoun on friday the 18 day of july and the week befor made publict intimatiome for excommunicatione of his ma[jes]tie and to all persons whatsomever to come and hear it done".¹²⁰ James Graham, the duke of Claverhouse, who was commissioned to police the western shires for conformity estimated in an official *communiqué* of 1682 to the Justice-General, the duke of Queensberry, that one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty militants were roaming the countryside and organising secret prayer meetings. According to local rumours, they were engaged in guerilla warfare against the state employing tactics of assassination and murder against their opponents; thus, it was reported that they were "looking for James Graham" and "seeking the enimys of God, and inquyred roughly if any body there keeped the church".¹²¹ George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate, in writing to the Justice-General - now the marquis of Queensberry - in November of 1684 reported that he had received "information from Prov[est] Mill that on Lyell a minister of monros hath preached seditiously". He related, too, that the Apologetical Declaration had been posted at the mercat cross in Linlithgow "declareing warre with the Government and promiseing to kill us

119. Mathieson, *Politics and Religion*, 288.

120. S.R.O., Ms GD 16/51/78, Airlie Muniments, 'Draft of letter Re: pursuit of Cameron and party [n.d.]'

121. S.R.O., Ms GD 224/171/8/No. 49, Buccleuch Muniments, 'Letter from J. Graham to the duke of Queensberry dated Dumfries, 1682'.

all". Thus, he recommended that there be a "strict inquiry for all in the nation who will not forswear these opinions and especially in Edinburgh and at any rate to free the Kingdom of all of them for halting or halting are judged absolutely insecure".¹²²

Tracts were disseminated by the militant faction to promote their radical ideology. A handwritten pamphlet, *Hackston's Ghost*, echoed the ideology and rhetoric of Richard Cameron in his speech at the unveiling of the Sanquhar Declaration in June of 1680. The anonymous writer lamented the rejection of the Sanquhar Declaration by more moderate covenanters "since it is most consonant to our Covenants and presbyterian principles which ty us only to Charles Stewart, in defence of, and subordination to religion (as this Kirk anno 1648 expressly sayes)". He contended that popular revolt against Charles II was a justified, political action for, while the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant recognised monarchical sovereignty, they "certainly allowed not a man to be supream over our religion as he at London now pretends". The king was branded as the "head of malignants subject to condign punishment"; hence, he was "at least to be deposed as one who hath openly defyed Christ". Comparing Charles II to his father, he argued that "If another Covenanting King shall ly in prison, what shall be done to a perjured King of whom there is no hope, and who can give no security for the future having broken all tyes which use to bind men".¹²³ In *Some reasons against the taking of the oath of abjuratiōne quhich is now imposed wpon the inhabitants of the land*, a case was made for not subscribing the oath of abjuration tendered by the state which repudiated the principles outlined in the Apologetical Declaration, the radical manifesto issued on 8 November of 1684. Circulated as a handwritten broadsheet, it maintained that the government oath misrepresented and exaggerated the nature of the political program detailed in the Apologetical Declaration; thus, the broadsheet condemned subscribers as collaborators with the state; traitors to the reformed tradition; and, enemies of the covenanting cause.¹²⁴

Accounts of the criminal proceedings launched against extremist covenanters reveal the extent to which Cameronian principles were accepted, internalised and adhered to by many of the rank and

¹²². *Ibid.*, No.28, Letter from G. Mackenzie to the marquis of Queensberry dated 10 November 1684'.

¹²³. N.L.S., Wodrow MSS Oct. V, f. 356-6v., No. 6, Copies of miscellaneous letters, 1679-88.

¹²⁴. *RPCS*, XII, 489-91.

file followers. Interrogation by the privy council and the criminal court judge of four militants associated with Donald Cargill – James Skein, a writer who was the younger brother of a northern laird, Archibald Stewart, a skipper in Bo'ness, Robert Hamilton from Broxburn, and John Spreul, a Glasgow apothecary – in November of 1680 was indicative of the depth of commitment to radical politics exhibited by the Cameronian faction. It was reported that when James Skein was questioned, he was "so obstinately stout that ... he owned Cameron's declaration of war against Charles Stewart (as he called the king) at Sanquhar, approved their fighting at Bothwell bridge, Moorkirk or Aerdsnose, the covenant, their excommunication, & c. tho he was present at none of them, and that he had freedom to kill the King as an enemy to God and the country, and subscribed the same". Even though the other, three prisoners were tortured, they "would give no positive categorick answer to that question, if they thought it lawful to kill his Majesty? But would rather call it lawful nor unlawful".¹²⁵ Two months later, two of their female compatriots identified as Janet Alison from Perth and one Harvy from Bo'ness were hanged in Edinburgh for "uttering treasonable words, and other principles and opinions contrari to all our government".¹²⁶ The newsletter reporting their executions suggested that the penalties inflicted on the extremists for their beliefs only served to fuel public sympathy for the Cameronians: "Some thought, the threatening to drown them privately in the North Loch, without giving them the credit of a publick suffering would have more effectually reclaimed them nor any arguments which were used; and the bringing them to a scaffold but disseminates the infection".¹²⁷ In March of 1682, three militant Cameronians were hanged in the Grassmarket in Edinburgh for disowning the king even though they had been offered conditional clemency: "if they would but acknowledged his Majesties they would have been pardoned; yea, when they were upon the scaffold The Earle of Roscommons, by a privy warrant from the Duke of York, came and offered them their lives, if they would but say, God save the King; but they refused to do it".¹²⁸

¹²⁵. J. Lauder, *Historical Selections from the Manuscripts of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall Vol. I Historical Observations, 1680-1686* (Edinburgh, 1837), 7-8.

¹²⁶. *Ibid.*, 26-7.

¹²⁷. *Ibid.*

¹²⁸. *Ibid.*, 29.

The Cameronian blueprint for ameliorating political and religious conditions in Scotland was viewed with a mixture of horror and dismay by more moderate covenanters. John Dick, a rebel tried for his involvement in the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion, in a confession given at the court of session in August of 1683 declared that the ideology and methods of revolt outlined in the Sanquhar Declaration were "inconsistent with his principals" but, he proclaimed his adherence to the Hamilton Declaration because of its acknowledgement of monarchical authority. Although he confirmed his more radical, covenanting credentials by admitting to his part in the Rebellion of 1679; his association with John Welsh; his approval of those involved in archbishop Sharp's murder; his view that armed resistance was a legitimate response to tyranny; and, his belief that all laws relating to the episcopal ascendancy were invalid as no legitimate parliament had sat since 1660, nonetheless, he asserted that Charles was a "lawful born King" and he was willing to "own [the] Kings aut[horit]ie" in civil matters.¹²⁹ More moderate presbyterians denounced the militants' as fanatical extremists whose subversive pronouncements and activities were inconsistent with either presbyterian beliefs or covenanting tradition. A circulating letter written in July of 1680 which offered a detailed summation of the moderate, presbyterian response to the Cameronians reiterated conventional, covenanting attitudes towards the institution of the monarchy and the exercising of royal power:

it hath been still the care of presbyterians to perform (so farr as humane informitie permitteth) a due respect to lawfull authority to gither with ther Allegiance and loyaltie to his Ma[jes]tie & to observe a destructione betwixt the fault of rulers which they lament & the sacred character of their office which is of God & to be held in veneration: betwixt ane undue exercise of their power or over streghting of the mater of Supremasie especially in the things of Jesus Christ which they can not homologate; & ther Lawfull power & authority & the lawfull exercise therof; which they humbly submit to; betwixt obedience of thinges sinfull or doubtfull which we may not yeild being taught from Scripture to count what soever is not of faith to be sin, to obey god rather nor man.¹³⁰

Although the anonymous writer denounced the reliance on extremist tactics and the violence of both the militants and the state to achieve their distinct ends in equal measure, special contempt was reserved for the Cameronians' portrayal of themselves as the spokesmen for nonconformists. The

¹²⁹ S.R.O., Ms GD 157/1865, Scott of Harden, Lord Polwarth, 'Confession of John Dick, son of David Dick, writer in Edinburgh, given before the lords of session and judiciary dated Edinburgh 30 August 1683'.

¹³⁰ S.R.O., Ms GD 30/1723 f. 2, Shairp of Houstoun Muniments.

militants' claim to be the ideological heirs of the sixteenth-century reformers and preceding generations of covenanting activists was rejected on the grounds that their beliefs were "erionous schismaticall and destructive to the peace of all Christian, the humane society".¹³¹ Their use of the covenant as justification for disowning the institution of the monarchy; overthrowing the state; and, advocating regicide was seen as ahistorical since it was contrary to the Confession of Faith, the National Covenant and "the declared scop & intention" of the general assembly of 1639. Thus, the polemicist compared the Cameronians to republican, Fifth Monarchy Men and catholics, asserting "we hate the anti-Scripturall, antimagistraticall tenets the seditious & rebellious designers of these papers ... and we look upon them neither as presbiterians nor protestants ... but either as Sectaries or papists".¹³² The extremists' promotion of regicide and the assassination of government officials under "the specious pretence of executting the judgements of God" was viewed as a prescription for political anarchy and civil disorder; perpetrating "the greatest tyrannies butcheries imagunable & for filling the land with blood & confusione which can find no paralell so proper as the Anabaptistick furies of Tom of munster & John of Leyden". Proposals to create a separate church and state were characterised as "odious to all rationall & sober men" and presumptuous for they involved "taking upon them to be your judges & to set up a new ministry as weall as another magistracie, thus ingrossing to themselves the power of both swords". The authenticity and credibility of the militant campaign was questioned: "what braine could produce such a birth not wholly possessed with dilusions or hellish popish treachery". Thus, the writer speculated that the development of the extremists' ideology was a catholic plot conceived by Jesuits to further discredit presbyterianism and to create factionalism among presbyterians themselves "considering how popish & jesuiticall like these king-disposeing, king-killing, state-disturbing & confounding principles & practises ... & how odious it is like to make them and ther principles & way ... to all rationall & sober men".¹³³

131. *Ibid.*, f. 1.

132. *Ibid.*, f. 2.

133. *Ibid.*

Moderate, covenanting propagandists sought to distance themselves and their cause from the militants' terrorist campaign against the state, largely, because they anticipated that such subversive views might be taken to represent presbyterians in general. In response to the pamphlet *Hackston's Ghost*, for instance, two tracts appeared in 1680 which, in denouncing the extremists, questioned their authenticity as spokesmen for the covenanting cause. In *A vindication of true presbyterians from the Aspersions cast upon them in the malicious paper called Hackston's Ghost*, it was suggested that *Hackston's Ghost* was a spurious piece of black propaganda for the author was a "prelatist" intent on making presbyterians appear "odious to authority".¹³⁴ Allegiance to the crown as promoted in the National Covenant was cited as proof of presbyterian loyalty to the king and pro-royalist sentiment; thus, it was contended that thousands of Scots

could never yet meet with any rationall conviction of the badness of presbyterian principles, and who without that cannot think of changeing them, and who could never see anything unlawfull in the matter of the Covenant ... and who therefore cannot think that any power on earth can dispense with, or loose from the obligation of it.¹³⁵

Thus, the Cameronians' call for the overthrow of the monarchy was condemned on the grounds that, as God's anointed, no one had the right to depose a king.¹³⁶ Contrary to militant principles, recognition was given to the legitimacy of the royal prerogative, however, the anonymous polemicist asserted that, conventionally, the scope of the king's power was limited:

That seems to be the fundamentall constitution of the Government of our nation, that some things which properly are parts of the supream power have never been putt in the hands of any of their Kings in their own persons at all, but retained in the hands of the nations own Representatives to be excercised in conjunction with his ma[jes]tie as ther should think fitt, such as the power of Legislation, and the power of the disposing the goods of the subjects, and the imposing tributes and taxes.¹³⁷

The historical fallacies and false assumptions inherent in the extremists' platform for constitutional and ecclesiastical change was the subject of a tract entitled *Some few brief Remarks on the paper called Hackston's Ghost*. The pamphleteer pointed out that the assertion made by the author of *Hackston's*

¹³⁴. N.L.S., Wodrow MSS Oct. V, f. 362v., Copies of miscellaneous letters, 1679-88, 'A vindication of true presbyterians from the Aspersions cast upon them in the malicious paper called Hackston's Ghost'.

¹³⁵. *Ibid.*, f. 363v.

¹³⁶. *Ibid.*, f. 367v-8.

¹³⁷. *Ibid.*, f. 371.

Ghost that Charles Stewart was disowned because he did not take the covenant was false.¹³⁸ The Cameronian campaign of violence was rejected as unwarranted for it was viewed as detrimental to the common good and thus an illegitimate activity pursued by individuals for their own ends.¹³⁹ The historical interpretation of *Lex Rex* and *Naphtali* "as our bibles" was queried with the anonymous writer demanding to know "by what right are these held as guides or legal or constitutional guides".¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the principle of regicide was cast as an illegitimate tactic which lacked authority and was contrary to the natural order and to the public interest:

who shall be judged in such a case, Is a Kings life exposed to every Peasant to Judge, I mean not a judgement of discretion, but of jurisdiction, If every one like the men of Sanquhar may sett up themselves judges Paramount of their King & his tittle, and have leave to pass sentence and pass judgement upon him, to unking and kill him at their pleasure, It were more miserable to be a king than a Peasant, and how Inconsistent were that with all principles, and what a door would it open to all confusion, one by this mean we might have partie against partie, and judgement ouning him & disouning him, every person and partie having the same right and power to judge, what the men of Sanquhar have.¹⁴¹

Therefore, the moderate, covenanting critique of the extremists' political objectives was aimed at undermining their credibility by questioning their authority and authenticity as representatives of the covenanting cause.

V.

After James VII's succession in 1685 to the Revolution of 1688-89 when the king was forced to vacate the throne, covenanting views on the issue of kingship, authority and the right to resist as expressed in their mass, political propaganda remained consistent with the ideology espoused during the latter years of Charles II's rule. *Communiqués* were sent to militant leaders in exile on the continent offering a synopsis of covenanting, propaganda activities carried on in Scotland. An account

¹³⁸. N.L.S., Wodrow MSS Oct. V, f. 357v., Copies of miscellaneous letters, 1679-88, 'Some few brief Remarks on the paper called Hackston's Ghost'.

¹³⁹. *Ibid.*, f. 359-9v.

¹⁴⁰. *Ibid.*, f. 359v-60.

