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EXPLANATORY ESSAY,

together with two books:

- 1. Reformation Dissent and Diversity, the story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960***
- 2. Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established; the case of Stirling and Dunblane, 1687-1710***

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Abstract;

Reformation Dissent and Diversity, the story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960 (London, Bloomsbury/T&T Clark, 2015)

Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established; the case of Stirling and Dunblane, 1687-1710 (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2021)

These two books proffered for consideration for the degree of *PhD by Published Works* are widely different in scope, intent, intended readership and level of detail. Nonetheless they can be considered as a pair, dealing as they do with the stresses and tensions that have existed through the history of the church in Scotland and the effects that these stresses and tensions have had on the lives of the people. This essay presents the two books showing how they add significantly to the literature of Scottish Church history. In the one book this is by giving a modern, readable overview of the subject as a whole. The second book shows how events played out in one locality but adds materially to knowledge of an important period in the development of the church and nation.

Reformation Dissent and Diversity

The first of these books, *Reformation Dissent and Diversity, the story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960*, presents an overview of the churches within the country throughout these four centuries. It was conceived as a consequence of a lifelong interest in Scottish church history,¹ combined with involvement with local historians whom I encountered in my working life as a librarian together with a successfully completed M.Litt. thesis on the interaction of politics and religion in Stirling during the 1730s and 40s.² An invitation to address the *Glasgow and West of Scotland Family History Society* on how the splits and unions in the church impacted on the study of family history led me to realise there was a need for a readable book to set out how the multitudinous denominations inter-related within Scotland, mainly targeted at family and local historians. The standard work on Scottish church history, Burleigh's *A Church History of Scotland*³ had been published in 1960 and was both dated and heavily weighted towards the history of the established church, to the neglect of the other traditions in Scotland. It had been the mainstay of education for the Church of Scotland ministry and is not recalled with pleasure by those who studied it. Drummond and Bulloch's three volume series⁴ is equally thirled to the Presbyterian wagon although slightly more readable. It stops at 1900, however.

The work of Gordon Donaldson⁵ writing from an Episcopalian viewpoint is also dated and like its Presbyterian rivals, concentrated on a top-down history rather than a people-up direction. This is not to say that good history was not being written in the latter half of the twentieth century, but it was specialised and no overview of it was available.

On retiring in 2009, my increased involvement in the Scottish Church History Society led me to acquire a full set of its *Records*⁶ which in turn led me to compile a full index of the journal from its first issue. This was to provide much of the source material for the book, especially on the Presbyterian strands in earlier times. The other post-retirement activity which proved crucial for both books, was indexing church records held in Stirling Council Archives.⁷

Reformation Dissent and Diversity, the Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1969 (hereafter abbreviated as *RDD*) was intended as a post-retirement project. It

was never intended to be exclusively Presbyterian in its outlook; denominational histories for Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and Brethren have all appeared in recent years and they proved useful and trustworthy. Roman Catholic and Scottish Episcopalian history proved surprisingly fragmentary with plenty of high-quality recent material but no overall recent overview of either. nor any sustained or sufficient attempt to explore their relationship to one another. No book existed which explored the relationships between the various competing denominations. Finally, there were a number of denominations where such material as existed was out of date and a number whose history was so fragmented that original research was required. In addition, original material on Presbyterianism was gleaned from the indexing exercise in the Stirling Archives.

With its genesis as an intended aid for family historians, several decisions were taken at an early stage. One such was to take a wide view of churches and include bodies outwith what is normally considered the mainstream. This was recognised by some reviewers, Professor Jane Dawson wrote:

One of the book's great strengths is the treatment of dissent. For example, the Salvation Army and chartist churches find a place in the chapter on non-Presbyterian churches and the non-trinitarian chapter includes the Mormons, Christadelphians and Spiritualists as well as the more obvious Unitarians.⁸

In part, of course, this was in recognition of the contribution Mormonism has made to family history research. But it was also a perception that Scottish Mormonism grew out of the religious situation within Scotland in the 1830s and 40s and was part of a groundswell of discontent with mainstream churches. This groundswell also led to the spread of Primitive Methodism and the Brethren movement. At least in the context of Scottish church history, allegiance to new denominations and movements can be always be ascribed to a mixture of revelation and revulsion from existing bodies.

Several other non-Trinitarian churches were also included in *RDD*, but it is a matter of some regret, and a weakness in the book, that Christian Scientists and Jehovah's Witnesses were excluded due to space and time issues. Both have a Scottish dimension to their history but the latter, in particular, is very difficult to access. The other decision, in retrospect accepted as a mistake, was the omission of footnotes identifying sources. This was deliberate and reflected the

book's aim of encouraging its readers to do their own research in their own areas of interest. This decision was never seen as a problem by the publisher, T & T Clark, the academic wing of Bloomsbury. With that in mind, however, a very full bibliography was included.

The use of quantitative data in Scottish church history was rather neglected until the 1970s, which is perhaps strange considering the 19th century churches' fascination with statistics (always proving that the particular statistician's church was more thriving as well as theologically sounder than its rivals). One chapter in *RDD* which particularly reflects this and is unique is Chapter 11: 'Towards a Geography of Scottish Churches'. This, together with the tables and maps, uses statistical material particularly from the 1851 census and from Howie's *The Churched and the Churchless*⁹ to explore the geographical patterns, particularly of Presbyterian denominations. The mapping exercise, created for the work in MS Excel, is one of the areas of original research in the book.

Other areas of original research lay in the use of the Stirling Presbytery records to exemplify some of the issues raised in the more general discussion. Discipline cases, communion services and poor relief all profited from specific lesser-known examples always with the intention of encouraging the reader to explore their own local records for themselves.

The book was well received and has found its way onto the reading lists of several university departments. Professor Jane Dawson's review in the *Scottish Historical Review*, quoted above, also declared:

This is a 'quiet' book that deserves a loud welcome. Andrew Muirhead has managed to pack four hundred years of the story of Scotland's churches into a couple of hundred pages of informative, accessible and concise writing.

Other reviewers did comment on its old-fashioned take on history and lack of the history of Scottish theology. This however is to disregard its original intention of giving a readable discussion of Scottish church history to those who do not necessarily have a church background. From this point of view, the book, despite acknowledged shortcomings, does fulfil its purpose, with its readability, humour and shared passion all being commented upon by reviewers and all being aimed at making Scottish church history accessible and attractive to those not

necessarily brought up in any faith. As such it has become a natural starting point for anyone embarking on the study of the subject and is therefore a significant contribution to Scottish historiography. Indeed, Professor Callum Brown described it in these terms:

This is the first research-based ecclesiastical history of post-Reformation Scotland in a generation. From John Knox to Billy Graham, Andrew Muirhead casts his gifted eye over the whole realm of religious change, bringing up to date our understanding of how the country moved in four centuries from a Presbyterian theocracy to a multi-faith democracy. This is an authoritative narrative of the Christian churches, using extensive archival quotation and learned assessment. The book has many claims to originality, not least being the author's command of Scotland's often-neglected ecclesiastical law, and the due attention paid to the important forms of dissent which Scots not merely adopted but in many cases invented. Rich in insight and vivid description, the author provides a readable textbook for student and general reader alike.¹⁰

Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established

The second book offered for consideration is *Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established; the case of Stirling and Dunblane, 1687-1710*.¹¹ (Hereafter quoted as *SPR*)

There had been no intention of following up *RDD* with another book, however, as work continued on indexing the local church records, several topics were uncovered which argued for there being a particular local narrative for the period following the accession of William and Mary.