¹⁴¹. *Ibid.*, f. 362.

of a general meeting of the United Societies in 1688 which was dispatched to Robert Hamilton in Utrecht reported on the preparation of a paper instructing adherents not to comply with the Indulgence of 1687 as it constituted an acknowledgement of royal authority.¹⁴² Circulating letters written by Hamilton in 1689 for dissemination in Scotland, typically, sought to strengthen the morale of the remnant by appealing to them as unique champions of the covenanting cause; reminding them of their communal and individual responsibilities to carry on the work of reformation in the face of political adversity.¹⁴³ Public debate on the interrelated issues of the nature of sovereign power and the right to resist established authority received fresh impetus with the succession of a catholic, James VII, to the throne. To counter opponents' arguments against the acceptance of a catholic monarch, royalist propagandists expounded on the function and scope of the royal prerogative thereby vindicating James's claim of monarchical supremacy in church and state. In a paper entitled *Anent the Royall prerogative*, the anonymous polemicist suggested that the royal prerogative made the king the "ultimate arbiter" in assessing his own use of power for it imbued the monarch with the "right to determine how and when to utilise his authority with the power to make or break laws as he saw fit and necessary".¹⁴⁴ Also, natural obedience to a king who ruled by hereditary right was adequate justification for denying the legitimacy of resistance; thus, it was declared that "ther can be no meetings to treat or determine in matters of State without his Ma[jes]ties authoritie and warrand and that upon no pretense ther can be any rissing in armes without his warrand".¹⁴⁵ A tract chronicling the proceedings of James VII's coronation related that, in the Bishop of Ely's sermon, a discourse on the king's ascension to the throne by divine right was presented.¹⁴⁶ Recognition of the natural order and the deference accorded to rulers by the ruled were portrayed as christian obligations; for, it was declared, in alluding to the problem presented by the king's religion, that,

142. U.G.S.C., MS GEN 1009/17, Covenanting MSS, 'Letter from T. Lining to R. Hamilton dated Utrecht 9 January 1688'.

143. *Ibid.*, No.15, 'Letters to Remnant from R. Hamilton dated 1689'.

144. S.R.O., Ms GD 6/1004, Biel Muniments 1435-1915.

145. *Ibid.*

146. F. Turner, A sermon preached before their Majesties k. James II and Q. Mary at their Coronation in Westminster Abbay April 23, 1685 (London and Edinburgh, 1685), 4-5.

Tho the Maintenance of Religion is commonly made the most plausible, Pretence for Rebellion (as it was for the last among us, and has been made use of since towards the encouraging of another), yet Rebellion almost constantly proves (as that last prov'd) the Means to destroy Religion ... That as soon as ever Men begin to be Rebels, They cease to be inwardly Religious and truly good Men ... That to Rebel is the ready way to ruine the Constitution of the Outward, Profest and Establisht Religion in a Nation.¹⁴⁷

Thus, for royalist propagandists, both the natural order and scriptural precedent confirmed James's right to rule.

Two tracts by Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate, which were published in 1684 in anticipation of James's succession laid out the historical, legal and constitutional basis of kingship, the nature of royal authority and the legitimacy of hereditary, absolutist monarchy. In *Jus Regium: or, The Just and Solid Foundations of Monarchy in general: And more especially of the Monarchy of Scotland*, Mackenzie sought to discredit the theories of elective kingship as espoused by George Buchanan, Samuel Rutherford, James Stewart and John Stirling in Scotland as well as John Milton in England. Starting from the basic premise that kings were divinely appointed to serve as God's "Vicegerents"¹⁴⁸ on earth, Mackenzie argued that the lesson drawn from the Scottish Revolution was that opposition to the crown triggered political instability which was antithetical to the national interest and the common good; thus, as a consequence of Charles I's execution and the rise of Cromwellian republicanism "all we gained, was to be Slaves and Beggars".¹⁴⁹ Advocacy of elective, limited monarchy and the theories of resistance as propounded by covenanting propagandists and their precursors were said to "poison this nation"; hence, by referring to positive, natural and divine law, he set out to prove that "those principles are inconsistent with all Monarchy".¹⁵⁰ In making the case for hereditary monarchy, royal power was said to derive from God alone with this divine right to rule supported by scripture, the practise of the primitive church, the civil law and political philosophy.¹⁵¹ Since the king's authority was characterised as essentially paternal,¹⁵² the law of

¹⁴⁷. *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴⁸. G. Mackenzie, *Jus Regium: or, The Just and Solid Foundations of Monarchy in general: And more especially of the Monarchy of Scotland* (London, 1684), 2.

¹⁴⁹. *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁵⁰. *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹⁵¹. *Ibid.*, 13-8.

¹⁵². *Ibid.*, 24.

God and the law of nature dictated that it was imbued with omnipotent and omniscient qualities and hence its use or abuse could not be judged either by temporal authority or the people. Inherent in the formulation of monarchical government was the basic premise that the "King is Supreme"; thus, Mackenzie contended that the "Monarch must be presum'd, neither to be oblig'd to govern by the Advice of the Nobility, (for that were to confound Monarchy with Aristocracy) nor by the Advice of the People (for that were to confound it with Democracy).¹⁵³ Contrary to the objections raised by promoters of popular sovereignty, absolute monarchy was said to constitute the best form of government.¹⁵⁴ Claims promulgated by the admirers of George Buchanan that the popular election of magistrates was within the birth-right of the people were regarded as "meer Cheats, invented to engage the Rabble in an aversion to the establish'd Government, when factious and insolent Spirits, who cannot submit themselves to Government, design to cheat the Multitude by fair Pretences, and to bribe them by Flattery".¹⁵⁵ Demands for royal accountability by proponents of limited monarchy in conjunction with their assertions of a popular right to judge the actions of the crown were dismissed as untenable in light of the principles of the divine right of kings which allowed only God to punish an erring prince.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, covenanting rhetoric which justified armed resistance to tyranny when it involved a legitimately constituted authority was regarded as illegitimate and an invocation to treason.¹⁵⁷ Since the right to punish a tyrant lay with God rather than the people,¹⁵⁸ Mackenzie asserted that "it is not lawful for Subjects to punish their Kings, so neither is it to rise in Arms against them, upon what pretext soever, no not to defend their Liberty nor Religion".¹⁵⁹ In his second pamphlet entitled, *That the Lawfull Successor Cannot be Debarr'd from Succeeding to the Crown: Maintain'd against Dolman, Buchannan, and others*, Mackenzie presented a theoretical defence of the

153. *Ibid.*, 36-7.

154. *Ibid.*, 46.

155. *Ibid.*, 30.

156. *Ibid.*, 23.

157. *Ibid.*, 20, 49, 90-138.

158. *Ibid.*, 50, 78, 82, 84.

159. *Ibid.*, 86.

monarchical right of succession based on the law of God, nature, nations and the civil law.¹⁶⁰ In championing indefeasible hereditary right, he maintained that neither parliament- an "inferior power"- nor a monarchical predecessor possessed the authority to alter the line of succession.¹⁶¹ The consequences of denying hereditary succession which ranged from civil war as evidenced by Scottish and European history¹⁶² to divine retribution and the "pain of Eternal Damnation"¹⁶³ outweighed any benefits to be derived from such a decision. Moreover, Mackenzie maintained that any lawful successor was obliged to maintain the laws even if he was indifferent in his religious convictions.¹⁶⁴ Thus, even though Mackenzie refrained from making any direct reference to James, the duke of York, it was his entitlement as his brother's heir to ascend the throne which prompted the Lord Advocate to write the tracts.

Alexander Shields in *A Hind Let Loose: or, An Historical Representation of the Testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the Interest of Christ*, which was written in 1687 offered an extended critique of the rule of Charles II and James VII which summarised militant, covenanting ideology. The remnant's impact on Scottish political culture and the methods employed by the state to suppress radical nonconformists were of special interest to Shields and, thus, in his tract, he sought to place these twin concerns within a broader European and historical context. In analysing the evolution of nonconformist activity in Scotland, he argued that the "persecution in Scotland hath been very remarkable (though little regarded) both in respect of the injustice, illegality and inhumanity of the

160. G. Mackenzie, That the Lawfull Successor Cannot be Debarr'd from Succeeding to the Crown: Maintain'd against Dolman, Buchannan, and others (London, 1684), 145.

161. *Ibid.*, 152, 156.

162. *Ibid.*, 165, 165-71.

163. *Ibid.*, 172-3

164. *Ibid.*, 185-6.

persecutors, and in respect of the innocency, zeal and ingenuity of the persecuted".¹⁶⁵ Reference was made to the "great slaughter of the Witnesses" in France, Hungary, Austria, Piedmont and the Savoy where catholic revivals had resulted in the suppression of protestantism; thus, the primary purpose of the work was to gain universal awareness of the plight of Scottish nonconformists by having Scotland "enrolled in the catalogue of suffering Churches".¹⁶⁶ In comparison with Scotland's continental counterparts, Shields maintained that geography rather than any lack of intensity in the state's policing of nonconformity accounted for the relative obscurity of the Scottish case:

her witnessings and wrestlings, trials and temptations, have not been inferior, in manner or measure, quality or continuance, to any of the fore-mentioned Churches, though in extent not so great because her precinct is not so large, whereby the number of her oppressed and murdered children could not be so multiplied, though her Martyrs be more, and the manner of their Murder more illegal, than can be instanced in any of them, during this time.¹⁶⁷

The reversal of fortune experienced by the Scottish church since the Restoration in its advancement of protestantism was cited, accordingly, as a condition requiring greater recognition; for, "she is as much despised, as she was before admired: and her witness and testimony for Reformation, is now as far depressed, and suppressed, in obscurity, as it was formerly declared, and depredicated in glory and honour".¹⁶⁸ To justify the extremist platform, Shields contended that it constituted not a radical departure but, rather, a natural progression from the past as experienced by nonconformists through six periods of history. In this historical paradigm, religious and political dissenters from the Culdees to the Lollards to the early reformers of the sixteenth-century to the reformers of the late sixteenth century to the first generation of covenanters were identified as the ideological precursors of

¹⁶⁵ A. Shields, A Hind Let Loose: or, An Historical Representation of the Testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the Interest of Christ; with the true State thereof in all its Periods: Together with a Vindication of the present Testimony against the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant Enemies of that Church, as it is now stated, for the Prerogatives of Christ, Privileges of the Church, and Liberties of Mankind, and sealed by the Sufferings of a reproached Remnant of Presbyterians there, witnessing against the Corruptions of the Time; Wherein Several Controversies of greatest Consequence are enquired into, and in some measure cleared; concerning hearing of the Curates, owning of the present Tyranny, taking of ensnaring Oaths and Bonds, frequenting of Field-meetings, defensive Resistance of Tyrannical Violence, with several other subordinate Questions useful for these Times (Edinburgh, 1744), 21.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 20.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

the Cameronians. Their political responses to autocratic rule were examined by Shields, then, to draw an historical parallel with the remnant.¹⁶⁹ In summarising his paradigm of the evolution of dissent, he emphasised the incrementalist nature of the opposing forces to the 'true religion': "The first period had Gentilism principally to deal with; the second Popery; the third Popery and Tyranny; the fourth Prelacy and Supremacy; this fifth hath all together, and Sectarianism also, to contend against".¹⁷⁰ Moreover Shields stressed the notion that Cameronian principles were neither novel nor unorthodox; rather, he contended that they were firmly grounded on the ideas espoused by their philosophical predecessors including George Buchanan, John Knox, David Calderwood, James Guthrie, Samuel Rutherford, John Brown, John Stirling and James Stewart.¹⁷¹ Thus, in chronicling the activities and beliefs of the militant covenanters of the 1680s, Shields declared that

it is my ambition, that nothing here be looked upon as mine, but that it may appear this is an old plea; and that the party here pleaded for, who are stigmatized with many singularities, are a people, who ask for the old paths, and the old good way, that they may walk therein; and though their paths be not much paved, by the frequency of passengers ... yet they are not untrodden paths, but the same way of truth, which hath been maintained by the witnesses of Christ in all the periods of our Church, and asserted by the greatest Confessors, tho' never before sealed by Martyrs.¹⁷²

Through allusions to religious and political antecedents, Shields therefore sought to vindicate contemporary developments in the history of nonconformity.

The central thesis propounded by Shields echoed that of earlier covenanting propagandists in its main contention that the Restoration had been a "fatal catastrophe"¹⁷³ for the nation because both the means and the ends of the state's promotion of an erastian church settlement in conjunction with its drive for political and ecclesiastical unity had a dilatorious impact on the reformed tradition as well as the common good and, as such, was a manifestation of tyranny. However, in his rhetoric and his *oeuvre*, Shields's critique of the kingship of Charles II and James VII was more inflammatory and more comprehensive than that provided by his philosophical antecedents. This was largely a reflection of

169. *Ibid.*, 21-5; 25-32; 32-58; 58-75; 75-107.

170. *Ibid.*, 76.

171. *Ibid.*, v.

172. *Ibid.*, vi.

173. *Ibid.*, vii.

contemporary politics, in general, and the ascension of a catholic, James VII, to the throne in 1685, in particular. Shields, in essence, made the case that state policy since 1660 was part of a grand scheme for the deconstruction of the reformation which had the ultimate aim of reintroducing catholicism in Scotland. The Scottish commissioners' consultations with Charles II at Breda in 1649 which resulted in his succession as a 'covenanted king' were cited as an early indication of duplicitous, catholic plotting, for, he claimed that Charles "did upon Deliberation and Choice mock God and Man, and entered into these Engagements, only with a purpose to be thereby in better Capacity to destroy what he swore to maintain, only because he could not have the Crown without this way".¹⁷⁴ The king's acceptance of the covenant, thus, was viewed as a ruse inspired by "his Jesuitical and hypocritical Cabal,[who] found it in his Interest to play the Fox".¹⁷⁵ The Restoration of 1660 was portrayed as the outcome of circumstantial events brought about by the enemies of the reformed faith; thus, Shields maintained that during the 1650s the "Sectarian Army here prevailed, till, after the Usurper Cromwell his death, the false Monk, then General, with a Combination of Malignants and Publick Resolutioners, did machinate our misery, and effectuated it, by bringing home the King to England from his Banishment: wherein he was habituate into an implacable hatred against the Work of God".¹⁷⁶ Both Charles and his brother, James VII, were characterised as catholic by upbringing and conviction who "by their Mother's carresses, and the Jesuites allurements,[were] seduced to abjure the Reformed Religion".¹⁷⁷ Charles's methods and style of governing were projected, then, as a means to perpetrate "revenge upon the Nation" through the piece-meal introduction of policies aimed at subverting ecclesiastical and constitutional traditions in Scotland through the promotion of prelacy, supremacy and tyranny.¹⁷⁸

As evidence for his theory of a governmental scheme to destroy religious and civil liberties, Shields chronicled the policies and legislative initiatives pursued during Charles's monarchy including

174. *Ibid.*, 87.

175. *Ibid.*, 84-5.

176. *Ibid.*, 90-1.

177. *Ibid.*, 109.

178. *Ibid.*, 111, 112-5.

the erastian church settlement which resulted in the deprivation of nonconformist ministers; the laws against conventicling; and, the imposition of onerous taxation.¹⁷⁹ The king, himself, was depicted as a despot rivalling Caligula and Nero who advanced "Tyranny to the height of Absoluteness, and his Supremacy almost beyond the reach of any additional supply, yea, above the pope's own Claim"; governing "by Craft as well as Cruelty, to advance his own, in promoting Antichrist's Interest".¹⁸⁰ The government's handling of nonconformity was depicted in the tract as a campaign of genocide against the remnant, in particular, and presbyterianism, in general; part of a calculated and concerted strategy so that militant covenanters would be "exterminated out of the world" and the "Reformation reduced to [a] ruinous heap".¹⁸¹ Armed conventicles, the Pentland Rising, the murder of archbishop Sharp – "the chief Instrument of all the Persecution, and the main Instigator to all the bloody violence" – and the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion thus were said to be justifiable acts of self-defense carried out by conservative patriots in reponse to state tyranny.¹⁸² Harrassment of conventiclars; the imposition of the cess tax; the Indulgence of 1679; and the instigation of the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion were viewed as part of a concerted effort by the king and his administration to divide the covenanting movement; subvert protestantism; impoverish the nation; and, undermine the Scottish constitution in order to create an absolutist, catholic regime.¹⁸³ Thus, even though – as Shields admitted – moderate presbyterians condemned the Cameronians as subversive fanatics, the radicals' objectives as expressed in the Sanquhar Declaration of 1680 were said to constitute a legitimate response to the tyrannical rule of Charles II:

But as they had very great and important reasons to disclaim that Tyrants Authority, hinted in the Declaration it self, and hereafter more fully vindicated: so the necessity of a Testimony against all Tyrannical Encroachments on Religion and Liberty, then current and encreasing; and the sin and shame of shifting and delaying it so long, when the Blasphemous Supremacy was now advanced to its summit; the Churches Privileges all overturned; Religion and the Work of Reformation trampled under foot; the peoples Rights and Liberties destroyed, and the Laws all subverted; and no shadow of Government left, but arbitrary Absoluteness, obtruding the Tyrant's will for Reason,

179. *Ibid.*, 116-23.

180. *Ibid.*, 123, 125.

181. *Ibid.*, x.

182. *Ibid.*, 133-43 with quote from 137-8.

183. *Ibid.*, 134-44.

and his Letter for the Supreme Law ... and all the ends of Magistracy wholly inverted; while innocent and honest people are grievously oppressed in their persons, Consciences, and Estates; and Perjuries, Adulteries, Idolatries, and all impieties were not only connived at, but countenanced as badges of Loyalty, and manifest and monstrous Robberies and Murders authorized, Judgement turned to gall, and the fruit of Righteousness into hemlock; do justify its Seasonableness: and the ends of the Gospel, and maintain the Work of Reformation, and preserve the Remnant of faithful Adherers to it.¹⁸⁴

Within his schemata, Shields therefore referred to the remnant's leaders such as Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill as "Christ's Ambassadors" in juxtaposition to the chief representative of the "Antichrist", James, the duke of York, who in his capacity as the king's commissioner in Scotland sought to "promote Popery and Arbitrary Government".¹⁸⁵

Even though Shields suggested that the kingship of Charles II was a study in the abuse of power which was marked by an unacceptable degree of ruthless and arbitrary autocracy, at the same time, he perceived it as a mere prelude to the rule of his brother, James VII.¹⁸⁶ From the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-80 to the arrival of the duke of York in Edinburgh in 1681 as the king's commissioner to the death of Charles in February of 1685 - which Shields claimed was a fratricidal murder by poisoning - to James's succession to the throne in 1685 to the introduction of the first Toleration Act in 1686, Shields maintained that James manipulated the Scottish constitution as part of a popish plot to establish a catholic autocracy.¹⁸⁷ In offering no opposition to James's succession, the complicity of presbyterian ministers in the acceptance of a catholic king was roundly condemned. While the remnant with the Sanquhar Declaration of May 1685 protested "against this Usurpation of a bloody Papist, advancing himself to the Throne" and denounced the proclamation of James as king and the "choosing of a Murderer to be a Governor, who hath shed the blood of the Saints",¹⁸⁸ it was noted that the majority of Scottish ministers remained "silent"; hence, "Presbyterians, from whom might have been expected greater opposition, were sleeping in a profound submission".¹⁸⁹ According to

184. *Ibid.*, 145-6.

185. *Ibid.*, 145-6. See also: *Ibid.*, 157.

186. *Ibid.*, 113.

187. *Ibid.*, 17-8, 108, 157, 161-2, 164, 166-7, 173-4, 176, 179, 180, 193-4.

188. *Ibid.*, 164.

189. *Ibid.*, 165-6.

Shields, a state-sanctioned campaign of terror to suppress nonconformity while initiated in 1681 by the duke of York was intensified after 1684 in response to the publication of the Apologetical Declaration.¹⁹⁰ During the kingship of James VII, government suppression of the militants escalated to new heights as evidenced by the "inhumanity and illegality of their Proceedings" with officials subverting judicial and legal practises to obtain convictions and extract confessions.¹⁹¹ Repression of the remnant by government troops ordered to "to hunt, hound, chase, and pursue after them" was said to be comparable to the Spanish Inquisition.¹⁹² With reference to the "killing time", in general, and the process relied on to deal with religious and political dissidents, in particular, he therefore spoke of the "Scottish Spanish Inquisition" and the "Scottish Inquisition".¹⁹³ Tyrannical rule since 1660 as exemplified by the government's policies in church and state had undermined the reformation tradition in Scotland and destroyed the legal rights and constitutional conventions of the country:

Now having thus overturned the Church Government, by introducing Prelacy, to advance an absolute Supremacy; the effects whereof, were either Corruption, or Persecution of all the Ministry, Encouragement of profanity and wickedness, the encrease and advancement of Popery, Superstition, and Error, cruel impositions on the Conscience, and oppressions for Conscience sake, by the practises of cruel Supra-Spanish Inquisitions, and all manner of out-cries of outrageous violence and villany: the King proceeds, in his design, to pervert and evert the well-modelled and moderated Constitution of the State Government also, by introducing and advancing an Arbitrary Tyranny; the effects whereof, were an absolute Mancipation of Lives and Liberties, and estates unto his lust and pleasure, the utter subversion of Laws, and absolute impoverishing of people.¹⁹⁴

Thus, by 1687, James VII's scheme to advance catholicism by subverting the reformation tradition had resulted in the destruction of the Scottish church since it had been "reduced through defection, and division, and persecutions, to a confused Chaos of almost irreparable dissolution, and unavoidable desolation".¹⁹⁵

In *A Hind Let Loose*, James's use of monarchical authority was projected as the antithesis of good government and his reliance on the royal prerogative was seen as a instrument to bolster

¹⁹⁰. *Ibid.*, 158-61.

¹⁹¹. *Ibid.*, 217- 21.

¹⁹². *Ibid.*, 158, 160.

¹⁹³. *Ibid.*, xii, xv., 121.

¹⁹⁴. *Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁹⁵. *Ibid.*, 108.

monarchical supremacy at the expense of the national interest. Shields was especially critical of the king's promotion of toleration through the use of Indulgences in February and June 1687, largely, because he considered such policies an integral part of a catholic conspiracy to undermine civil and ecclesiastical traditions in Scotland.¹⁹⁶ The means used to introduce the failed Toleration Act of 1686 as well as the intent of the statute itself was said to exemplify tyrannical and autocratic rule. The king's reliance on a royal decree with the issuance of the first Indulgence to proclaim the institutionalisation of a policy of toleration for catholics and nonconformists with the exception of the remnant in February of 1687 was perceived as an abuse of the royal prerogative for, as Shields put it, "what could not be obtained by Law, at the late Parliament for taking off the Statutes against Papists, was effectuated by Perogative: and to make it pass with greater approbation, it was conveyed in a channel of pretended Clemency, offering a sort of Liberty".¹⁹⁷ The second Indulgence which applied to conventicle preachers was referred to as an "insnaring liberty".¹⁹⁸ The constitutional mechanisms implemented to impose a policy of toleration, in general, were depicted as the ultimate expression of royal supremacy which in advancing the "Monster of Prerogative" made it "paramount to all Laws divine and human".¹⁹⁹ Moreover, in their conditions, the Indulgences were said to prescribe unlimited obedience to monarchical authority thereby validating the crown's claim of royal absolutism in an unprecedented manner:

but far surmounting all the lust, impudence, and insolence of the Roman, Sicilian, Turkish, Tartarian, or Indian Tyrants, that ever trampled upon the Liberties of Mankind; who have indeed demanded absolute subjection, and surrender of the Lives, Lands and Liberties at their pleasure, but never arrived at such a height of arrogance as this does, to claim absolute obedience, without reserve of Conscience, Religion, Honour, or Reason; and only that which ignorantly is called Passive, never to resist him, not only on any pretence, but for any Cause, even tho' he should command his Janizaries to murder and massacre all Protestants, which is the tender mercy and burning fervent Charity of Papists; but also of absolute active Obedience without reserve, to assist, defend and maintain him in every thing, whereby he shall be pleased to exercise his absolute Power.²⁰⁰

196. *Ibid.*, xv, 17-18.

197. *Ibid.*, 166.

198. *Ibid.*, xv.

199. *Ibid.*, 167.

200. *Ibid.*, 167-68.

Therefore, it was claimed that traditional notions of the king as chief lawgiver, the rule of law along with constitutional rights and civil liberties were overturned; allowing the king to "command what he will, and obliging subjects to obey whatsoever he will command: a power to rescind, stop and disable all Laws; which unhinges all stability, and unsettles all the security of human society, yea, extinguishes all that remains of natural Libertie".²⁰¹

In enumerating the reasons to reject toleration, Shields cited the alleged immorality and treachery of the king in conjunction with his catholicism as sufficient grounds for noncompliance since it was said to be an integral part of James's plan to build a "Babel for Antichrist"; thus, "all this liberty is but contrived as scaffolding for that edifice".²⁰² Acceptance was warned against for it was regarded as tantamount to a recognition of royal supremacy and absolutism.²⁰³ Arguing that with respect to the second Indulgence "such a Liberty as this was never offered without a destructive design, nor ever received without a destructive effect", Shields contended that its implementation would factionalise the covenanting cause and the remnant.²⁰⁴ The granting of toleration to catholics with the first Indulgence was cast as the thin edge of the wedge in dismantling the protestant establishment and in cementing monarchical tyranny since the king

by Absolute Power, suspended all laws made for the protection of our Religion, so he may, when he will, dispense with all the laws made for its establishment; and those who approve the one by such an acceptance, cannot disallow the other, but must recognise a power in the King to subvert all laws, rights and liberties, which is contrary to reason as well as religion, and a clear breach of the National and Solemn League and Covenants.²⁰⁵

Shields asserted, too, that the policy of toleration was not only contrary to divine, natural and positive law but that it contradicted the conventional tenets of the Scottish church; hence, the credibility and authenticity of those conventicle preachers who acquiesced to its conditions was questioned and he dismissed them as "Men-pleasers, rather than Servants of Christ".²⁰⁶ Thus, Shields maintained that

²⁰¹. *Ibid.*, 168.

²⁰². *Ibid.*, 172, 174, 176.

²⁰³. *Ibid.*, 176-7.

²⁰⁴. *Ibid.*, 174-5.

²⁰⁵. *Ibid.*, 178. See also: *Ibid.*, 180.

²⁰⁶. *Ibid.*, 180-8; 191.

presbyterians who were willing to acquiesce to the state program of toleration out of a sense of allegiance to monarchical authority were traitors to their religion who were abetting the "Principle of Atheistical Hobbes, exploded with indignation by all rational men" in contemning "a stupid subjection and absolute Allegiance to a Minister of Antichrist, who gives Liberty to all evil men and seducers".²⁰⁷

But, despite the vitriol of Shields' rhetorical attack on the acts of Toleration and all of those who would succumb to its inducements, a significant number of the remnant's ministers agreed to the conditions of accommodation proposed by the state.²⁰⁸ Between 9 October 1687 and 12 July 1688, 48 nonconformist preachers publicly advertised their worship services as required by law. Formal notification of 72 prayer meetings was made and they were to be held in a variety of locations including barns, private houses and special meeting halls. The majority of these services were planned for central Scotland with almost one-third (24) scheduled to be held in the synod of Fife. Although the venue of one was not recorded, the remaining 47 meetings were concentrated in four other synodial districts: Glasgow and Ayr (15); Lothian and Tweeddale (12); Angus and Mearns (11), and Perth (9). Thus, with the Toleration Acts, a compromise solution was offered by the state to the problem of nonconformity. Covenanting ministers for whom erastianism was an anathema conceded to a modicum of state authority in church matters by acquiescing to the law in making public announcements of future prayer meetings while, for their part, the state dispensed with the practice of licensing ministers. As Shields had predicted, acceptance of the provisions for toleration resulted in the disintegration of the remnant and, for all intents and purposes, it precipitated the end of the covenanting movement. Although Shields's tract constituted the last, major piece of covenanting, literary propaganda and it represented the thinking of only a small, militant faction of the movement, aspects of its thesis – especially those related to the problems of James VII's kingship – resonated in the Whig ideology of the Revolution of 1688–89.

Therefore, the attitudes expressed in covenanting, mass political propaganda towards monarchy, sovereign power and the royal prerogative underwent some fundamental changes between

²⁰⁷. *Ibid.*, 193.

²⁰⁸. Figures are based on data drawn from the privy council registers. See: Appendix E.

1637 and 1689. Developments in the political culture of Scotland, in general, in concert with the fluctuating status of the covenanting movement as an influential force in Scottish politics, in particular, were important factors which helped to alter ideological approaches to kingship, authority and the right to resist. The model of a ruler put forward by covenanting spokesmen which was identified as a 'covenanted king' did not alter significantly during the life of the movement; however, the expectations of kingship voiced by ideologues and applied by them to measure the acceptability of the Stewart kings became more stringent and less compromising after 1660. Also, the rhetoric used in their assessments of the crown from the rule of Charles I to Charles II to James VII became increasingly harsher, more critical and more personal as the century progressed. Moreover, while the majority of covenanting polemicists tended to promote ideas based on conservative and traditional notions of monarchy as the best form of government, a more militant minority emerged after the Bothwell Bridge Rebellion of 1679 who were willing to advocate a 'kingless' state. Whereas the solutions to the problems of church and state for covenanting activists pre-1679 lay, for the most part, in the internal reform of the institutions, Cameronian militants rejected such methods outright and attempted, instead, to set up new, rival institutions of their own making. Calvinist resistance theory, in general, was relied on throughout the period to legitimise dissent to the established order; however, the political activities which were sanctioned on that basis became more extremist with the passage of time. Passive disobedience gave way to active, civil disobedience and, then, to armed resistance only to culminate in calls for regicide. Views on monarchical sovereignty thus became more unorthodox in inverse proportion to the covenanters' dominance of Scottish politics. Thus, in pursuit of their particular vision of the ideal prince, covenanting propagandists by the late-seventeenth century put into question some fundamental aspects of the contemporary belief-system including those concepts related to the natural order such as the deference and obedience owing to the ruler by the ruled.