The indexing process had started with the records of Stirling Parish Church (now Holy Rude Church) in mid-18th century,¹² however, on that volume's completion the minutes from 1695-1701 were embarked upon.¹³ Working on this volume raised questions as to how Stirling Presbytery followed up some of the national issues and so it was a natural progression to move to the equivalent volume which covered the joint Presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblane from 1693-1698 and Stirling Presbytery alone until 1701.¹⁴ This was followed by Stirling's volume from 1701-1712 and in turn by Dunblane's volume from 1698-1709.¹⁵ By this stage it was clear that there was scope for a book to detail the development of

the Church of Scotland locally, particularly the way the presbyteries functioned, but further examination of parish records was required. With that in mind, the next volume tackled was a parish as unlike Stirling Burgh as possible, the rural, Gaelic speaking parish of Port of Menteith being selected.¹⁶ Work on this was curtailed at the year 1711 by the onset of COVID 19. This closed Stirling Archives to volunteers for more than two years from March 2020. The indexing of that volume has now been completed to 1723.

Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established was always intended to be a much more 'academic' work and is the fruit of a decade's labour in indexing church records. The intention to publish it developed in late 2017, the idea being accepted the following year. Work on it therefore proceeded in parallel with the continuing indexing which fed in information as appropriate, sometimes into sections which were already in existence.

The history of this period has had much attention in the last twenty years, with major works dealing specifically with religious history and a plethora of works commemorating, if not always celebrating, the tercentenary of the Union of the Parliaments. The re-appraisal of King James VII by Alistair Mann,¹⁷ monographs by Alasdair Raffae and Jeffrey Stephens on the issues faced by Presbyterianism¹⁸ and by Karin Bowie on the Union in particular¹⁹ all built up a picture at a national level. Bowie's detailed edition of the addresses against the Union²⁰ was particularly useful for Chapter 11, but was still open to more detailed examination at a 'microscopic' local level.

What these books all do, however, is consider a national picture informed by individually local events, but without a systematic look at how they played out at a local or regional level.

The research is, of course, much more than what is in the records being indexed. As well as fairly deep reading in the other surviving contemporary records of the constituent parishes, various literature searches were undertaken. Searching for both printed and manuscript works by any or all of the ministers who formed the two presbyteries quickly brought up the diary of George Turnbull, Minister of Alloa and Tynninghame.²¹ This proved fruitful in a number of ways. Research also identified a very small scatter of published sermons (and a few unpublished

manuscript ones). It became evident that the ministers of the two presbyteries were largely lacking in national impact in those early years.

Searches for both people and places in the online catalogues of the National Records of Scotland and other databases produced lists of manuscript sources to be examined, both in the records of the General Assembly and in other collections of documents. The serendipity factor came into play as a volume of manuscript sermons by Turnbull turned up in the episcopal archives²² and a known document in the National Library of Scotland, quoted by Alistair Raffe, proved to have an unrelated item of great interest in the same file for no apparent reason.²³

In parallel with this reading, reading of secondary sources gave not only the national background to events but also signposts to other primary sources which might have otherwise have been missed and which added much to the finished work.

Inevitably with the time scale of the indexing, and the themes arising from that process, the book started as a series of discrete topics. Early interest in how the individual parishes gradually filled their pulpits over a twenty year period, where the ministers came from, how were they identified, what were local issues involved, became papers presented to the Scottish Church History Society and to a conference on the ministry in early modern Scotland.²⁴ The fact that Thomas Boston had been a probationer locally and had been seriously considering/been considered for several parishes locally meant that his memoirs became a useful source for the life of probationers.²⁵ Another topic which raised early interest was the very full account of the arrangements for holding the first communion in Stirling since the Revolution.²⁶ This raised questions both about the sacrament itself as municipal theatre and about the relationship between Town Council and the church.

Gradually a list of chapter topics evolved, which became the structure for the book. In the event, two did not find individual place. The Darien disaster, although it cost the local community dearly and one of the major directors was a local landowner and church elder, did not seem to have a specifically local

narrative. Meanwhile the ‘ill years’ of famine in the 1690s were subsumed into the general discussion of poor relief.

Topped and tailed with introductory chapter and conclusion, the core chapters showed specific detail which adds significantly to the history of the area and, by extension, to Scotland. Many of the issues investigated threw light on key lacunae in the overall understanding of how the Kirk functioned in this period and build up a picture of how the church actually functioned in the lives of its participants in a way that no other comparable history does.

Like its predecessor, *SPR* was intended to be a readable narrative. One reviewer, a non-historian and former senior civil servant, came to it expecting it to be rather dry, but instead finished his review:

The author balances highly detailed information with an easy narrative style. He presents us with a balanced view and a real insight into those extraordinary times. A very enjoyable read.²⁷

The introductory chapter set out to place the topic into its historical context, summarising the events prior to the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in their national context and showing how the area covered by the two presbyteries played its part in events since the Restoration of 1660. One rather unexpected issue uncovered, was that many of those who had been in active opposition to Charles’s and James’s regime played little or no part in events locally after 1690. Lord Cardross was sent with his militia to defend the area in the aftermath of William’s accession, but seems to have had no effect on the ecclesiastical situation in Kippen and does not seem to have had much to do with that part of his estates for the remainder of his short life. George Barclay, who had held conventicles in Kippen, came back to a meeting house there in 1687 but thereafter moved away. Similarly, George Monro of Auchenbowie, victor over the Jacobites at Dunkeld, pursued an army career and seems to have had no further input in affairs near his home. Cardross’s half-brother, John Erskine of Carnock was the one exception, serving Stirling Kirk Session faithfully until his army career took him away.

Historians have long argued about the extent of support for Presbyterianism and the new regime. The financial details of Alva Parish, quoted in Appendix 3 of *SPR*²⁸ seem to make a strong case for saying that many of the inhabitants of that

parish supported the post-1687 meeting-house in Logie until their previous Presbyterian minister, Richard Howieson, returned to Alva. After that a significant increase in congregational giving lasted until Howieson left again and the episcopal minister regained his pulpit. Thereafter, the giving dropped once more until the ordination of Harie Robine. That is only one parish, of course, and it would be illuminating to test the theory against the financial records of other parishes if there are any complete enough to provide a comparison. The support of women for the new regime can also be seen in the rabbling at Logie in 1694, where two Episcopalian clergy were forcibly sent on their way to allow the Presbyterian minister to move from the meeting-house to the parish church. The list of about 30 women involved survives with one of the Episcopalians' account of the incident and provides a rare instance where more women than men can be identified in a congregation.

Two other areas shedding light on attitudes to the new regime can be identified in the proliferation of irregular marriages and baptisms involving episcopal preachers as celebrants, and in the way that flyting²⁹ and abuse cases proliferated with sectarian taunts. Despite the evidence of Alva, in other parishes, such as Stirling and St. Ninians, there was clearly strong and continuing opposition to the new ecclesiastical regime.

One over-riding priority for a new ecclesiastical regime is to fill pulpits and keep them filled. *SPR* devoted considerable space to these aspects. Three meeting house preachers were already in place, but two moved on very quickly and only one remained to play his part. Equally some of the new ministers such as George Turnbull in Alloa and Michael Potter in Dunblane had been meeting house preachers elsewhere before William's accession. Previously deposed ministers (antediluvians) returned to their parishes, but every one moved on to pastures new within a few months. The only antediluvian to settle, Robert Rule, was himself a product of this process, moving back to Stirling from Kirkcaldy which had been his pre-deprivation charge and where he had the right to reclaim his pulpit.³⁰ Further exploration of this topic showed that this was a national pattern, especially outwith the cities and that the antediluvians had very little influence on the newly Presbyterian church as a whole.