Conclusion

What covenanting propagandists had to say about the *status quo* in church and state had a profound effect on Scottish political culture in the seventeenth century. The messages which they transmitted in their mass, domestic political propaganda between 1638 and 1689 were part of a deliberate and organised attempt to shape popular opinion. Whether it was the interpretations of events, the critiques of the established order or the models for reform which they promoted to justify political action and to win broad support, all were honed by polemicists to have a maximum impact on the public consciousness. The main themes pursued in the literary, aural, visual and symbol propaganda which were promulgated by the propagandists were as much a product of conviction as they were of political expediency. The ideological underpinnings of Calvinism, in general, coupled with those of radical presbyterianism and Federal Theology, in particular, were modes of thought that were seminal to the formation of the covenanting, political dynamic. Through literary work and the evangelising of the covenanting ministry, Federal Theology and its implications for layfolk were transmitted and disseminated broadly in both geographic and social terms. In an era of religious revivalism, talk of individual responsibility for spiritual fulfillment and human endeavour as a means to attain sanctification which would be reinforced by a public expression of communal obligation to a covenant not only imbued the Scots with a heightened sense of their own uniqueness as a chosen people destined to act as agents of history but, when it was invoked as a public duty, it served as a powerful inducement for political action. As committed Calvinists and presbyterians and as adherents of covenantal theology, then, the movement's spokesmen were able to draw on their beliefs to lend moral and historical weight in legitimising the covenanting cause among layfolk. Vindication of the covenanters' political activities gained strength, too, from aspects of protestant determinism which in blending millenarian views and anticatholic rhetoric had traditionally functioned as a call to arms during those times when the perception was wide-spread that the reformed religion was under threat. Conventional assumptions about the importance of the reformation paradigm in human history when

wedded to messianic beliefs in the prophetic authenticity of scripture provided authoritative tinder for inflaming anticatholic opinions as a means to raise political awareness in the advancement of the covenanting cause.

Equally, the lessons drawn from covenantal theology and Calvinist views of authority were incorporated into the work of covenanting polemicists when they turned their attention to questions related to the origins of civil society; the relationship between ruler and ruled; and, the function of government as a means of exposing what they saw as the inadequacies of Stewart kingship. Their collective vision of a model prince which incorporated traditional Scottish notions of good kingship with more novel expectations of a 'covenanted king' as a condition of monarchical office was offered as a remedy for the political mismanagement of the nation. The ruling styles of Charles I, Charles II and James VII and the policies advanced by their administrations were interpreted by successive generations of covenanting ideologues as autocratic and self-serving; being neither conducive to good governance nor the national interest. Moreover, all of the Stewart kings were said, ultimately, to have a hidden agenda in their formation of policy. Similar criticisms, albeit more muted and modified, were voiced during the years of Cromwellian rule by covenanting opponents of the English occupation. The idealised version of good kingship which was touted by propagandists both to underline the need for constitutional and political change, in the short term, and to ensure political stability, in the long term, stressed monarchical accountability in providing good government and in functioning as a godly prince. These twin imperatives not only defined the function of the crown, but were used as the criteria for judging when the governed might lawfully resist the governor in the event of the latter's failure to meet communal expectations. The notions of popular sovereignty associated with George Buchanan reinforced by Calvinist resistance theory informed covenanting rhetoric in the public debate with royal apologists and advocates of the divine right of kings on the origins of civil society, the nature of sovereign power and the function of government. While their advocacy of popular sovereignty with its emphasis on the belief that the people as the collective source of civil authority were empowered to delegate, limit and remove kings coupled with their promotion of Calvinist tenets concerning the legitimacy of popular rebellion to further the reformation ideal was

condemned as antithetical to monarchy, the natural order and divine will, the majority of covenanting propagandists remained adamant that a constitutional monarchy embodied the best system of government. Reform of the established order from within was the hallmark of the covenant ideal until the emergence in the 1680s of a militant faction, the Cameronians, whose motives in opposing the government mirrored that of their covenanting predecessors but whose objectives, tactics and solutions for improving the *status quo* in church and state dictated separation and the creation of rival institutions. Moderate and extremist voices may have been divided over the means of achieving their distinctive utopias; nevertheless, they shared a common conviction which was articulated for popular consumption that their political activities were representative of the national interest and performed in the name of the public good.

It was a measure of the efficacy of covenanting propaganda that such complex ideological constructs were transmitted, successfully, from above to below in an effort to inform public, political attitudes. Despite political and legal constraints which affected the quantity, volume and frequency in output of propaganda, polemicists managed to reach their target audience. The communication of ideas engaged in by them was levelled at a broad spectrum of early-modern Scottish society with the intention of influencing others – regardless of their social origins – of the validity of the movement's objectives, strategies and political activities especially in counterpoint to the views of their detractors. In its function as an élite mechanism for cultivating popular opinion, covenanting mass domestic propaganda allowed – what are traditionally thought of by historians as – the concerns of high politics and culture to impinge on the attitudes, beliefs and values of the lower ranks of Scottish society. In eliciting mass support for the major political developments and changes inaugurated or planned by the dissident leadership, polemical material was formulated; events were orchestrated; and, opinion was disseminated in a systematic, organised manner to activate populist, political involvement. Penetration of public consciousness was achieved through the organisational acumen of the movement, in general, and the resourcefulness of its propagandists, in particular, in making covenanting ideology widely accessible and available. By doing so, there was the expectation on the part of the polemicist that, with the reception of his work, each member of his grassroots' audience

would respond appropriately, both individually and collectively, in accordance with each one's particular social and political capacity. The use of such a deliberate strategy to influence the thoughts and actions of the masses along with the exploitation of populist sentiment allowed for the inclusion of the lower orders in matters of political culture. Although this tactic, conventionally, was viewed as pandering to the mob, nevertheless, it was consciously adopted by the covenanters, at different stages, to influence public policy, to satisfy the organisational needs of their movement; to manage institutional change in church and state; and, to stimulate political action. Those who were otherwise denied any formal involvement in the decision-making process of the political community were encouraged to formulate opinions, voice their concerns and participate in Scottish political culture. Political rhetoric and argument were used, then, as a stimulus for plebian political action. Therefore, the concerted effort to win the hearts and minds of the people for the covenanting cause resulted in the politicisation of the masses and the development of popular political consciousness in seventeenth-century Scotland.

Appendix ANonconformist Ministersaccepting the Caroline Indulgences of 1669, 1672 and 16781st Indulgence (15 July 1669)

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
1. Ralph Rodger	Kilwinning	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
2. George Hutcheson	Irvine	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
3. William Maitland	Beith	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
4. Jon Bell	Ardrossan	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
5. William Dillidaff	Kilbirnie	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
6. Alexander Wedderburn	Kilmarnock	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
7. George Ramsay	Kilmaurs	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
8. John Spaldie	Dreghorne	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
9. William Violant	Cambusnethan	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
10. Jon Oliphant	Stainhouse	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
11. John Lauder	Dalziel	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
12. Robert Millar	Ochiltree	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
13. Jon Gemill	Symington	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
14. Andro Dalrymple	Dalgaine	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
15. James Yeitch	Mauchline	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
16. Alexander Blair	Galston	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
17. David Brown	Craigie	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
18. Robert Mitchell	Luss	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr
19. Mathew Ramsay	Paisley	Paisley	Glasgow & Ayr
20. Jon Bairdy	Paisley	Paisley	Glasgow & Ayr
21. James Hamilton	Eaglesham	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
22. Jon Crawford	Lamington	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
23. Patrik Campbell	Inverary	Inverary	Argyll
24. Robert Duncansone	Kilchattan	Dunoon	Argyll
25. Andro McCleine	Kilchattan	Dunoon	Argyll
26. Andro Duncansone	Kilchattan	Dunoon	Argyll
27. Andro Cameron	Locheid	Kintyre	Argyll
28. Donald Morison	Ardnamurchan	Kilmore	Argyll
29. Andro McClean	Kilarrow & Kilchannon	Kilmore	Argyll
30. Robert Douglas	Pencaitland	Haddington	Lothian & Tweeddale
31. Alexander Hamilton	Dalmeny	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
32. Jon Primrose	Queensferry	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
33. Robert Mowat	Heriot	Dunbar	Lothian & Tweeddale
34. Robert Hunter	Dunning	Dunblane	Perth
35. John Forrest	Tillicultry	Stirling	Perth

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
36. Thomas Black	Newtyle	Meigle	Angus & Mearns
37. William Hamilton	Evandale	Lochmaben	Dumfries
38. Jon Park	Stranraer	Stranraer	Galloway
39. Jon Grant	Kells	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
40. Jon McMichen	Dalry	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
41. Jon Scott	Oxnam	Jedburgh	Merse & Teviotdale
42. John Stirling	Hownam	Jedburgh	Merse & Teviotdale
43. James Fletcher	Nenthorn	Kelso	Merse & Teviotdale

2nd Indulgence (2 September 1672)

[Note: ** refers to individual ministers who accepted the 1st Indulgence]

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
** Jon Bairdie	Paisley	Paisley	Glasgow & Ayr
44. William Eccles	Paisley	Paisley	Glasgow & Ayr
45. Anthonie Shaw	Paisley	Paisley	Glasgow & Ayr
** James Hamilton	Eaglesham	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
46. Donald Cargill	Eaglesham	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
47. James Wallace	Neilstoun	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
48. Andro Miller	Neilstoun	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
49. Patrick Simson	Kilmacolme	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
50. William Thomson	Kilmacolme	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
51. Jon Stirling	Kilbarchan	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
52. James Walkinshaw	Kilbarchan	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
53. James Hutcheson	Killiallen	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
54. Alexander Jamison	Killiallen	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
55. Jon Burnet	Newmilns	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
56. George Campbell	Newmilns	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
57. Thomas Wylie	Fenwick	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
58. William Sheill	Fenwick	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
59. William Castelow	Stewarton	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
60. Andro Hutcheson	Stewarton	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
61. Andro Mortoun	Stewarton	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
62. Gabriell Cunyngham	Dunlop	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
63. William Mein	Dunlop	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
64. Jon Wallace	Largs	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
65. Alexander Gordon	Largs	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
66. Robert Boyd	Kilbride	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
67. Gilbert Hamilton	Kilbride	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
68. Archbald Porteous	Comrie	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
69. Jon Rae	Comrie	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
** Ralph Rodger	Kilwinning	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
70. Robert Fleeming	Kilwinning	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
** George Hutcheson	Irvine	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
71. Jon Law	Irvine	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
** Alexander Wedderburn	Kilmarnock	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
72. James Rowat	Kilmarnock	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
73. Willaim Hay	Kilmarnock	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
** George Ramsay	Kilmaurs	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
74. Jon Park	Kilmaurs	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
** Jon Spalding	Dreghorn	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
75. James Donaldson	Dreghorn	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
** William Maitland	Beith	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
76. William Creighton	Beith	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
** William Dillidaf	Kilbirnie	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
77. Patrik Anderson	Kilbirnie	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
** Jon Bell	Ardrossan	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
78. James Bell	Ardrossan	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
79. William Fullerton	Coultoun	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
80. Hugh Campbell	Riccarton	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
81. Hugh Craufurd	Riccarton	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
82. Jon Osburn	Dundonald	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
83. Jon Hutcheson	Dundonald	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
** James Yeitch	Mauchline	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
84. Robert Archbald	Mauchline	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
** Robert Miller	Ochiltree	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
85. Patrik Peacock	Ochiltree	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
** Alexander Blair	Galston	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
86. Adam Alison	Galston	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
** David Broun	Craigie	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
87. Robert Maxwell	Craigie	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
** Andro Dalrymple	Dalgaine	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
88. Jon Campbell	Dalgaine	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
** Jon Gemill	Symington	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
89. Francis Irwing	Symington	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
90. James Hamilton	Avondale	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
91. Robert Young	Avondale	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
92. William Hamilton	Glasford	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
93. James Naesmith	Glasford	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
94. James Curry	Shottes	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
95. Alexander Bartrum	Shottes	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
96. Thomas Kirkcaldy	Dalserf	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
97. Jon Carmichael	Dalserf	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
** Jon Oliphant	Stainhouse	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
98. Mathew McKell	Stainhouse	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
** William Violet	Cambusnethan	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
99. Robert Law	Cambusnethan	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
** Jon Lauder	Dalziel	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
100. Thomas Melvill	Dalziel	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
101. Alexander Livingstoun	Carluke	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
102. Peter Kid	Carluke	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
103. Jon Hamilton	Carmichael	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
104. William Somervale	Carmichael	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
105. Anthony Murray	Coulter	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
106. Robert Lockhart	Coulter	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
** John Crawford	Lamington	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
107. William Baylie	Lamington	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
108. James Brotherstains	Lesmahagow	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
109. James Kirkcoun	Carstares	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
110. Jon Grey	Carstares	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
111. Jon Semple	Carsfairn	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
112. William Erskine	Carsfairn	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
113. Jon Cant	Kelles	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
114. George Wauch	Kelles	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
115. Jon McMichen	Dalry	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
116. Thomas Thomson	Dalry	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
117. James Lowry	Balmacellian	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
118. Thomas Vernour	Balmacellian	Kirkcudbright	Galloway
119. Jon Knox	West Calder	Linlithgow	Lothian & Tweeddale
120. William Weir	West Calder	Linlithgow	Lothian & Tweeddale
121. Robert Hunter	Bo'ness	Linlithgow	Lothian & Tweeddale
122. Jon Inglis	Bo'ness	Linlithgow	Lothian & Tweeddale
123. Robert Elleot	Linton	Linlithgow	Lothian & Tweeddale
124. Robert Elleot, yr.	Linton	Linlithgow	Lothian & Tweeddale
** Jon Scott	Oxnam	Jedburgh	Merse & Teviotdale
125. Hugh Scott	Oxnam	Jedburgh	Merse & Teviotdale
** John Stirling	Hownam	Jedburgh	Merse & Teviotdale
126. William Ker	Hownam	Jedburgh	Merse & Teviotdale
127. Jon Cunnison	Killearn	Stirling	Perth
128. Alexander McClain	Killearn	Stirling	Perth
129. Jon Cameron	Kilfinnan	Dunoon	Argyll
130. Jon Duncanson	Kilchatton	Dunoon	Argyll
** Alexander McClean	Kilchatton	Dunoon	Argyll
131. Duncan Campbell	Campbelltown	Kintyre	Argyll
132. Edward Keith	Campbelltown	Kintyre	Argyll
133. Duncan Campbell	Knapdail	Kintyre	Argyll
134. David Simson	South Kintyre	Kintyre	Argyll

3rd Indulgence (29 June 1678)

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
135. George Johnson	Newbattle	Dalkeith	Lothian & Tweeddale
136. Gilbert Rule	Prestonhaugh	Haddington	Lothian & Tweeddale
137. Robert Law	Easter Kilpatrick	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr
138. James Walkinshaw	Baldernock	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr
139. John Law	Campsie	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr
140. Neil Gillies	Cardross	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
141. William Row	Ceres	Cupar	Fife
142. John Howison	Logie	Cupar	Fife
143. Andrew Donaldson	Dalgety	Dunfermline	Fife
144. John Wardlaw	Dunfermline	Dunfermline	Fife
145. John Gray	Orwell	Auchterarder	Perth
146. James Pringle	Westerkirk in Eskdale	Middlebie	Dumfries
147. Luke Ogill	Langton	Duns	Merse & Teviotdale
148. William Elliot	Yarrow	Selkirk	Merse & Teviotdale
149. Robert Cunningham	Ashkirk	Selkirk	Merse & Teviotdale

[Source: Based on an analysis of data drawn from RPCS]