The process of installing Presbyterian preachers in the parishes was a slow one, how slow is shown by Table 1.1 in *SPR*.³¹ The various routes that potential ministers took showed the tortuous process involved, which might take several years for a candidate to find a charge. Despite the suspension of patronage, it is quite clear that the old patrons still wielded a substantial influence in the parishes and effectively still had tacit power. Incidentally, this included some women who clearly were consulted in the absence of husband or son. The heritors in general also still wielded power, which came with the responsibility of financial support from the parish. Such parishes as did not cultivate the heritors very soon found themselves without a minister. The provision and upkeep of manses and, to a lesser extent, churches was often weaponised in the battle between the church and the landowners in a parish.

As time went on, the appointment of probationers to charges was augmented by that of ordained men being ‘transported’ from elsewhere. This was a process potentially fraught with delay, sometimes of years. Certain parishes made it clear that they did not consider themselves as suitable for the newly ordained; the result of this was a plethora of appeals which went to the General Assembly and cast considerable light on local conditions. Stirling and Alloa made their cases for experienced ministers, but so did parishes such as Kilmadock on the highland line and therefore a bastion against the Jacobites, or so the inhabitants said. The process could be robust. Members of Presbytery considering the case of Kilmadock, whose minister was sought by Alloa, were threatened with physical violence. When, having lost that battle, Kilmadock sought the transportation of the minister of Tulliallan, the Presbytery Officer was physically assaulted and sent on his way without formally serving the papers. The language used in the appeals themselves can be quite forthright, as when the Kirk Session of Kilmacolm accused the Burgh of Stirling of behaving like a spoilt child in wanting to call their minister.³²

These processes of appeals can also serve as windows into the congregations inasmuch as the petitions which often are part of the paperwork show a little of the social conditions of the time. The petition of the coal-hewers and saltworkers of Tulliallan in 1701 for example shows how groups often thought of as marginal or excluded might, in fact, play their full part in their local church

community.³³ The way that the church courts dealt with these appeals, the wordings and reasons for appeal, and of course any pattern of results, might well make a fruitful topic for future study; ‘the greater good of the church’ was a well-used mantra but the way that that good was perceived could vary substantially.

Between the presbytery and the General Assembly in the hierarchy of church courts was the synod, in this case, the Synod of Perth and Stirling, encompassing five presbyteries. Research on the working of Presbyterianism in Scotland has virtually ignored the existence of the synod. A fairly superficial investigation into the working of the Synod of Perth and Stirling shows it to have been a body with specific issues. Meeting twice a year for several days each time, it rotated round the seats of the various presbyteries and it is clear that the location played a major influence on membership.³⁴ All ministers and the elders elected to presbytery were members of the synod, but few elders attended, and never in the absence of their minister. Ministers themselves were clearly reluctant to travel the distances involved. This meant, for example, that the synod meeting in Perth was largely dominated by the greater numbers of ministers of Perth Presbytery. Consistency between consecutive synod meetings did therefore suffer. On the other hand, the synod did have a very much more business-like approach than the lower courts. Minutes were approved promptly, committees reported timeously, communication with neighbouring synods was kept up so that each knew what was happening round about. In addition, the constituent presbyteries’ records were inspected meticulously and decisions questioned where they were suspect. In contrast presbyteries’ and sessions’ minutes were rarely formally approved, with presbyteries only getting sight of session minutes on rare occasions often after months of effort (and this attestation became rarer as time went on) and contact between neighbouring presbyteries was minimal.

Bill Inglis’ article on Dunblane Kirk Session³⁵ comments upon the diminishing social status of the eldership in that parish. This seems to be borne out elsewhere. Pardovan’s *Collections*³⁶ makes the comment that elders should not be chosen from the lower strata of society, but there is a definite impression that the heritors who previously held a double role as elders were less engaged with the new ecclesiastical regime. A counter-argument to this might be found

in burgh churches such as Stirling, where the elders were likely to be chosen from the mercantile elite. The intention of Stirling Presbytery to ordain as elders certain high-status men from Stirling Castle led to conflict, but also led one area where higher status men took a full part in the running of the courts, with Ensign Traill and both Lieut-Col. John Erskines³⁷ being active in session and presbytery affairs. Stirling does seem to have been an exception though.

The Restoration period minutes of Port of Menteith³⁸ show the Kirk Session of 1668 to have included the Earl of Menteith, Lord Cardross, Sir William Graham of Gartmore, Walter Graham of Gartur and four other heritors. Lest anyone think that these were token memberships, it was made plain that non-attenders were to be fined £10 Scots, a not insignificant sum for those elders who were less prosperous. Interestingly the Kirk Session included both Lord Cardross who was to lead a body of his tenants in support of the Covenanter Army, and the Earl of Menteith who was assiduous in assisting King Charles attempts to arrest covenanters.

In contrast, the first post-Revolution Session had only one heritor, Henry Dow of Wester Poldar, a 'bonnet laird' with one of the smallest landholdings in the parish. Similar to Lord Aberuchill's relationship with Dunblane parish (on whose behalf he attended presbytery as the elected elder but rarely attended the session), Henry Dow was Port's elected elder for the Synod and for Presbytery on almost every occasion but he too rarely attended session meetings at this period.³⁹ After 1697, the Port of Menteith elders do include several who were artisanal rather than agricultural and also appear in the records contracted to undertake joinery and blacksmithing work for the church.

The reason for this lack of elders' involvement in the higher courts is plain to see: unlike session meetings, presbytery meetings were held through the day and at a distance, occasionally going in to a second day, Synod meetings could be at a still further distance and lasted several days. It was not financially feasible for elders dependent on the work of their hands to attend. It is worth mentioning that although ministers were censured for non-attendance at presbytery or synod, sometimes explicitly being given inconvenient tasks to undertake, elders were never mentioned. Some petitions to the General Assembly do mention the

difficulty which ordinary heads of family had in making their case to meetings of Synod because of the time involved.⁴⁰ Thus the numbers of elders attending was very low and their influence negligible, although with certain exceptions such as Lord Aberuchill who did wield considerable power.⁴¹

Session meetings were frequently held on Sundays after the morning diet of worship although not all churches followed this pattern. Two observations fall from this: attendance of elders at morning sermon was very patchy and this suggests that overall attendance was very far from universal. Secondly although certain business such as distributing poor relief and brief discipline cases might be dealt with on a Sunday, major 'secular' decisions tended to be reserved for weekday meetings. This might include the examination of accounts, the payment of salaries and major discipline cases requiring witnesses. Aside from Sabbatarian considerations, this might simply reflect the time constraints imposed by an afternoon sermon.

Alistair Mutch's book, *Religion and National Identity*,⁴² proved a useful source and comparator for consideration of the local patterns in church governance and many of the issues identified in his book can be identified in the records of the two presbyteries examined in *SPR*. The presbyterial visitation was a heavily used tool in the early years after 1690, although never as regular or universal as was hoped. Mutch examined such events closely, and within the local area, they do give insight into the issues faced in the parishes. This was one occasion where heritors and elders attended in significant numbers and tensions can be seen, although it has to be said that some heritors simply did not recognise the court and stayed away. From these visitations can sometimes be seen the difficulties which ministers faced in the upkeep of a manse, the problems of dislodging unsatisfactory schoolmasters, but also the pressures which ministers were under with low attendances leading to discouragement.

Another topic which was dear to presbyterial visitations was the holding of the sacrament of Communion. At the Revolution, the neglect of the sacrament was one of the charges levelled against many episcopal incumbents: post-Revolution it was a matter of concern to the presbyteries that it took so long for some parishes to make arrangements celebrate the Lord's Supper. Visitation records

do remind ministers strongly of their duty and are critical of those who had not celebrated the sacrament for several years. In one sense that is easy to understand: ministers who had not had the chance to get to know their congregations were unwilling to risk the unworthy receiving the sacrament, many churches did not have their own utensils or tables and had to borrow them, the expense of the elements was another factor.

News that a Communion season was being planned did concentrate the mind however. Baillie Burd in Stirling had been suspended from the eldership for beating his wife in 1697, but when the Communion season was mooted, he petitioned to be allowed to take his place in the proceedings, a petition which was granted.⁴³ Disruption was feared at such occasions, as the records show, but there seems to have been none locally, and the excesses of the 'Holy Fair' which became part of both Scottish and American religious experience did not seem to occur locally. The first local Communion to be described by outsiders was not until 1728 and the author does comment that it was observed with propriety.⁴⁴ However the detail accorded to Communion arrangements in the records of Stirling Parish Church do show the centrality of such events. Elders were given particular tasks according to their social status and the affair essentially became a piece of municipal theatre calculated to cement and demonstrate the mutual dependence of council and kirk, with national government represented in the conspicuous involvement of those elders who were army officers. Equally detailed but smaller scale celebrations are described in other records although not everywhere.⁴⁵ The reluctance to hold the sacrament is also highlighted in visitation records.⁴⁶ One discovery late in the research process and with fuller access denied by COVID closures, was a volume in the NLS which detailed both the sermons, and much more unusually, the preamble, before each minister took his table at a meeting-house communion in Edinburgh in 1688. This volume included several of the ministers who were later to re-occupy their pulpits in the Stirling/Dunblane areas but its importance lies in presenting a much more complete idea of the whole event and as such is deserving of specialised study.⁴⁷

Important in the life of the community as these celebrations of the sacrament were, how they impacted on the people involved is much harder to quantify. The ministers themselves left comments; within the geographical confines of this

study, we have Turnbull's description of the encouragement which he felt from a 'successful' service. Lay impact is harder to find, but the memoirs of Elisabeth West and Elizabeth Cairns both bear witness to the effects specific services had on them. West, an Edinburgh based servant, did in fact hear Turnbull in his later, Tynninghame, ministry, while Cairns, also of working class, was from Auchterarder but gave her views on an unidentified Stirlingshire 'occasion'.⁴⁸ While there is no doubt that both could be deeply affected by the trappings of the event, it was the words which had the greatest impact. However, it was an impact which could be quite short lived, especially in the case of West. It is also clear that neither West nor Cairns was typical of their social circle, any more than someone like Thomas Boston was of ministers in general. From the sources it is apparent that their reactions were highly individual and private and therefore are only tangential to the literature and narrative of 'revivalism'.

If the sacrament of Communion was a rare event of great local import, baptism was much more commonplace and frequent. Like marriage, it tended to be polarising in that it asked the adult participants to recognise the reality of a Presbyterian ministry. For those who did not, the inconvenience and potential censure of arranging an irregular baptism with a cleric of the old regime would have been a deterrent at least to some extent. As a means of showing support for the pre-Revolution regime, there is some evidence that local agents encouraged and enabled a minor industry among deposed episcopal clergy. As a side issue of baptism and of the records kept, the numbers recorded in individual parishes can be used to give some idea of the levels of famine experienced in the 1690s as birth rates inevitably fall in the wake of dearth. Curiously however, rates of marriages did not seem to suffer.⁴⁹

The sacrament of Communion, of course, was essentially occasional. Special sermons were preached at the communion season, and it is these and other 'occasional' sermons which form the greater part of such sermons as were published, and indeed of those where manuscript copies were preserved. This then raises the question of what the week-to-week diet of scripture exposition was. In addition, the 'lecture' which was so much a feature of Presbyterianism and for that reason banned in that form during episcopal times, was largely unpublished and unlike the sermon had no long-term currency.

George Turnbull was highly unusual in that he noted in his diary his header texts for both lecture and sermons each week. Over the fourteen years of his diary in different parishes, these 800 sermon headers and 400 lecture topics give some idea of how he used scripture. Elsewhere such header texts for sermons were sometimes recorded in Kirk Session minutes, and so it was possible to place Turnbull's usage against both an episcopal minister and a Presbyterian one in Saltoun parish in East Lothian.⁵⁰ In addition a group of twelve sermons and six lectures from 1691 survive in manuscript and give an idea of how Turnbull preached. These header texts were analysed and present an approach to the practice of preaching which has not previously been examined. Naturally, though, preaching would draw its material from many other texts of scriptures than just the header. It is possible to identify a considerable number of areas which Turnbull ignored, the books of Daniel and Leviticus, and all the history books of the Old Testament amongst others. More surprisingly Turnbull almost never took as his start point any of the direct teaching of Christ or any of the parables in the New Testament. To a very considerable extent Turnbull's header texts rely on the Psalms, Isaiah and the epistles, both Pauline and other. His 'occasional' sermons used a rather different repertoire of texts although still with a heavy reliance on Psalms. These findings are not inconsistent with the samples considered from Salton. Incidentally, although the practice of a lecture covering a substantial portion of scripture as distinct from the sermon based on a single verse was seen as peculiarly presbyterian, the afternoon sermons preached by the pre-Revolution episcopal minister in Saltoun also covered whole chapters while morning ones were based on a single verse. Perhaps this was the 'lecture' in another guise.

A second analysis of sermons in *SPR* considers the actual wording of the texts and how Turnbull's emphasis changed over time, with his later Tynninghame sermons being much less concerned with the anger of God and repentance. This may be in part because with a much smaller congregation there than in Alloa, he had fewer miscreants to admonish and exhort to repentance. A final aspect of the sermons worth noting is to trace events in the parish to the header texts used. A couple of times this is mentioned explicitly in Turnbull's diary, but in other instances, placing the diary alongside the session record shows how he

might, for example, use the death of someone who was under discipline to reflect on the wider implications. One thing which is entirely lacking is any sense of baptisms being accompanied by any sermon relevant to that sacrament.

Of course, the re-establishment of Presbyterianism did not mean the disappearance or conversion of supporters of the old regime. The evidence for their activities is fragmentary, but four parishes remained under episcopal ministry, Bothkennar in Stirling Presbytery and three in Dunblane Presbytery: Aberfoyle (which was the last parish in Scotland to 'fall' to Presbyterianism), Balquhidder and Callander. These last two called Presbyterian ministers in 1709/1710. Why Callander should have survived as long is unclear. It had been under crown patronage but presumably the heritors wielded the power. Aberfoyle and Balquhidder both retained their men, and indeed Aberfoyle appointed another despite being under the control of nominally Presbyterian magnates, the Marquesses of Montrose and Atholl.⁵¹ The motives in both cases are known, in the former the minister appointed had protected Montrose's father in earlier times, and in the latter, Atholl believed the ability to preach in Gaelic, the language of the parish, was more important than the form of church governance. Bothkennar was different, and seemed to act as a centre of Episcopalian resistance for the neighbouring area. Nonetheless, the evidence of the Communion silver shows that, like any Presbyterian church, it was governed by a Kirk Session into 1700s, although the identity of the elders is not known.

The episcopal former incumbents in the two Presbyteries fall into two camps; those who accepted the situation, remained in their parishes as long as they were allowed and those who formed a semi-underground church based in 'meeting-houses' with the support of sympathisers. One example of the former was James Lindsay, minister of Alva, where the Session Minutes describe a peaceable and dignified hand-over to the returning 'antediluvian', Richard Howieson. When Howieson moved on, Lindsay took possession again until finally leaving, possibly of his own accord, a year or two later. Others were less compliant, James Hunter, former minister of the 2nd charge of Stirling was a constant thorn in the flesh of the Presbyterians in Stirling and St Ninians.⁵² Although there is a little evidence for a cohesive group of the compliant clergy, the bulk of the evidence is for the resistant group largely because of Jacobite

sympathies of them and their supporters kept them in the public eye. The abortive rebellion of 1708 involved some young men based locally who were first taken to London and then returned to Edinburgh for a trial where the case was found not proven.⁵³ In some areas there was undoubted support for Jacobitism from the landholders, for example the Sheriff Depute of Stirling allowed a meeting house on his premises in 1709. But equally there was support from further down the social scale shown by cases in both church and civil courts involving 'ordinary' people, especially recorded in Stirling.