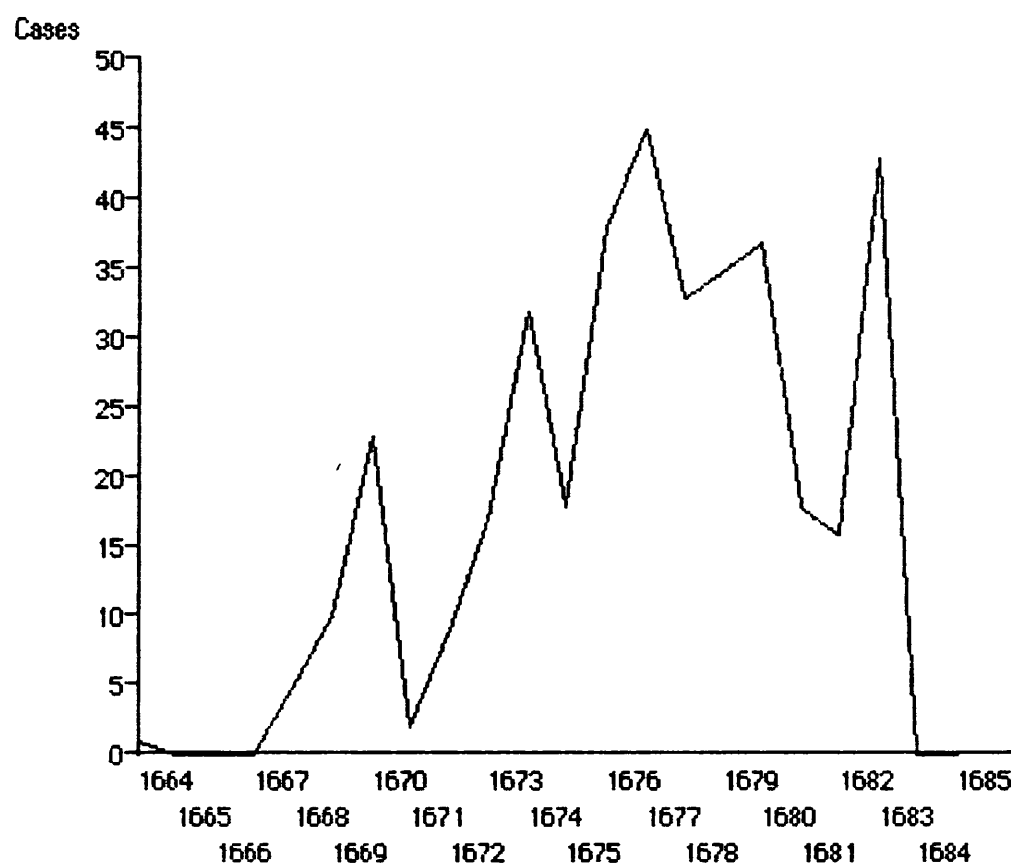
Appendix B

List of Nonconformist Ministers

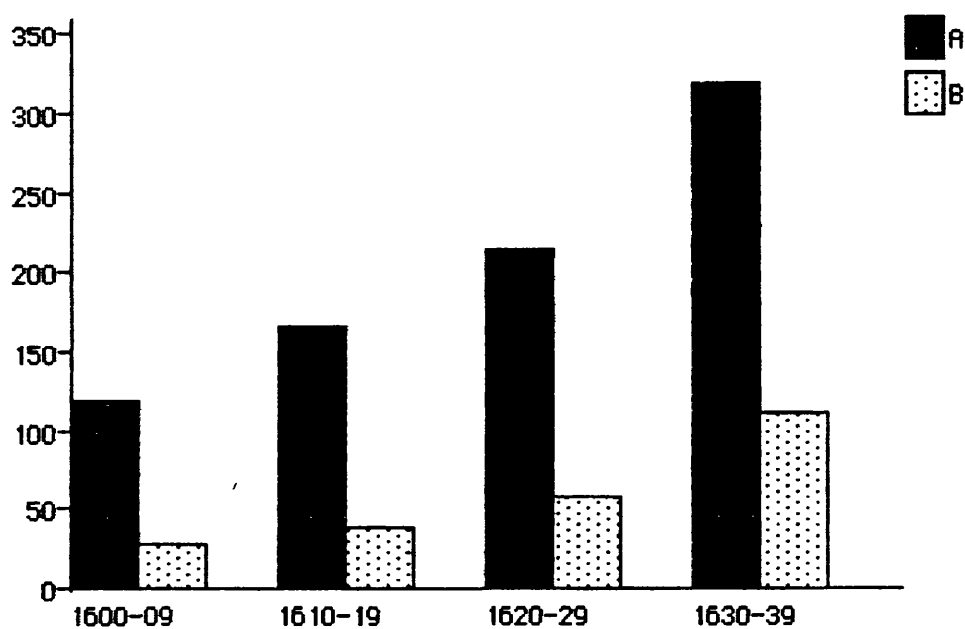
accepting the 1st and 2nd Indulgences of 1669 and 1672

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
1. Jon Bairdie	Paisley	Paisley	Glasgow & Ayr
2. James Hamilton	Eaglesham	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
3. Ralph Rodger	Kilwinning	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
4. George Hutcheson	Irvine	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
5. Alexander Wedderburn	Kilmarnock	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
6. George Ramsay	Kilmaurs	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
7. Jon Spalding	Dreghorn	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
8. William Maitland	Beith	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
9. William Dillidaf	Kilbirnie	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
10. Jon Bell	Ardrossan	Irvine	Glasgow & Ayr
11. James Yeitch	Mauchline	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
12. Robert Millar	Ochiltree	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
13. Alexander Blair	Galston	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
14. David Broun	Craigie	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
15. Andro Dalrymple	Dalgaine	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
16. Jon Gemill	Symington	Ayr	Glasgow & Ayr
17. Jon Oliphant	Stainhouse	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
18. William Violet	Cambusnethan	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
19. Jon Lauder	Dalziel	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
20. John Crawford	Lamington	Lanark	Glasgow & Ayr
21. Jon Scott Teviotdale	Oxnam	Jedburgh	Merse &
22. John Stirling Teviotdale	Hownam	Jedburgh	Merse &
23. Alexander McClean	Kilchatton	Dunoon	Argyll

[Source: Based on an analysis of data drawn from RPCS]

Appendix CCases of Conventiclesas cited by Privy Council, 1666-85

[Source: Based on analysis of data from RPCS]

Appendix DTheological Publications, 1600 - 1639

A = total number of publications
B = theological publications

[Source: Figures are based on an analysis of H. C. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700, (NLS, 1970).]

Appendix ENonconformist Ministers Advertising Prayer MeetingsOctober 1687 - July 1688

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Place of Meeting</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
1. Thomas Russell	NR	NR	NR
2. William McKie	Cleish	Dunfermline	Fife
3. Andrew Thomson	Cleish	Dunfermline	Fife
4. William Mackie	Scotlandwell	Dunfermline	Fife
5. William Spence	Baladoe	Dunfermline	Fife
6. William Spence	Baladoe	Dunfermline	Fife
7. William Mackie	Kirkness	Dunfermline	Fife
8. James Pitcairn	Monimail	Cupar	Fife
9. Walter Wilson	Monimail	Cupar	Fife
10. Samuel Nairne	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
11. Walter Wilson	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
12. James MacGill	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
13. Eduard Jamesone	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
14. Alexander Auchmoutie	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
15. Samuel Nairne	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
16. Thomas Arnott	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
17. Gilbert Melville	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
18. George Hamilltoun	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
19. William Mackie	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
20. Samuel Nairne	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
21. Robert Anderson	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
22. Eduard Jamesone	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
23. James Raymer	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
24. James Raymer	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
25. NR	St Andrews	St Andrews	Fife
26. William Yilant	Allanton	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
27. William Yilant	"Gokthropie"	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
28. James Gilchrist	Rutherglen	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
29. William Kyle	Rutherglen	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
30. William Keill	Rutherglen	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
31. James Killgriss	Rutherglen	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
32. William Woderrop	Rutherglen	Hamilton	Glasgow & Ayr
33. Archibald Hamilltoun	Baronie	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
34. William Bell	Houston	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
35. James Drummond	Torrance	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
36. William Wadrop	Baronie	Glasgow	Glasgow & Ayr
37. John Pettigrew	Govan	Paisley	Glasgow & Ayr
38. Robert Rosse	Greinyeard	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr
39. Patrick Coupar	Greinyeards	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr
40. Patrick Coupar	Greinyeards	Dumbarton	Glasgow & Ayr

<u>Minister</u>	<u>Place of Meeting</u>	<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Synod</u>
41. George Johnston	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
42. Heugh Kennedy	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
43. James Kirkcoun	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
44. John Law	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
45. William Erskine	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
46. Alexander Hamilton	Edinburgh	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
47. Georg Byres	Kirkliston	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
48. Andro Bay	Kirkliston	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
49. Matheu Selkirk	Craigmillar	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
50. Robert Wilson	Craigmillar	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
51. Thomas Wilkie	Craigmillar	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
52. Thomas Wilkie	Craigmillar	Edinburgh	Lothian & Tweeddale
53. William Rid	Nether Pitlochrie	Dunkeld	Perth
54. Mitchell Robe	Auchinreoch	Stirling	Perth
55. William Kyll	"Muckroft"	Stirling	Perth
56. Duncan Campbell	"Muckroft"	Stirling	Perth
57. James Hutchison	Burdston	Stirling	Perth
58. John Law	Campsie	Stirling	Perth
59. John Law	Campsie	Stirling	Perth
60. John Law	Campsie	Stirling	Perth
61. Patrick Coupar	Carnock	Stirling	Perth
62. Alexander Auchmutie	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
63. Andrew Wedderburne	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
64. Andrew Wedderburne	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
65. Andrew Wedderburne	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
66. Andrew Wedderburne	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
67. Andrew Wedderburne	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
68. Thomas Cobben	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
69. Thomas Cobben	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
70. George Turnbull	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
71. George Turnbull	Dundee	Dundee	Angus & Mearns
72. James Rymer	Stonehaven	Fordoun	Angus & Mearns

[Source: Data based on an analysis of RPCS]

Sites of Advertised Prayer Meetings

(according to presbytery)¹

	<u>No. of Meetings</u>	<u>No. of Locations</u>	<u>No. of Ministers</u>
<u>Synod of Fife</u>			
Dunfermline	6	4	3
Cupar	2	1	2
St Andrews	16	1	11 ²
<u>Synod of Glasgow and Ayr</u>			
Hamilton	7	3	4
Glasgow	4	3	4
Paisley	1	1	1
Dumbarton	3	1	2
<u>Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale</u>			
Edinburgh	12	3	11
<u>Synod of Perth</u>			
Dunkeld	1	1	1
Stirling	8	5	6
<u>Synod of Angus and Mearns</u>			
Dundee	10	1	4
Fordoun	1	1	1
<u>Location Not Recorded</u>			
	1	1	1
<hr/>			
Total	72	26	51 ³

Note: 1. No other legal meetings were held in any other presbytery.

2. The name of one minister is not recorded.

3. There were actually 48 individual ministers who advertised their intention to preach publicly but three of them preached in two different presbyteries.

[Source: Data based on an analysis of RPCS]

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The Answer of the Parliament of England to a Paper, entituled, A Declaration by the Kings Majesty, To His Subjects of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland. Printed at Edinburgh, 1650. Whereunto is annexed Copies of four Letters, To the King of Scotland, which were found in the Lord Loudeons Cabinet. London, 1650.

An answer to the chief, or materiall Heads & Passages in the late Declaration, called The Declaration of the Kingdome of Scotland: and Answer of the Commissioners To both Houses of Parliament upon The new Propositions of Peace and the foure Bills. London, 1648.

An Answer from the Committee of Estates, To a Printed Paper directed to the people of Scotland, and signed in name of L. G. Cromwel, and his Officers. Edinburgh, 1650.

The Answeres of Some Brethren of the Ministerie, to the Replies of the Ministers and Professoures of Divinity in Aberdene; concerning the Late Covenant. Aberdeen, 1638.

Arguments for Toleration: Publish'd for the satisfaction of all Moderate Men. London, 1647.

Articles concluded upon by the Officers and Souldiers now in Armes by Authority of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland. Together with the Answer of the Noblemen and Gentlemen now in Armes for the Covenant. Edinburgh, 1648.

Articles of the Large Treaty concerning the establishing of the Peace betwixt the Kings Majesty, and his People of Scotland, and betwixt the two Kingdomes. Agreed Upon by the Scottish, and English Commissioners in the City of Westminster, the 7th. day of August 1641. London, 1641.

Ash, S. Reall Thankfulnesse or A Sermon Preached in Pauls Church London, upon the second day of November, 1645. At a Publike Thanksgiving for the taking in of the Towns and Castles of Caermarthen and MounMouth in Wales, it being the first Lords-day after the inauguration of the Right Honourable Thomas Adams now lord Mayor of that famous city. London, 1645.

The Assemblies sense of the protestation Dundie 23 Juli 1651. Edinburgh, 1651.

The Atheisticall Polititian or a Briefe Discourse concerning Ni. Machiavelli. London, 1642.

The Attestation of the Ministers of the County of Somerset, Joyning (according to their duty) with the Reverend Ministers of London, and all other their Brethren in the severall parts of this Kingdom: Who declare themselves for the Truth of God, Against the Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of the present Times. London, 1648.

An Attestation to the Testimony of our reverend Brethren of the Province of London To the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant: As also, Against the Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, and the Toleration of them, Resolved on by the Ministers of Cheshire, at their meeting May 2, and subscribed at their next Meeting, June 6. 1648. London, 1648.

Aucher, J. Arguments and Reasons To prove the Inconvenience & Unlawfulness of Taking the New Engagement: Modestly propounded to all Persons concerned. London, 1650.

Baillie, R. An Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, from the manifold base calumnies which the most Malignant of the Prelats did invent of old and now lately have been published with great industry in two Pamphlets at London. The one intituled Issachars burden &c. written and published at Oxford by John Maxwell, a Scottish Prelate, Excommunicate by the Church of Scotland, and declared an unpardonable Incendiary by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. The other falsly intituled A Declaration made by King James in Scotland concerning Church government and Presbyteries; but indeed written by Patrick Adamson, pretended Archbishop of St. Andrews, contrary to his own conscience as himselfe on his Death-bed did confesse and subscribe before many Witnesses in a Write hereunto annexed. London, 1646.

Balcanqual, W. A Large Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland from their first originals: together with a particular deduction of the seditious practices of the Prime Leaders of the Covenanters, collected out of their owne foule Acts and Writings. London, 1639.

Barker, M. The faithful and wise servant. Discovered in a Sermon preached to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, at their late private Fast in the Parliament House Jan. 9, 1656. London, 1657.

The Beauty of Godly Government in a Church Reformed: or a Platforme of Government Consonant to the Word of Truth, and the purest reformed churches, shewing also, The great good that comes thereby, the great evils that it freeth us from. With the two maine Objections answered, which are Objected by some of the Lattie, and some of the Clergie. Whereunto is added. A Short Parrallell betweene the Presbyterian and Prelation Government. Published for such as are not well acquainted with it. [n.p.], 1641.