Quantifying such support is impossible, although the argument from the Alva accounts quoted previously is an attempt to do so at a very localised level. The pre-Revolution regime was largely similar to its successor liturgically, with earlier attempts to impose a prayer book being abandoned, however by this time, the English prayer book was beginning to be looked on as desirable and there were attempts to introduce it locally. One thing entirely lacking in the surviving evidence is any sense that bishops had any part to play in the lives of local Episcopalians.⁵⁴

The growth of toleration during the reign of Queen Anne undoubtedly led to a resurgence in Episcopalian views early in 18th century and perhaps a tendency towards English episcopal practices rather than the native ones. The Moderator of Dunblane presbytery lamented the fall-off in attendance of landowners,⁵⁵ while the Earl of Mar was seen attending the meeting-house in Stirling as well as attempting to appoint an Episcopalian chaplain to Stirling Castle. It is clear from his 'Legacies', that it was the English form of service which attracted Mar to Episcopalianism although he attended his local parish church sporadically to mollify the minister.⁵⁶

Church discipline had a major impact on the lives of everyone in the years around 1700. The question arises as to whether it changed in intensity, practice or scope in the years that followed William's accession. Allied to that is whether any changes were as a result of the change in regime or simply natural development. With one exception, there does not seem to have been a huge change. The one practice which was lost was the use of church discipline as a political weapon as it had been under Charles II. No longer was church

attendance, and especially attendance at Communion, a test of whether people were covert Presbyterians. Nor was there any trace of such practices being followed against Episcopalians. The printed Port of Menteith records from the 1660s/70s seem to imply a strictness about attendance at Kirk Sessions which Presbyterian sessions never aspired to and the later minutes there show a very sporadic attendance of some elders and no censure for absence. The index to the St. Ninians minute book⁵⁷ gives a relatively easy guide to the prevalence of offences over time and suggests no great change. Different parishes, though, had different styles of offence, or perhaps different toleration levels. Flyting, abuse, slander all seem much more prevalent in the Clackmannanshire parishes, whereas in Stirling such cases tend to be found in the civil courts. Dunblane had the interesting attempt to deflect a church case by a counter claim in the Commissary Court. Fornication however was fairly general everywhere, but again with variations in treatment and sanctions applied. Attitudes to failings by the powerful also varied, landowners and their sons and daughters regularly appeared before Kirk Sessions, and often sent up the line to presbyteries. There is no sense that they were treated more leniently or less so as a result.

The scale of sanction was, however, not consistent. Adultery in Stirling Burgh met with a far more rigorous penitential process than in some rural parishes. Unusually, though we can hear the voice of the penitent in a case in Clackmannan where the woman involved petitioned for release on the grounds of the effect on her health caused by appearances before the congregation. At the lower end of offences, fines exacted might in some parishes be different for men and women. In addition, the woman's fine for fornication might, on occasion, be paid by the father, especially if he was her employer as so often was the case.

Supernatural offences were almost non-existent; there was no witchcraft case in either Presbytery after 1659. This is the more surprising when the new minister in Stirling in 1703, James Brisbane, had been a major figure in prosecuting the Renfrewshire witchcraft case in 1696/7 while Patrick Couper, minister of the Bannockburn meeting-house and briefly of St Ninians was later embroiled in a case in Pittenweem. There were sporadic cases of divination recorded in Larbert and Clackmannan and the usage of pre-Christian charms at weddings in Port of Menteith, but none of these attracted heavy penalties. The existence of a spirit

world was however also accepted by Robert Kirk, episcopally appointed minister of Aberfoyle, whose studies on the subject were published long after his death.⁵⁸

The relationship between ecclesiastical and civil courts remained nebulous. As well as the instances mentioned above, the post-Union circuit courts very quickly undermined the ecclesiastical courts for no apparent reason. Levack's article⁵⁹ on the sitting of the Court at Perth and its wholesale abandonment of cases in 1709 shows many local cases involved. That abandonment, however, was presaged by a less radical but similar 'lack of probation' in 1708.⁶⁰ Many local cases which had transferred from presbytery to civil jurisdiction were abandoned with no case being offered, including cases of adultery and bestiality. The only case which the court considered at length was a child murder in Logie. This was a sudden change of policy and it involved as a judge, Lord Grange, brother of the Earl of Mar and, unlike his brother, a noted pro-Presbyterian. It is not clear why it happened, as shortly before the court had been willing to apply civil penalties to an adulteress in Glasgow before handing her back to ecclesiastical courts.

Mention has been made of the Gaelic speaking nature of several parishes in Dunblane Presbytery.⁶¹ Three remained in episcopal hands and through the Presbytery records the efforts to bring a Presbyterian to Balquhider in particular can be seen to have taken a great deal of time and energy. The Balquhider case was the only time that Gaelic speakers appeared in presbytery.⁶² The whole national question of sourcing Gaelic-speaking (or at times any) ministers for the highlands was a fraught one. Atholl's treatment of Dunblane's efforts shows the extent to which the power of the magnate was very much in evidence. Of the two Presbyterian parishes, only a fragment remains of Kilmadock's records,⁶³ but Port-of Menteith had both minutes and accounts from 1697, when the Presbyterian, Arthur Forbes, was ordained. Forbes was not a Gaelic speaker and indeed there was a major split in the parish after he died in 1724 as to whether a Gaelic speaker should be called.⁶⁴ Within the record there is virtually no trace of any language other than English, there is a higher proportion of Gaelic names and an inconsistency in spelling them but that is the limit of it. Local discipline cases have occasional mention of charming and gestures used at weddings so there were some vestiges of older folklore

surviving. The propensity of the Graham family to reproduce in Port of Menteith was remarkable; the preponderance of 'Graham' as a name within the fornication cases suggests that some form of *droit de seigneur* or at least a more lax regard to marriage was prevalent. In the hearth tax records, 11% of households were headed by a Graham, but in the following 15 years, nearly 30% of fornication cases involved a Graham. It should be noted that not all of these were fathers and not all were higher status; some were described as servants, although it is possible that these were the children of the middling sort sent out to improve their manners. Whether this was indicative of a more widespread south highland moral framework or a parish-specific aberration is outwith the scope of this work.

The issue of Gaelic speaking was to become a major source of local polarisation after Forbes death and the resulting paperwork of petitions and counter petitions has been used to quantify the extent of the language in the parish at that time.⁶⁵ Within the timeframe of *SPR*, however, evidence from General Assembly papers suggests that those who did not understand English simply went to neighbouring parishes for their worship.⁶⁶ This is itself a rather surprising acceptance as several of these parishes were in the hands of Episcopalian 'intruders' and some criticism of this might have been expected. There is some evidence however of marriages between the inhabitants of Drymen and Port of Menteith, so perhaps they went there. Reporting from the neighbouring parish of Kincardine, but on behalf of Dunblane Presbytery, Matthew Wallace also claimed that there was no survival of pre-Christian/Reformation marriage practices.⁶⁷ This is clearly incorrect by the evidence of Port of Menteith. The national attitude to Gaelic and its place in worship is one which extends well beyond the confines of *SPR*. Locally it was potentially important but largely ignored.

The Union of Parliaments has been a particularly fruitful research topic in recent years with major contributions by Karin Bowie, Alisdair Raffe and Jeffrey Stephen.⁶⁸ The Church of Scotland's part in the campaign of petitions presented to the Scottish Parliament in 1706 is one part of the historical debate. The question is to what extent to which 'parish' petitions owed their existence to the local kirk session and minister or whether they were 'parish' only in the sense of emanating from within that community. Bowie's work on the texts of

the petitions transcribed and compared the texts, showing relationships between them, went some way to identify some of the signatories.⁶⁹ *SPR* takes this further and examined the local lists of signatories in more minute detail as well as looking for evidence in the church records. As a result it can be shown that in Clackmannan Parish, the Kirk Session paid the petition fee of a guinea sterling, in Logie, the minister and elders were ‘headlining’ the signatories while in Tulliallan, the Kirk Session, though further down the list, signed as a group and also attested the signatures of illiterate supporters. (It is worth noting that the petitions regarding the Union as well as those regarding the transportation of ministers give a useful insight into the extent of male literacy) The petition of the Presbytery of Dunblane, can be shown to have been initially signed only by all the ministers of the Presbytery, with three elders’ signatures from Logie and Tulliallan being added even although none of the three were present at any recent presbytery meeting. All three appear on their local parish lists, and it may be surmised that they were transmitted to Edinburgh at the same time.

The petition of the Burgh of Stirling is different, with the Kirk Session not signing as a group and the ministers not signing at all. The main sponsor of the Stirling petition was however John Erskine of Carnock, formerly an elder in the Burgh church though by that stage residing in Culross. Erskine was in fact one of the main opponents of the Union and had a hand in drafting two other petitions.

One aspect of the petitions which does not seem to have been considered is the proportion of the population who signed. Despite Lanarkshire and the south-west of Scotland being considered the main source of opposition to the Union, comparison of the number of signatories put against the population figures given by Webster 49 years later shows that opposition was at its greatest in some of the parishes around Stirling. Further examination shows a link between petitions and the absence of strong landlords in support of the Union. Where there were pro-Union landlords, such as the Earl of Mar in Alloa, Sir John Erskine of Alva, and several others, petitions against the Union were not in evidence. Moving away from the formal church records to evidence from other sources, the ministers of both Alva and Alloa claimed in letters to Mar that they were in support of the Union.⁷⁰ This is particularly significant in that the contemporary accounts of Daniel Defoe, refer to ‘a country Parson who preach’t yesterday at

the High Kirk before the commissioners, Made his wholl sermon a bald allegory against the Union'. The minister in question was in fact. John Logan, minister of Alloa and his sermon simply raised the concerns of the clergy generally, concerns which were largely answered (in theory) by the separate Act of Parliament prior to the Union. It is inconceivable that Mar would have allowed his minister freedom to preach in the way which Defoe described. Logan was later to seek credit for persuading the Presbytery of Stirling not to petition Parliament but instead send its reservations to be incorporated with the final petition of the Commission of Assembly.

One side issue made clear by all the comings and goings over the Presbytery petitions is to show that the non-ministerial members of the two presbyteries were entirely sidelined by the ministers with Dunblane considering the matter at a meeting for Private Censure which elders did not attend, and Stirling deciding its approach at meetings which were not even constituted as formal presbytery meetings and appear only in the evidence of letters.

It is inevitable in the field of church history that the author's own background plays its part. In the case of *RDD*, the Presbyterian bias can legitimately be said to reflect the demographic importance of that strand of history, although one reviewer did think too much space was devoted to miniscule splinter-groups. In a work written for the general reader, descriptions of miniscule splinter groups are sometimes the most intriguing.

As the first work for over 50 years to attempt a fairly comprehensive picture of all the strands that made up Scotland's faith journey in the 400 years it covered. It presents that overview in a deliberately accessible style but also gives due emphasis to those traditions which are less linked to the core Presbyterian narrative of the Scottish church. Taken as a whole *RDD*, tried, and possibly succeeded, in dealing even-handedly with all major traditions in way that its predecessors did not. As such it is therefore a significant contribution to the national historiography.

SPR, perhaps also reflects its author's Presbyterian background: it could be accused of being history written by the winner, and it might be that an Episcopalian considering the same sources might present different emphases but

they would probably come to the same conclusions. However, the old Scots proverb holds true: ‘Facts are chieils that winna ding’ and the book presents a closely argued, evidential basis for considering the actual workings of the two presbyteries and their constituent parishes on the ground. Some attempt has been made to give a voice to the people who made up the communities, but that evidence is necessarily thin. Their voices can largely be heard only through the medium of church records, civil court records, and much more rarely, letters and memoirs. However, these voices had hitherto remained silent. It is this concentration on the actual workings of the church as they affected the people who comprised the greatest part of the church that makes *SPR* stand out from other historical work on the period and gives it an importance which goes well beyond the area of its narrative.

How representative the bounds of the two Presbyteries were of the whole nation is perhaps debatable, yet many of the themes of national history have their local counterparts: the urban/rural divide, the lowland/highland divide, the status of Gaelic, the covenanter legacy and the beginnings of commercial and industrial development. It is to be hoped that *SPR* might act as a catalyst for more research in a number of themes which have been explored at a local level.

One such issue is the matter of Turnbull’s sermons in Alloa. *SPR* provides an analysis of his header texts both in Alloa and in his subsequent charge. Much of the existing information and research is centred on ‘occasional’ sermons with week-to-week preaching being neglected. What this analysis does is provide a new framework for further exploration of the weekly spiritual fare of congregations on a wider geographical basis. The work done already for the book, on both Turnbull’s preaching and on the two periods analysed in Saltoun show common characteristics in the approach to New Testament epistles and in the relative lack of use of the gospels. The quantitative approach used can also be combined with examination of the twelve early sermons which survive.⁷² Looking at the wording of header texts in detail, *SPR* also casts light on the relationship between preaching and the internal life of the parish. Although much of the preaching was sequential, working through chapters verse by verse through the weeks. The breaks and exceptions show where local factors suggested a different text to the preacher.

As neglected as the week-to-week sermon is the use of the lecture. The listing of Turnbull's lectures and the text of that group of six survivors gives a useful basis for further study. Few lectures were printed, and those that survive include hearers' transcripts from conventicles prior to the Revolution. Comparison between the two styles shows how the lecture had moved on. The fact that the episcopal minister of pre-Revolution Salton used his afternoon sermon to give what was very similar to Turnbull's type of lecture shows a similarity of approach which belies the pre-Revolution decrying of the lecture as a worship feature. A consolidated study of Turnbull's texts and his surviving sermons and lectures from 1691 was out with the scope of *SPR*, but would be a worthwhile contribution

In the same area of study, research into the theology of late 17th century communions would benefit from an edition of the manuscript which gives all the celebrants sermons and introductions at the meeting-house communion season in Edinburgh in 1688.⁷⁴

SPR is essentially a study of presbyteries and parishes and their workings, as was Alistair Mutch's book *Religion and National Identity*.⁷⁵ During the research, two topics were highlighted as lacking any cohesive recent body of scholarship, the operation of synods and of the Commissions of Assembly. To some extent the former was considered locally in *SPR* and showed that there were questions about the influences of location and membership on the debates of the day, on the relations between presbyteries with different priorities, and indeed of the whole operation of the court. The operation of the Commissions of Assembly which acted as the body which regulated the church is a much wider subject that deserves proper examination.

Another topic which might prove significant is the matter of transportation of ministers and resulting petitions to the General Assembly. These are of considerable interest in showing the priorities of parishes, the voices of the local people, the extent of literacy and many other aspects of church life of the time. One example from *SPR* is the insight the Tulliallan case of 1704 gives into the influence and attitudes of industrial labourers such as colliers and salt-workers.