Bernard, J. The Anatomy of the Service-Book, Dedicated to the High Court of Parliament. Wherein is Remonstrated the unlawfulness of it, and that by Five severall Arguments; Namely, From the Name of it. The Rise, the Matter, the Manner, & the Evill Effects of it. Whereunto are added some Motives; by all which we clearly Evince the Necessity of the Removeall of it. Lastly, We have annexed such Objections as are commonly made in the behalfe of it. [n.p.], 1641.

Biddle, J. A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex to the Truth of Jesus Christ, And to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of them. Sent up to the Ministers within the Province of London, Subscribers of the First Testimony. London, 1648.

Birkenhead, Sir J. An answer to a Speech Without Doores: or Animadversions Upon an unsafe and dangerous answer to the Scotch-papers, printed under the name of M. Challener, his Speech, which

while it offereth to send a blow at the Scotch Papers, doth indeed strike at the honour of the Parliament and interest of the Kingdom of England. London, 1646.

Blair, R. Directions of the General Assembly Concerning Secret and Private Worship, and mutuall edification, for cherishing Piety, for maintaining Unity, and avoiding Schisme and Division. With an Act for observing these Directions, and for censuring such as use to neglect Family Worship. And an Act against such as withdraw themselves from the Publik Worship in their own Congregations. Edinburgh, 1647.

Bowles, E. A faithfull Relation of the Late Occurrences and Proceedings of the Scottish Army: Dated from His Excellencies the Lord Generall Lesley's Quarters before Newcastle. 25 February 1644. Together with a List of the noblemen, Commanders and other Officers of the Army. London, 1644.

Bowles, E. Manifest Truth, or an inversion of Truths Manifest. Containing a Narration of the proceedings of the Scottish Army, and a Vindication of the Parliament and Kingdom of England from the false and injurious aspersions cast on them by the Author of the said Manifest. London, 1646.

Bowles, E. The mysterie of iniquitie, yet working in the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the destruction of religion truly Protestant. London, 1643.

Bridge, W. Babylon's Downfall. A Sermon Lately Preached at Westminster Before sundry of the Honourable house of Commons. London, 1641.

Bridge, W. Two Sermons viz. I. The Diseases that make a stoppage to Englands Mercies discovered, and attended with their remedies. In a Sermon delivered at Margarets on Fishstreet-hill, London: II. A Preparation for suffering in these Plundering Times. London, 1642.

Brightman, T. Brightman's Predictions and Prophetesies. Written 46 yeares since; Concerning the three Churches of Germanie, England and Scotland. Foretelling the miserie of Germanie, the fall of the pride of Bishops in England by the assistance of the Scottish Kirk. All which should happen (as he foretold) between the yeares of 36 and 41 &c. London, 1641.

Brown, J. Ane apologetik relation of the particular sufferings of the faithful ministers and professours of the Church of Scotland since august 1660. [n.p.], 1665.

Brown, R. The Ministry of Christ asserted and Mr. Rich. Baxters two Sheets for the Ministers unfolded, and his Ministry presented naked to Publick view. London, 1658.

Buchanan, D. Some Papers of the Commissioners of Scotland, Given in lately to the Houses of Parliament, concerning the Propositions of Peace. London, 1646.

Burges, C. A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel In, and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the king to capitall punishment. With a short Exhortation to their People to keep close to their Covenant-Ingagement. Edinburgh, 1649.

Burroughs, J. Sions Joy. A sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons assembled in Parliament at their publique Thanksgiving, September 7, 1641. For the Peace concluded between England and Scotland. London, 1641.

Calamy, E. The Great Danger of Covenant-refusing, and Covenant-breaking. Presented In a sermon preached before the Right Honourable Thomas Adams Lord Mayor, and the Right Worshipfull the Sheriffes, and the Aldermen his Brethren, and the rest of the Common-councill of the famous City of

London. Jan. 14, 1646. Upon which day the solempne League and Covenant was renewed by them and their officers with prayer and fasting at Michael Basinshaw, London. London, 1646.

Campbell, A., marquis of Argyle. Instructions to a Son. Edinburgh and London, 1661.

Campbell, A., marquess of Argyll. The Lord Marques of Argyll's Speech to a Grand Committee of Both Houses of Parliament, The 25th of this instance June, 1646. Together with some Papers of the Commissioners for the Kingdom of Scotland, Wherein they do give their consent to the sending of the Propositions of Peace to His Majesty, And desire their Armies to be supplied, and the Accounts between the Kingdoms to be perfected, To the end all Armies may be disbanded, &c. Also His Majesties Letter to the Marques of Ormand, discharging all further Treaty with the Irish Rebels, And a Letter from General Major Monro concerning the state of Affairs in Ireland. London, 1646.

Cant, A. A Letter from the Protestors, with an Answer Thereunto, from an Asserter of the Authority of the two late General Assemblies, at Dundee and Edinburgh. [Edinburgh], 1653.

Case, T. A Pertinent & Profitable Meditation, Upon the History of Pekah, his Invasion and great victory over Judah, recorded 2 Chron. 28. ver. 6. to the 16. Upon occasion of the Thanksgiving appointed Octob. 8 for the late success in Scotland. Together with an Appendix Concerning the Church and Kingdome of Scotland, and the Imputations cast upon them. London, 1650.

Case, T. The Quarrell of the Covenant with the Pacification of the Quarrell. Delivered in three Sermons on Levit. 26.25. and Jere. 50.5. London, 1644.

Causes of a Publick and Solemn Humiliation appointed by the Commission of the General Assemblie to bee kept through all the Congregations of this kirk, upon the last daie of June instant. London, 1650.

Causes of a solempne fast and humiliation, appointed by the Generall Assembly, to be kept in all the Congregations of this kirk, upon the second Thursday of July next, being the ninth of that Moneth, in this year 1646. Edinburgh, 1646.

Chaloner, T. An Answer to the Scotch Papers Delivered In the House of Commons in Reply to the Votes of both Houses of the Parliament, Concerning the disposall of the Kings Person, As it was spoken when the said Papers were read in the House. London, 1646.

The Character of a Tory. London, 1681.

Charles I. His Majesties Declaration To All His Loving Subjects: Published with the advice of His Privie Councell. Edinburgh, 1642.

Charles I. His Majesties Declaration to all His Subjects of his Kingdom of Scotland, Upon occasion of a printed paper entitled, The Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland, concerning the present expedition into England, &c. With his Majesties Message to the Lords of his Privy-Council of Scotland, in December 1642. And the severall papers presented to His Majesty by the Scotch Committee at Oxford in February last, with his Majesties severall Answeres thereunto. Oxford, 1643.

Charles I. His Majesties Last most gracious Message of December 20, 1646. To the Lords & Commons of the Parliament of England assembled at Westminster: And to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland at London, for a Personall Treaty. London, 1646.

Charles I. His Majesties Manifest Touching the Palatine Cause; And the Votes of both Houses of Parliament concerning the same. London, 1641.

Charles I. His Majesties Message, To the Kingdome of Scotland; Shewing that he hath given order for disbanding all his Forces in both Kingdoms, for recalling his commissions to any at Sea and that He is resolved too apply himselfe totally to the Councels and advice of his Parliaments, for settling of Truth and Peace. Together with divers Papers presented to His Majesty at Newcastle by a Committee of the Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland. London, 1646.

Claude, J. An account of the Persecutions and Oppressions of the French Protestants To which is added, The Edict of the French King Prohibiting all Publick Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion in his Kingdom. Wherein he Recalls, and totally Annuls the perpetual and irrevocable Edict of King Henry the IV his Grandfather, given at Nantes, full of most gracious concessions to Protestants with the Form of Abjuration the Revolting Protestants are to subscribe and Swear to. [n.p.], 1686.

Collonel Grey's Portmonteau opened; His sealed, mis-directed, and returned Letter discovered by a copie thereof, found among his other papers, which is here Printed and published with some Queries and Animadversions thereupon. To deliver, from the dangers of their Caballs, such as are not acquainted with Scottish Methods and Mysteries. London, 1650.

Commissions, Proclamations and Acts of Privie Councell, Concerning Jesuits, Priests and Papists. 5 July 1642. Edinburgh, 1642.

Conscience puzzel'd about subscribing the New Engagement; in the Solution of this Quære: Whether a man that hath taken the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy, the Protestation and Covenant, may, upon the alteration of the Government from a Monarchy to a Freer State subscribe this ensuing Engagement. London, 1650.

A continuation of the Narrative being the last and final dayes Proceedings of the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall on Saturday Jan. 27 Concerning the Tryal of the King; With the severall speeches of the King, Lord President, & Solicitor General. Together with a Copy of the Sentence of Death upon Charles Stuart King of England. London, 1648.

The Copies of all Letters, Papers and other Transactions between the Commissioners of the Parliament of England, and the Parliament and Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, from February 10. 1647 until July 8. 1648. Whereby it may appear, What the Endeavors of the Kingdom of England have been to Keep a good understanding and preserve the Union between the Nations. London, 1648.

The Copy of a letter from the Assembly at Edinburgh, to the Ministers of the Church of England in A Declaration from the Generall Assemblie of the Kingdome of Scotland in Answer to a Declaration sent by the Parliament of England, concerning the King and Kingdome. Written by Alexander Henderson. London, 1648.

Corbet, J. The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Society of Jesu, to the Covenanters in Scotland, wherein is paralleled our sweet Harmony and Correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice. London, 1640.

Craig, J. An Act published by the General Assembly of Scotland. Being a forme of examination at the speciall desire of the Kirke, by them thought to be so needfull, that evry Pastor exhort this flocke to buy the said booke, and reade the same in the Families; whereby they may be better instructed. And that the same may be read, and learned in Lector Schooles. London, 1641.

Crofton, Z. ANALHYIS ANELHFQH. The Fasting of St. Peters Fetters. By Seven Links, or Propositions. Or, the Efficacy and Extend of the Solemn League and Covenant asserted and vindicated, against the Doubts and Scruples of Dr. John Garder's Anonymous Questionist. St. Peters Bunch not only loosed, but annihilated by Mr. John Russel. Attested by John Garder, D.D. And the Reasons of the University of

Oxford for not taking (now pleaded to discharge the obligation of) the Solemn League and Covenant. London, 1660.

Cromwell, O. A letter from the Lord General Cromwell, concerning the Rendition of the Castle of Edinburgh to his Excellency on Articles, Together with the Passages between his Excellency and the Governor in order hereunto, and the Articles upon which the same were surrendered and a List of the Ordnance and Ammunition therein. London, 1650.

A Declaration against a late, dangerous and seditious Band, under the name of An humble Remonstrance, &c Wherein the Plots and Projects of the Contrivers tending to the Violating and Subversion of our Covenants; Raising and fomenting of Jealousies, within this, and betweene both Kingdoms; Prolonging of unnaturall Wars; And, Impeding the intended Uniformity in Religion, are discovered by the Commision of the Generall Assembly. Edinburgh, 1646.

A declaration against the Crosse petition: Wherein some secret letters of the intended Reformation are discovered. The danger of Division prevented. And the Unitie of this Island in Religion urged. Edinburgh, 1643.

A declaration of the Army of England upon their March into Scotland. London, 1650.

A declaration of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to the whole kirk and Kingdome of Scotland, concerning present dangers, and duties relating to the Covenant and Religion. Edinburgh, 1648.

The Declaration of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland: Concerning the present expedition into England, according to the commission and Order given from their Meeting at Edenburgh, August, 1643. London, 1643.

A declaration of the English Army now in Scotland, To the People of Scotland, especially those among them, that know and feare the Lord. London: 1650.

The Declaration of the King of Scotland Concerning The Parliament of England, and Generall Fairfax, Lord Lieutenant Cromwell and the The Lord President Bradshaw &c. And his last Speech and Propositions to the Scots Commissioners for their advancement of His present Service, the recovery of His Crown and Rights in England, and the restoring of Him to the Exercise of His Royal Power, for the good of all His People throughout his Realms and Dominions. With The Proposals and Resolution of the Commissioners of the Church and Kingdome and the Papers interchanged betwixt His Majesty and them; as they were reported in Parliament, and the Generall Assembly. Edinburgh, 1649.

A Declaration of the proceedings in the Parliament of Scotland Expressing 1.The Cause of their Delay 2.The Election of Officers of State. 3.Their choyse of the Lord Chancellor deserted 4. and 5.Three Acts - 1. Concerning the Palatinate 2. Concerning Images 3. Concerning the resigning of old Officers of State - 6.The Reason of the probability of his Majesties long stay. 7.His Majesties delight in hearing Sermins there. Whereunto are annexed certain other Occurrences about the Earle of Montrose, and other Delinquents, with other Parliamentary Affaires. September 30, 1641. London, 1641.

A declaration of the reasons for assisting the Parliament of England. Against the Papists and Prelaticall Army. By the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland. London, 1643.

The Designs and Correspondencies of the present Committee of Estates and That part of the Scottish Nation which is now entred into this Kingdom in Hostility, in some measure discovered by two Packets of Letters intercepted in the North, and sent up to the House of Commons. With an Introduction and Some Marginal Notes and Animadversions, By a private Pen. London, 1648.

Dickson, D. The Answer of the Generall Assembly in Scotland, To The Letter of Some of their Reverend Brethren of the Ministry in England, Sent by Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Nye to the said Assembly. London, 1643.

Douglas, R. The forme and order of the coronation of Charles the Second, king of Scotland, England, France and Ireland. Aberdeen, 1651.

Douglas, R. A Phenix on the Solemn League and Covenant, of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland; for Reformation and Defence of Religion, Sworn to in the Three Kingdoms. With Some Acts of the Church and State, Authorizing the same. [n.p., 1662].

Durie, J. Gospel Communion in the Way of Godliiness: sued for by the Protestant Churches in Germany, unto the Churches of Great Britain and Ireland: In a Letter written and sent hither to that effect. London, 1654.

Durie, J. A summarie Platform of the heads of a Body of Practicall Divinity, which the Ministers of the the Protestant Churches abroad have sued for, and which is farther enlarged in a Treatise intituled, 'An earnest Plea for Gospel-Communion, &c'. London, 1654.

Durie, J. Just Re-proposals to humble Proposals. Or An impartiall Consideration of, and Answer unto, the humble Proposals, which are printed in the name of sundry Learned and Pious Divines, concerning the Engagement which the Parliament hath ordered to be taken. Shewing How farre those Proposals are agreeable to Reason, to Christianity and to Policie. How the Proposals thereof may receive satisfaction therein, in all these respects. Hereunto are added, The humble Proposals themselves, because they are not currently to be found. London, 1650.

The earle of Crawford. His Speech Before the Parliament in Scotland, October the 25 1641. Upon his Examination by the Lords, concerning the late Conspiracie Against the Marquise Hamilton, Earle of Argile, Lord Lauden, and divers others of the Nobility in Scotland. London, 1641.

The English Banner of Truth displayed: Or, The State of this present Engagement Against Scotland. London, 1650.

An Exact Relation of the Last Newes from the Quarters, of His Excellency, The Lord Generall of the Scottish Army. London, 1644.