At the more local level, and within the intentions of the author, there is scope for much further work on the records which have been preserved. Research on Port of Menteith Parish has been continuing with two papers on its session clerks/schoolmasters between 1697 and 1723 being written for the *Journal of the Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*.⁷⁶ Further work is intended on the differing ways that poor relief was administered in a group of parishes, also covering the ‘ill-years’ of the 1690s and the income from discipline cases, inter-parish migration as evidenced by testificats, patterns of illegitimacy, the mechanics of keeping churches wind- and watertight, the functioning of the eldership and several other minor areas.

At the core of the work however, is a wider question: what was the nature of post-revolution Presbyterianism in the area under consideration? In some ways, the differences between the two regimes can seem minute. Discipline barely changed, elders attended kirk sessions as they always had done, landowners pursued their own agenda in the higher courts, elders were now permitted to attend presbytery, synod and General Assembly, restoring a theoretical lay influence which had been lost, but few did. Only a small minority of elders such as John Erskine of Carnock and Lord Aberruchill had any influence in the higher courts. Furthermore, of those who did attend the higher courts, few were regular attenders of their own kirk session, a state of affairs which was to last for 150 years. Even in the selection of ministers, despite the suspension of patronage in 1690, it is clear that the people had not untrammelled choice in the minister’s selection. Indeed, even if landowners were not heavily involved, presbyteries were very keen to place their own candidates by *ius devolutione*, with the local congregation’s input limited to accepting the proposed candidate.

In terms of worship, the visible changes were relatively minor. The lecture came back, but possibly it was never truly away, simply transferred to the afternoon sermon. Public use of the Lord’s Prayer and the doxology lapsed. The style of preaching reverted to earlier times, although the extravagancies noted in *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*⁷⁷ seemed to go out of favour and the style of Turnbull’s sermons seem to have little in common with the Covenanter sermons recorded by their auditors. Still less do his lectures have much in common with those of, for example, Richard Cameron.

And yet in the response to the Union debate, it is clear that the defence of Presbyterian polity was a crucial aspect of the local petitions campaign both from the petitions which can be identified as having a church sponsorship and those with no church connection. There was an acute appreciation that the church was Presbyterian, beholden to no king and to no bishop but to a system of church courts formed of the church's own. This view is reinforced by the reported cases of flyting and small-scale violence that occurred when Episcopalian and Presbyterian individuals clashed. It was further to be reinforced by the identification of Presbyterianism with the government in power and of Episcopalianism with Jacobitism.

The Union was indeed to bring the challenges which the petitioners feared; toleration and patronage were just over the horizon. Yet the watering down of Presbyterianism did seem to go unchallenged by the people of the two presbyteries, who showed little sign of hankering after the Covenanter tradition represented by the United Societies and other neo-covenanter groups. Only with the Secession of the 1730s was Presbyterian dissent able to be harnessed behind Ebenezer Erskine and his associates.

Despite its local focus, *SPR* is therefore a significant work of national scholarship which adds detailed knowledge to the history of the Church of Scotland at a critical time and can be used as a starting point for further research.

Reviewing *SPR* in the *Scottish Historical Review*, Dr. Clare Loughlin described it as 'an impressively detailed study that does much to increase our knowledge of the church's workings at local level', going on to comment:

This is a meticulously researched study, and Muirhead's absorption in the records of Stirling and Dunblane is to be commended, underlined by the inclusion of multiple tables of data on baptisms, financial collections and other administrative matters. Muirhead also deserves praise for shedding some much-needed light on the role of the laity in the post-1690 church.⁷⁸

¹ The author's father, Ian A. Muirhead was Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow University between 1964 and his retirement in 1978. He passed on his love for the subject as well as his library.

² Muirhead, Andrew T. N., 'Religion, Politics and Society in Stirling during the ministry of Ebenezer Erskine' (Stirling Univ., M.Litt. with Distinction, 1983).

³ Burleigh, John H. S., *A Church History of Scotland* (London, OUP, 1960).

- ⁴ Drummond, Andrew L. and Bulloch, James, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843* (Edinburgh St Andrew Press, 1973), *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh St Andrew Press, 1975), *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900* (Edinburgh St Andrew Press, 1978)
- ⁵ Donaldson, Gordon, *The faith of the Scots* (London, Batsford, 1990).
- ⁶ *Records of the Scottish Church History Society 1923-2018, Scottish Church History 2019-and continuing.*
- ⁷ Specifically SCA CH2/026/6 Stirling Parish Kirk Session 1724-39, SCA CH2/026/5 Stirling Parish Kirk Session 1695-1701, SCA CH2/722/8 Stirling Presbytery minutes 1693-1701, including Dunblane Presbytery from 1693-1698., SCA CH2/722/9 Stirling Presbytery minutes 1701-12, SCA CH2/723/5 Dunblane Presbytery minutes 1698-1709, SCA CH2/1300/1 Port of Menteith Kirk Session and Accounts, 1697-1723.
- ⁸ Dawson, Jane E.E., Review of *Reformation Dissent and Diversity in Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 95(2), pp. 257-258.
- ⁹ Muirhead, Andrew T. N., *Reformation Dissent and Diversity*, Chapter 11, Pp. 189-200, 214-223.
- ¹⁰ Quoted on cover of RDD.
- ¹¹ Muirhead, Andrew T. N., *Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established; the case of Stirling and Dunblane, 1687-1710* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2021).
- ¹² Stirling Council Archives, (Hereafter SCA) CH2/026/6 Stirling Parish Kirk Session 1724-39.
- ¹³ SCA CH2/026/5 Stirling Parish Kirk Session 1695-1701. The records between 1701 and 1724 are sadly lost.
- ¹⁴ SCA CH2/722/8 Stirling Presbytery minutes 1693-1701, including Dunblane Presbytery from 1693-1698.
- ¹⁵ SCA CH2/722/9 Stirling Presbytery minutes 1701-12, SCA CH2/723/5 Dunblane Presbytery minutes 1698-1709.
- ¹⁶ SCA CH2/1300/1 Port of Menteith Kirk Session and Accounts, 1697-1723.
- ¹⁷ Mann, Alastair J., *James VII: Duke and King of Scots* (Edinburgh, Donald, 2014).
- ¹⁸ Raffe, Alasdair, *Scotland in revolution, 1685-1690* (Edinburgh, EUP, 2018), Raffe, Alasdair, *The culture of controversy: religious arguments in Scotland, 1660-1714* (Woodbridge, Boydell P., 2012), Stephen, Jeffrey, *Defending the Revolution: the Church of Scotland, 1689-1716* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013), Stephen, Jeffrey, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707* (Edinburgh, EUP, 2007).
- ¹⁹ Bowie, Karin, *Scottish public opinion and the Anglo-Scottish union, 1699-1707* (London, Boydell P. 2007).
- ²⁰ Bowie, Karin (ed.), *Addresses against incorporating Union, 1706-07* (SHS Ser.6, Vol.13, 2018).
- ²¹ Turnbull, George, 'The diary of George Turnbull, Minister of Alloa and Tynninghame 1657-1704' in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Volume 1* (SHS Ser.1, Vol.15, 1893).
- ²² NRS CH12/21/7 Sermons by Mr George Campbell and Mr George Turnbull.
- ²³ NLS MS 7591/1-5.
- ²⁴ Scottish Church History Society, Presidential Lecture, May 2016, and 'The Clergy in Early Modern Scotland', conference held in New College, Univ. of Edinburgh 12 May 2017.
- ²⁵ Boston, Thomas, *Memoirs of the life, times and writings of the Reverend and learned Thomas Boston ...* (Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1899).
- ²⁶ SCA CH2/1026/5 May 1699 and July 1700.
- ²⁷ MacDonald, Alasdair, Book review in *Journal of the Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, Vol 24.1 (2022) P. 52.
- ²⁸ SPR pp.227-8.
- ²⁹ Flyting is a form of formalised abuse which also forms the basis for some remarkable Scottish poetry of the Renaissance.
- ³⁰ Rule had been the minister of the 2nd charge in Stirling for a matter of weeks during the Protester controversy during the Commonwealth period but had later been inducted to Kirkcaldy from whence he was deprived.
- ³¹ SPR p. 28.
- ³² NRS CH1/2/4/1/91.
- ³³ NRS CH1/2/5/1/79.
- ³⁴ SPR Table 4.2 p. 81.
- ³⁵ Inglis, Bill, 'The impact of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, before and after 1690, on one parish: a case study of Dunblane kirk session minutes' *RSCHS*, Vol.33, (2003), pp. 35-61.
- ³⁶ Steuart of Pardovan, Walter, *Collections and observations methodiz'd concerning the worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1709).

- ³⁷ John Erskine, later of Carnock and his kinsman John Erskine, later stepfather of Sir John Erskine of Alva. Both were Deputy Governors of Stirling Castle, both were members of Stirling Kirk Session and both were Provosts of Stirling. Both retired to the same tenement in Culross in the fullness of time. The scope for confusion is considerable.
- ³⁸ Printed as: Stirling, William M., *Notes, historical and descriptive on the Priory of Inchmahome* (Edinburgh, 1815). Appendix VIII Pp. 167-179. The originals are lost.
- ³⁹ SCA CH2/1300/1 While the Kirk Session attempted to be represented at the Synod, the election of an elder to the Presbytery was rare. At a later period, Port of Menteith's Kirk Session was reduced to two elders including Dow and he then attended regularly to keep it quorate. This was chronologically outwith the time span of the book and established after publication.
- ⁴⁰ For an example, see NRS CH1/2/5/1/79 quoted above.
- ⁴¹ Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, raised to the Court of Session as Lord Aberuchill, was one of those lawyers who played a major part in strengthening the Presbyterian governance during the reign of King William.
- ⁴² Mutch, Alistair, *Religion and national identity: governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, EUP, 2015).
- ⁴³ SCA CH2/1026/5 30/06/1697, 06/04/1699.
- ⁴⁴ Muirhead, Andrew T. N., 'Eighteenth Century Occasions: Communion Services in Georgian Stirlingshire' *Forth Naturalist & Historian*, 15, (1992), pp. 87-98.
- ⁴⁵ SCA CH2/1026/5 May 1699 and July 1700, Stirling communion, SCA CH2/1001/1 22 July 1697, Logie communion.
- ⁴⁶ SCA CH2/723/5 19 May 1698 Dunblane Presbytery visitation to Tillicoultry.
- ⁴⁷ NLS MS 5770 Sermons and preambles at a Communion season in the Edinburgh Meeting-House, 1688.
- ⁴⁸ Cairns, Elizabeth, *Memoirs of the life of Elizabeth Cairns, written by herself some years before her death* (Glasgow, 1762), pp. 19-21, West, Elisabeth, *Memoirs, or spiritual exercises* (Glasgow, 1766) p. 6.
- ⁴⁹ *SPR*, pp.119-22. Various other factors also affected baptism rates, including vacancies and the assiduousness of the individual clerk so a drop in baptism rates does not necessarily reflect a drop in birth-rate.
- ⁵⁰ NRS CH2/322/3 The Presbyterian minister, Archibald Lundie, was known to Turnbull and on friendly terms if not close friends.
- ⁵¹ Both raised to Dukedoms in 1707 and 1703 respectively.
- ⁵² Hunter had already been suspended in episcopal times for drunkenness and was notoriously at odds with the minister of the 1st Charge of Stirling. See 'Episcopacy in Stirling' in *The Stirling Repository*, (Stirling 1908) pp. 213-237.
- ⁵³ The 'not guilty' was not available at this time; a case was proven or not proven. Curiously church courts did use the word 'guilty'.
- ⁵⁴ By 1714 the Bishop of Edinburgh was however involved in a discipline case in a meeting-house in Burntisland. NLS MS 7591/4.
- ⁵⁵ NRS CH2/30/3/283 29 Nov 1709.
- ⁵⁶ Mar, John Erskine, Earl of; 'Mar's legacies, 1722-1727' in *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warrington, 1639* Edinburgh S.H.S., Series 1, Vol.26. Pp186-7. This reference is not in *SPR* as it was only found after publication. Also Bodl MS Ballard 36 fo.136r.
- ⁵⁷ SCA CH2/337/4/1.
- ⁵⁸ Kirk, Robert, *The secret commonwealth of elves, fauns and fairies* (Edinburgh, 1815). It is worth noting as showing the continuity of belief, that one of the current local councillors has gone on record saying that he is still convinced of the truth of Kirk's assertions.
- ⁵⁹ Levack, Brian P., 'The Prosecution of Sexual Crimes in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland'. *SHR*, 89(2), (2010), pp. 172-19.
- ⁶⁰ JC13/1 Journal book of the western district Oct. 1708 to May 1709.
- ⁶¹ Specifically, Balquhider, Aberfoyle, Callander, Port of Menteith and Kilmadock. Neighbouring parishes such as Kincardine must presumably also have had 'invisible' Gaelic speakers as well.
- ⁶² CH2/722/8 18/08/1697.
- ⁶³ SCA CH2/212/2 (Includes 19th century transcript of 1693-1694 which is the only surviving record).
- ⁶⁴ Withers, Charles W. J., 'A Geography of Language: Gaelic-Speaking in Perthshire, 1698-1879' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 8(2), (1983), pp. 125-142. Withers, Charles W.J., 'Gaelic speaking in a Highland parish: Port of Menteith, 1724-1725', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 98(1), (1982), pp. 16-23.

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- ⁶⁵ Withers, Charles W.J., 'Gaelic speaking in a Highland parish: Port of Menteith, 1724-1725', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 98(1), (1982), pp. 16-23.
- ⁶⁶ NRS CH1/2/24/1/2/66-68 An answer to the objection against making the Bible in Irish as being prejudicial to the design of extirpating the Irish Language out of the Highlands of Scotland.
- ⁶⁷ NRS CH1/2/30/3/283 Letter from Matthew Wallace to Moderator, answering Assembly's queries. Dunblane 29/11/1709.
- ⁶⁸ See notes 18-19 above.
- ⁶⁹ See note 20 above.
- ⁷⁰ Muirhead, *SPR*. Pp 206-8.
- ⁷² CH12/21/7 Sermons by Mr George Campbell and Mr George Turnbull.
- ⁷⁴ NLS MS 5770 Sermon notebook 1688.
- ⁷⁵ Mutch, Alistair, *Religion and national identity: governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, EUP, 2015).
- ⁷⁶ Muirhead, Andrew T. N., 'At the pleasure of the Kirk Session, the paid employees of Port of Menteith Kirk Session. Part 1; 1697-1700.' *Journal of the Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, Vol 24.1 (2022) Pp. 29-36. Part 2, covering the period 1701-1723 is in preparation.
- ⁷⁷ Curate, Jacob, *The Scotch Presbyterian eloquence display'd, or, The foolishness of their teaching discovered from their books, sermons, and prayers, and some remarks on Mr. Rule's late Vindication of the kirk* (London, 1693).
- ⁷⁸ Loughlin, Clare, Book review in *Scottish Historical Review*, 101(2), (2022) pp. 352-354.