An examination of the Seasonable and Necessarie Warning concerning present Dangers and Duties, entituled from the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, unto all the Members of that kirk. June 25 1650. Which was printed at Edinburgh by Evan Tyler. By a Servant of the Commonwealth of England, and a Lover of the Armie. London, 1650.

The explanation of a former Act of the Sixth of October, 1648. For renewing of the Solemn League and Covenant. Edinburgh, 4 December, 1648. Edinburgh, 1648.

Featley, D. The League illegal. Wherein the late Solemn League and Covenant is Seriously Examined, Scholastically and Solidly Confuted: For the Right informing of Weak and Tender Consciences, and the Undeceiving of the Erroneous. Written long since in Prison, by Daniel Featley, D.D. And never until now made known to the World. London, 1660.

Filmer, Sir R. Observations Concerning the Originall of Government Upon Mr Hobs Leviathan. Mr Milton against Salmasius. H. Grotius De Jure Belli. Mr Hunton's Treatise of Monarchy. London, 1652.

Foedus Sacro-Sanctum, Pro Religione repurgandâ & propugnandâ, Pro Honore & Felicitate Regis asserendâ, Pro conservandâ pace & incolumitate publicâ in tribus Regnis Scotia, Anglia & Hibernia. Edinburgh, 1643.

Forbes, A. bishop of Aberdeen. Simpson, Sidrach. The Anatomist Anatomised. Or, A short answer to some things in the Book, Intituled, An Anatomy of Independencie: Wherein it is shewed; I. That many things reported are mis-reported. II. That if all were true, yet divulging of them in this manner, is not according to the Word of God. III. Nor Argumentative against the Cause that's falsly called Independency. London, 1644.

Gataker, T. The Covenanters Plea Against Absolvers. Or, A Modest Discourse, Shewing Why those who in England and Scotland took the Solemn League and Covenant, cannot judge their Consciences discharged from the Obligation of it, by any thing heretofore said by the Oxford men; or lately by Dr. Featly, Dr. Garden, or any others. in which also several Cases relating to Promisory Oathes, And to the said Covenant in special; are spoken to, and determined by Scripture, Reason, and the joynt Suffrages of Casuists. Contrary to the indigested Notions of some late Writers; yet much to the sense of the Reverend Dr. Sanderson. London, 1661.

Generall Demands; Concerning the Late Covenant; Propounded by the Ministers and Professors of Divinity in Aberdene: To some Reverend Brethren, who came thither to recommend the late Covenant to them, and to those who are committed to their charge. Aberdeen, 1663.

Gillespie, G. Certaine Reasons tending to prove the unlawfulness and inexpediencie of all Diocesan Episcopacy (even the most moderate). Together with some needfull points suddenly suggested considering the season. Untill by the good providence of God a more full and mature discourse may bee prepared and published (if neede so require) by some better hand. Edinburgh, 1641.

Gillespie, G. A Declaration and Brotherly Exhortation of the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, To Their Brethren of England. London, 1647.

Gillespie, G. The Humble Representation of the Commission of the Generall Assembly to the Honourable Estates of Parliament, upon their Declaration lately communicate to us. London, 1648.

Good Counsell come from Scotland: or, a Solemn and Seasonable Warning to all Estates and Degrees of Persons throughout the Land, for holding fast the League & Covenant with England, and avoiding everything that may prove a snare and temptation to the breach thereof. Edinburgh, 1646.

Gordon, J. Plain dealing: being a moderate general review of the Scots prelatical clergies proceedings in the latter reigns. With a vindication of the present proceedings in Church affairs there. Licensed, September 11, 1689. London, 1689.

A Great Discoverie of a Plot in Scotland, By a Miraculous meanes. Two great Actors in the same being so taken with the sweet disposition of those Worthies, against whom they plotted, that their troubled Consciences would not premit them to proceed in their wicked Intentts. With a Copy of a Letter sent to the Papists in London. London, 1641.

Guthrie, J. A Declaration of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, In Answer to a Declaration, Intituled, A Declaration of the Parliament of England, Upon the marching of their Army into Scotland, and concerning present Dangers and Duties, in reference both to Sectaries and Malignants. Edinburgh, 1650.

Guthrie, J, and Johnston, A. The Nullity of the Pretended Assembly at Saint Andrews & Dundee: Wherein are contained, The Representation for Adjournment, the Protestation & Reasons thereof,

Together with a Review and Examanation of the Vindication of the said Assembly. Hereunto is subjoynd the Solemn Acknowledgment of sins, and Engagement to Duties, made and taken by the Nobility, Gentry, Burroughs, Ministry, and Commonality, in the year 1648 when the Covenant was Renewed, With sundry other Papers, related unto in the forsaid Review. Leith, 1652.

Guthrie, J. Protestors no Subverters, and Presbyterie no Papacie; Or, a Vindication of the Protesting Brethren and of the Government of the Kirk of Scotland, from the aspersions unjustly cast upon them, in a late Pamphlet of some of the Resolution-party. Entituled, A Declaration, &c. With a Discovery of the insufficiency, inequality and iniquity of the Things propounded in that Pamphlet, as Overtures of Union and Peace. Especially, Of the iniquity of that absolute and unlimited submission to the Sentences of Church-Judicatories that is holden forth therein, and most unjustly pleaded to belong to the Being and Essence of Presbyterial Government. Edinburgh, 1658.

Guthrie, J. The Remonstrance of the Presbyterie of Sterling Against the present Conjunction with the Malignant Party. To the Commission of the Kirk at St. Johnston. Edinburgh, 1651.

[Guthrie, J.]. Reasons Proving that the Late Meeting at St Andrews is not a Lawfull Free General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, with Answers to the Objections on the contrary. [n.p., n.d.].

Hariss, C. A Scriptural Chronicle of Satans Incendiaries, Viz. Hard-hearted Persecutions and Malicious Informers, With their Work, Wages, and Ends, who were Instruments of Cruelty against true Worshippers. London, 1670.

Hayes, T. Christs Kingdom on earth, opened according to the Scriptures. Herein is examined, what Mr. Th. Brightman, Dr. J. Alstede, Mr. J. Mede, Mr. H. Archer, The Glympse of Sions Glory, and such as concur in opinion with them, hold concerning the thousand years of the Saints Reign with Christ, And of Satons binding: Herein also their Arguments are answered. London, 1645.

Henderson, A. Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the Treaty persuading Conformity of Church government, as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations. [n.p.], 1641.

Henderson, A. The Bishops Doom. A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly which sat at Glasgow anno 1638. On occasion of pronouncing the sentence of the greater excommunication against eight of the bishops, and deposing or suspending the other six. By Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator of that and several subsequent assemblies. With a Postscript on the present decay of church discipline. Edinburgh, 1792.

Henderson, A. A Declaration from the General Assemblie of the Kingdome of Scotland in Answer to a Declaration sent by the Parliament of England, concerning the King and Kingdome. Whereing [sic] they declare, in the Name of the Kingdome of Scotland, their sense and resolution touching the Kings Majesty, and the Kingdome of England, in relation to His Majesties Honour, and the Kingdoms Happinesse. With a brief Abstract of His Majesties Letter to the General Assembly at Edinburgh, containing the full Resolution of the Kings Majesty. London, 1648.

Henderson, A. The Declaration of Mr Alexander Henderson, Principal Minister of the Word of God at Edinburgh, and Chief Commisioner from the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England, made upon his Death-bed. [n.p.], 1648.

Henderson, A. The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1641.

Henderson, A. The Humble Petition of the Commissioners of the General Assembly to the Kings Majesty. Their Declaration sent to the Parliament of England. Their Letter to some Brethren of the Ministry

there. And their Commission to their Brother Master Alexander Henderson January 1643. Edinburgh, 1643.

Henderson, A. The Papers which passed at New-castle betwixt His Sacred Majestie and Mr Al: Henderson: Concerning the change of Church-Government. Anno Dom. 1646. London, 1649.

Henderson, A. Reformation of Church-Government in Scotland, Cleared from some mistakes and prejudices: By the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, now at London. Published by especiall Command. Edinburgh, 1644.

Henderson, A. The Scotts Declaration in Answer to the Declaration, sent unto them by their Commissioners now at London, From the Honourable Houses of Parliament of England: Expressing their care to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood; And their Affections to Reformation both to Kirk and State. London, 1642.

Henderson, A. A sermon, Preached before the Lords and Commons, at Margaret's Church in Westminster, upon Thursday the 18th. of July, 1644. Edinburgh, 1846.

Henderson, A. A sermon preached by the Reverend Mr. Alex. Hendersone, before the sitting doune of the Gen. Assembly begun the 12 of August, 1639. [n.p., n.d.].

Henderson, A. A Sermon, Preached before the Right Honourable House of Lords in the Abbey Church at Westminster, Upon Wednesday the 28th of May, 1645. Edinburgh: 1846.

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Ane Information of the publick Proceedings of the Kingdom of Scotland, and their Armies. In pursuance of this most necessar and pious Engadgement for Religion, King and Kingdoms. Edinburgh, 1648.

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Johnston, A. Observations Upon the Chief Acts of the two late P.[retended] Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, the year of God 1651 and 1652. Together with the Reasons why the Ministers, Elders and Professors, who protested against the said Pretended Assemblies, and the Pretended Assembly at Edinburgh, cannot agree to the Overtures made to them at the Conference upon the 28. and 29. dayes of July 1652. As also the Instructions given by them to such of their Number as were sent to the said Conference. And the Letter directed to Mr. David Dickson for communicating the Papers. Whereunto is subjoynd the Propositions which were offered to the Meeting of Ministers and others appointed to be kept at Edinburgh July 21. 1652. Leith, 1653.

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The Kings most Excellent Majesties Proclamation and the Estates of Parliament in Scotland; for the publishing of certaine Statutes, and Ordinances by them Enacted, concerning the unnecessary confluence of His Liege-people to Edinburgh, in the time of this Parliament October 20, 1641. Edinburgh, 1641.

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A Letter from Edinburgh concerning the difference of the Proceedings of the Well-affected in Scotland from the Proceedings of the Army in England. London, 1648.

A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in the City: As also the Return made thereto. Together with an Exact List of the Members of that Reverend and worthy Assembly met at Glasgow, in the Year 1638. [Edinburgh], 1734.

A Letter from the Lord General Cromwel from Dunbar containing A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Parliament Army under his Command in Scotland; and the Success God was pleased to give them against the Scots Army, in a Battle at Dunbar the 3 of September, 1650. Together with a List of the Scottish Officers then taken. London, 1650.

A Letter from the Synod of Zeland to the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland: Written by them in Latin, and now faithfully translated into English: Expressing 1. Their fellow-feeling of the present condition of the Kirks of Ireland and England, & exciting us to the like. 2. Their respects and affection to the Kirk of Scotland. 3. Their zeal to the Reformation of the Kirk of England, in Government and Ceremonies, and to the preservation of Religion there, Against the pride of Popery at this time. 4. And their desire of Unitie in Religion, and Uniformity of kirk-government in his Majesties Dominions. Edinburgh, 1643.

A Logical Demonstration of the Lawfulness of subscribing the New Engagement. Or, Promise to be True and Faithful to the Common-weal As it is now Established: In four arguments. As a just apology for such as have Conscienciously subscribed: And for Satisfaction of others, who may be called to subscribe; Especially if they had formerly taken the Solemn League and Covenant. London, 1650.

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The Lord Lowden His Learned and Wise Speech in the Upper House of Parliament in Scotland September 9. 1641. Declaring the great grievances of that Kingdome, and that cause that moved them to take up Armes against England. Also manifesting what great benefits and honour will arise of this happy Peace and Unity concluded on betwixt both Kingdomes. With his Honourable motion for the raising of an army in both Kingdomes, to the restoring and setting of the Prince Elector in his Country. London, 1641.

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MacDonnell, Sir W. Anglia Liberata, or, The Rights of the People of England, Maintained Against the Pretences of the Scottish King. As they are set forth in an Answer to the Lords Ambassadors Propositions of England. Which Answer was delivered into the Great Assembly of the United Provinces at the Hague, by one Mac-Donnel, who entitles himself Resident for his Majesty, &c. June 28/18 1651: And is here published according to the Dutch Copy. Whereunto is added A Translation of Certain Animadversions upon the Answer of Mac-Donnel. Written by an ingenious Dutch-man. As also an additional reply to all the pretended Arguments, Insinuations and Slanders, set forth in the said Scottish Answer. London, 1651.

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[Marshall, S.] News from Scotland or the Result of the Generall Assembly of that Kingdome in Order to Englands Peace; But opposed by the Sub-Committee of the Kingdome, called, A Committee for the prevention of Danger. Together with a relation of Master Marshals Department, and the Reasons why he is not (as yet) permitted to Preach, as also their high estimation of Mr. Heaile a Minister to the English Commissioners at Edinburgh. Sent from a Gentleman of Quality Residing at Edinburgh to his friend in London. London, 1648.

Marten, H. The Independency of England Endeavoured to be maintained Against the Claim of the Scottish Commissioners in their late Answer upon the Bills and Propositions sent to the King in the Isle of Wight. London, 1648.

Marten, H. The Parliaments Proceedings justified, in Dealing a personall Treaty with the King, Notwithstanding the Advice of the Scottish Commissioners to that purpose. London, 1648.

Maxwell, J. Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas. Oxford, 1644.

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A Message from the Estates of Scotland to the English Commissioners at Edinburgh, By the Lord Lotherdale, the Lord Lanerick, Sir Charles Erskin, and Mr. Kennedy. Also the Answer of the Earl of Nottingham and the rest of the English Commissioners, to three Propositions from the kingdom of Scotland. A Declaration by the Scotch Ministers against Warre and raising of Forces. And a Proclamation from the Estates of Scotland. Published at the Market Crosse in Edinburgh. London, 1648.

A Message sent from the Kingdome of Scotland, To Major Generall Massey now resident in Holland concerning their great Design against England, and their Proposals and Desires Therein. With the Queen of Englands invitation to Major Gen. Massey touching the same. And his answer and Declaration thereupon. Likewise a Declaration of his Highnesse James Duke of York, his landing at Flushing in Zealand, and His going to Dort, to meet the Prince of Orange. With another Declaration concerning his Highnesse Charles, Prince of Wales, and Sir Thomas Glenham, now Governour of Barwick for the King. London, 1648.

The Middle Way of Predetermination Asserted Between the Dominicans and Jesuites, Calvinists and Arminians. Or, A Scriptural Enquiry into the Influence and Causation of God, in and unto Humane Actions; Especially such as are Sinfull. London, 1679.

The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially communicating Martiall Affairs to the Kingdom of England From Thursday, January 25 to Thursday, February 1. 1649. London, 1649.

The National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant with the Acknowledgement of Sins, and Engagement to Duties: As they are Renewed at Douglas July 24th. 1712 With Accomodation to the Present Times. Together with an Introductory Preface, containing a Narrative of the Manner of the Action, and the Scope of the Sermons preached before it, and obviating some of the most Material Objections that are made against it. [n.p.], 1712.

The National Covenant, and Solemn League & Covenant; with the Acknowledgement of Sins, and Engagement to Duties: as they were Renewed at Lesmahago, March 3. 1689 with Accomodation to the present Times. Together with an Introduction touching National Covenants, by way of Analysis on the 29th, Chapter of Deuteronomy. The Substance whereof, was delivered in a Discourse to the People, on the Preparation day, before they were Renewed. Edinburgh, 1689.

A Necessary Warning to the Ministerie of the kirk of Scotland, from the meeting of the Commissioners of the General Assembly at Edinburgh 4 Jan. 1643. Edinburgh, 1643.

The New Oath or Covenant, To be taken by All Persons within the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland. Agreed upon at Edinburgh by the Generall Assembly, the Convention of Estates, and the Commissioners for the Parliament in the Kingdom of England, the 18. day of August, 1643. And sent to the Parliament of England for the like Approbation. London, 1643.

Nye, Sir P. An Exhortation made to the Honourable House of Commons, and Reverend Divines of the Assembly, by Mr. Nye, before he read the Covenant. In Two Speeches Delivered before the Subscribing of the Covenant, the 25th of September, at St. Margaret's in Westminster. The One by Mr. Philip Nye.

The Other by Mr. Alexander Henderson. Published by Special Order of the House of Commons. Edinburgh, 1643.

An ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament. After Advice had with the Assembly of Divines, for the Ordination of Ministers pro Tempore, according to the Directory for Ordination, and the Rules for Examination, therein expressed. Wednesday, 2 October, 1644. London, 1644.

Owen, D. Puritans-Jesuitismus, The Puritan Turn'd Jesuite, or Rather Outvying him in those Diabolicall and dangerous Positions, of the Deposition of Kings; from the yeare, 1536. untill this present time; extracted out of the most ancient and authentick authors. Shewing their concord in the matter, their discord in the manner of their sedition. London, 1643.

Owen, J. The Brach of the Lord, The Beauty of Sion: Or, The Glory of the church, in It's Relation unto Christ. Opened in Two Sermons, one preached at Berwick, the other at Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1650.

A Pack of Old Puritans Maintaining the Unlawfulness & inexpediency of subscribing the new Engagement. Professing the dissatisfaction of their judgements, and the unresolvedness of their Consciences, with Mr. John Dury's Considerations and just Reproposals concerning it. And answering the most materiall Allegations that are urged by him or others for subscription. London, 1650.

A Parallell Betweene the late troubles in Scotland, and the present troubles in England. Wherein is discovered all the principall passages that occasioned the Levying of Armes both in England and Scotland. Together with the chiefe Incendiaries and Fomenters of the same, comparing their actions with many ancient Presidents. London, 1642.

Parker, H. Scotlands holy War. A Discourse truly, and plainly remonstrating, how the Scots out of a corrupt pretended zeal to the Covenant have made the same scandalous, and odious to all good men: and How by religious pretexts of saving the Peace of Great Britain they have irreligiously involved us all in a most pernicious Warre. As also An answer to a Paper, entituled. Some Considerations in relation to the Act. of 1. Jan: 1649. for subscribing the Engagement. London, 1651.

Patrick, S. The Hypocritical Nation Described in a Sermon Preached at St. Marées in Cambridge, upon a day of Publick Fasting. With an Epistle prefixed by Mr. Samuel Jacombe. London, 1657.

A Perfect List of the Names of the Several Persons returned to serve in this Parliament 1656. For the several counties and Corporations within this Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions therto belonging. London, 1656.

The Petition of the Nobilitie, Gentry, Burrows, Ministers and Commons of the Kingdom of Scotland, to The Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privie Councell. London, 1642.

Plaine Scottish, or, Newes from Scotland, Part therof being the Copy of a Letter sent from Edinburgh: And the Substance of the Rest being by word of mouth imparted to a Friend in London, by some of no small estimation in that Kingdom. London, 1643.

The Presbyterians not chargable with King Charle's Death: in Two Letters Publish'd by their Ministers, some time before. With their Names subscribed, in order to prevent it. Oxford, 1717.

The principall Acts of foure Generall Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, Holden at Edinburgh, 1639. At Aberdeen 1640. At S. Andrews and Edinburgh, 1641. And at S. Andrews 1642. Edinburgh, 1642.

The principall Acts of the Generall Assembly, convened at Edinburgh the second day of August 1643. Edinburgh, 1643.

The principall Acts of the Generall Assembly, conveened at Edinburgh upon the last Wednesday of May, the 29 of that Moneth, in the year 1644. Edinburgh, 1644.

The principall Acts of the Generall Assembly, conveened occasionally at Edinburgh, upon the 22 day of January, in the year 1645. Edinburgh, 1645.

The principall Acts of the Generall Assembly, conveened at Edinburgh, upon the first Wednesday of June, being the third of that Moneth in the year 1646. Edinburgh, 1646.

The principall Acts of the Generall Assembly, conveened at Edinburgh, upon the first Wednesday of July the 12. of that Moneth in the year, 1648. Edinburgh, 1648.

The principall Acts of the Generall Assembly, conveened at Edinburgh, the first Wednesday of July the fourth of that Moneth in the year, 1649. Edinburgh, 1649.

A proclamation and Declaration to inform our loving Subjects of Our Kingdom of England of the seditious practises of some in Scotland, seeking to overthrow Our Regall Power under false pretences of Religion. London, 1638.

Proclamation issued by estates of parliament, 5 February 1649. Edinburgh, 1649.

The Protestation given in by the Dissenting Brethren, to the General Assembly July 21. 1652. Reviewed and Refuted; Briefly shewing the insufficiencie of the reasons thereof; and consequently the justice of the Assemblies sentence condemning it. Leith, 1652.

The Protestation of diverse Ministers against the Proceedings of the late Commission of the Church of Scotland: as also against the lawfulnessse of the present pretended Assembly. Leith, 1651.

The Protestation of the Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Borrowes, Ministers and Commons, subscribers of the Confession of Faith and Covenant, lately renewed within the Kingdome of Scotland, made at the Mercate Crosse of Edinburgh the 22 of September immediatly after the reading of the proclamation, dated September 9 1638. Edinburgh, 1638.

Reasons of a Fast, appoynted by the Commission of the Generall Assemblie: To bee kept through all the kirks of this Kingdom, on the Lords Day, December 22. 1650. [n.p.], 1650.

Reasons Why the Ministers, Elders and Professors, who Protested against the pretended Assemblies at St. Andrews, Dundee and Edinburgh, cannot agree to the Overtures made unto them at the Conference upon the 28. and 29. of July 1652. Together with the Instructions given by them to such of their number as were sent to the said Conference. And the Letter directed to Mr. David Dickson, for communicating their Papers. Leith, 1652.

The Recantaion and Humble Submission of the two ancient Prelates, of the Kingdome of Scotland: Subscribed by their own hands; and sent to the Generall Assemblie. As also, The Act of the said Assemblie, condemning Episcopacy and other abuses which are contrary to the Word of God, and the Laws of this Church and Kingdome. [n.p.], 1641.

The Remonstrance of the Assemblie of Scotland arraigned. [n.p.], 1650.

The Remonstrance of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland To His Maestie. Sent from the Committee of both Kingdoms the 12 of June last to Sir Thomas Fairfax to be by him sent with a Trumpeter to His Majesties Quarters. Together with an open Letter from the Commissioners of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland here at London to His Majesties principall Secretary, desiring him to

deliver the Remonstrance to the King. With the Answere of the Lord Digby of the 25 of June to that Letter directed to the right Honourable the Earle of Loudon Lord Chancellour of Scotland. London, 1645.

A Reply to the late Printed Answer given to the Letter, Directed by the Protesters to their Brethren, who are for carrying on of the Publick Resolutions, and for the Authority of the late Pretended Assemblies. Leith, 1653.

The Representation, Propositions and Protestation of divers Ministers, Elders and Professors For themselves, and in name of many others well-affected Ministers, Elders and People in Scotland. Presented by the Lord Wareston, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. John Livingston, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and diverse others; To the Ministers and Elders met at Edinburgh July 21. 1652. Leith, 1652.

Ridpath, G. An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. In Three Parts. I. Being a Catalogue of the Cruel and Bloody Laws made by the Scots Prelatists against the Presbyterians; with instances of their Numerous Murders, and other Barbarities beyond the Extent of those Laws; with Reflexions throughout, demonstrating the Lenity of their Majesties Government against the Scots Prelatist and Clergy. II. Laying open the Self-Contradictions, Impudent Lies, Horrible Blasphemies, and Disloyalty of the Obscene, Scurrilous Pamphlet called the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. III. Being a Collection of their Ridiculous Expressions in Sermons, and Instances of the Virtuous Lives of their Bishops and Clergy. London, 1693.

Rous, F. The Ancient Bounds on Liberty of Conscience, Tenderly Stated, Modestly Asserted, and Mildly Vindicated. London, 1645.

Rutherford, S. Exercitatio Apologiae pro Divina Gratia. Amsterdam, 1637.

Rutherford, S. Lex, Rex, or The Law and the Prince: A Dispute from the Just Prerogative of King and People: Containing the Reasons and Causes of the Most Necessary Defensive Wars of the Kingdom of Scotland, and of their Expedition for the Aid and Help of their Dear Brethren of England; in which their Innocency is Asserted, and a Full Answer is Given to a Seditious Pamphlet Entituled "Sacro-Sancta Regum Magestas", or The Sacred and Royal Prerogative of Christian Kings; under the name of J.A. but Penned by John Maxwell, The Excommunicate Popish Prelate: With a Scriptural Confutation of the Ruinous Grounds of W. Barclay, H. Grotius, H. Arnisaeus, Ant. de Domi Popish Bishop of Spaloto and of Other Late Anti-Magistratical Royalists, As the Author of Ossorianum, Dr Ferne, E. Simmons, the Doctors of Aberdeen, etc in Forty-four Questions. [reprint], Harrisonburg, 1982.

Saltmarsh, J. Reasons for Unitie, Peace and Love. With an Answer (Called Shadows flying away) to a Book of Mr Gataker one of the assembly, intituled A Mistake, &c. and the Book of the namelesse Author called The Plea: both writ against me. And a very short Answer, in a word, to a Book by another namelesse Author, called an After-reckoning with Master Saltmarsh; and to Master Edwards his Second Part, called Gangrena directed to me. Wherein many things of the spirit are discovered, Of Faith and Repentence &c. Of the Presbyterie: And some things are hinted, to the undeceiving of people in their present Ministers. London, 1646.

Scotlands Alarme: Or, Some Considerations tending to demonstrate the necessity of our speedie marching to the assistance of our Brethren in England, notwithstanding all difficulties and necessities, reall or pretended. Edinburgh, 1643.

The Scots Beaten with their own Weapons, And Their playing fast and loose with King and Parliament clearly discovered. Which may serve also for a full (and briefe) answer to the Scots last large Papers. London, 1647.

The Scots Cabinet Opened. Wherein you have a short and full Account of the secret Transactions of the late affaires, by the Scots Commissioners with the King and Parliament, and the invisible steps by

which wee are brought to a new Warre. Together with some Quaeries concerning a Personall Treatie, Propounded to awaken the Spirits of all true English-men, to take heed of the Scots Designes. London, 1648.

The Scots-mans Remonstrance. Or, a Vindication of the Scots: With a short Relation of all the proceedings since the time they came into England. Together with the present Estate and future intentions of that Nation. London, 1647.

The Scottish Mist Dispel'd or, A Clear Reply to the prevaricating Answer of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland, to both Houses of Parliament; Upon the new Propositions for Peace. And the foure Bills sent to his Majesty, 1647. By an English Covenanter. London, 1648.

Sharp, J. A True Representation of the Rise, Progresse and State of the Present Divisions of the Church of Scotland. London, 1657.

Shields, A. A Hind Let Loose: or, An Historical Representation of the Testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the Interest of Christ; with the true State thereof in all its Periods: Together with a Vindication of the present Testimony against the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant Enemies of that Church, as it is now stated, for the Prerogatives of Christ, Privileges of the Church, and Liberties of Mankind, and sealed by the Sufferings of a reproached Remnant of Presbyterians there, witnessing against the Corruptions of the Time; Wherein Several Controversies of greatest Consequence are enquired into, and in some measure cleared; concerning hearing of the Curates, owning of the present Tyranny, taking of ensnaring Oaths and Bonds, frequenting of Field-meetings, defensive Resistance of Tyrannical Violence, with several other subordinate Questions useful for these Times. Edinburgh, 1744.

Shields, A. The perpetual Obligation of our Covenants National and Solemn League, asserted, vindicated, and proven from the Scriptures. [London], 1737.

Shields, M. Faithful Contendings displayed: Being an historical relation of the State and Actings of the suffering Remnant in the church of Scotland, who subsisted in Select Societies, and were united in general correspondencies during the hottest time of the late Persecution, viz. from the year 1681 to 1691., ed. J. Howie. Glasgow, 1780.

A Short Exhortation & Warning to the Ministers & Professors of this kirk from the Commission of the General Assembly. Edinburgh, 1651.

A Short information from the Commission of the General Assembly, concerning the Declaration of the Honourable Court of Parliament, lately emitted to the Kingdom. Edinburgh, 1648.

Sibbold, J. The manner of the Beheading of Duke Hambleton, the earl of Holland, and the Lord Capell, in the Palace-Yard at Westminster on Friday the 9th of March, 1648. With the substance of their severall Speeches Upon the Scaffold, immediately before they were Beheaded. London, 1648.

Sidenham, C. The False Brother, or, A New Map of Scotland Drawn by an English Pencil; Being a Short History of the Political and Civil Transactions between these two Nations since their first Friendship: Wherein the many secret Designs and dangerous Aspects and Influences of that Nation on England are discovered; With the Juglings of their Commissioners with the late King, Parliament, and City. The Grounds of the Entrance of our Army into Scotland, cleared, from their own Principles and Actings; Their main Please impeaded, and answered. London, 1651.

A Solemn Testimony Against Toleration and the present Proceedings of Sectaires and their Abettors in England, in Reference to Religion and Government, with An Admonition and Exhortation to their Brethren there, from the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. Together

with the Return of the Honourable Estates of Parliement upon the said Testimony communicated to them, and their concurrence with the same. Edinburgh, 1649.

A Solemn Warning to all the Members of this Kirk, from The Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie. With An Act for Censuring such as act or comply with the Sectarian Armie, Now infesting this Kingdome. Aberdeen, 1651.

[Stewart, J.]. Jus Populi Vindicatum or The People's Right, to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion. Wherein the Act of Defence and Vindication which was interprised Anno 1666, is particularly justified: The lawfulnessse of private Persons defending their Lives, Libertyes and Religion, against manifest Oppression, Tyranny and violence, excerced by Magistrats Supream and Inferior contrare to Solemne Yowes, Covenants, Promises, Declarations, Professions, Subscriptions, and Solemne Engadgements, is demonstrated by many Arguments. Being a full Reply to the first part of the Survey of Naphtaly &c. [n.p., 1669].

Stewart, J. and Stirling, J. Naphtali or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland. [n.p., 1667].

The Swearing-Master: or, a conference between two Country-Fellows Concerning the Times. Ned and Wil. London, 1681.

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