"THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MELVILLIAN MOVEMENT
IN LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY SCOTLAND"

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Chapter 9

THE MELVILLIAN CAMPAIGN

"Now if all doctrine frome pulpit sall be con-
trolled by the court where sall be found a
free speaking of the truthe and libertie of
the Word, wherwith the Lord blessed Scotland
in time bypast? If all judgement in
ecclesiasticall sessiouns may be stayed,
suspended and made null by these who are not
called to the spirituall governement, but
civill administration in the commoun wealth
what place sall be left to discipline, to
repentance, to removing of alanders from among
the middest of the Lord's inheritance?"

(James Lawson and Walter Balcanquhal, 1584;
Calderwood, iv. 99).

The implementation of the provisions laid down in the second
Book of Discipline together with the organisation of presbyteries
and the consequent eclipse of episcopal jurisdiction were all cardinal
aspects of the Melvillian campaign for the introduction of a classical
presbyterian constitution for the church. The Melvillian programme
had of course been ratified and approved by successive general
assemblies and there was at first little indication of the conflict
which was to emerge between church and state. The government did
not, for example, intervene in the assembly's decision of 1576 that
bishops should accept a congregational ministry; and many of the
bishops like Dunblane, Ross, Moray and Glasgow were agreeable to do
so though others like Patrick Adamson proved to be less compliant.¹

On being presented to the vacant archbishopric of St. Andrews
in 1576 Adamson firmly declined to submit to the assembly's juris-
diction and refused to accept a parochial ministry despite the

¹ See above, chapter 6, 174-5.
assembly's injunctions to that effect, and it was not until 1580 that he was finally compelled to adhere to the will of the assembly.¹ Similar proceedings were also instituted against John Campbell, bishop of the Isles, Alexander Campbell, bishop of Brechin, Neil Campbell, appointed to Argyll in 1580, and Adam Bothwell of Orkney and Robert Stewart of Caithness, two conforming bishops at the reformation, who had long abandoned any active ministry within the church; and whilst it is clear that the majority of these bishops did finally submit, the precise terms on which they did remain largely obscured, for the action allegedly undertaken by Adamson and the pro-episcopal group in 1584 in which they destroyed the documentary evidence of the bishops' submissions in 1580 together with other acts of assembly injurious to the episcopal cause did at least fulfil the function for which it was intended.²

After censuring usage of the style "bishop" and insisting that bishops in future "be callit be thair awin names, or Brethren in tyme comeing", the assembly of April 1578 prohibited chapters from proceeding to the election of any bishops before the meeting of the next assembly; it in turn forbade the election of any further bishops "for all tymes to come, ay and quhill the corruptioun of the Estate of Bishops be alluterlie tane away"; and the assembly of July 1580 proceeded to the logical conclusion and condemned diocesan episcopacy outright as having no authority in scripture, being merely a device

"brocht in by the folie and corruptions of mens invention to the
great overthrow of the Kirk of God". 1 It was of course one thing
for the church to decide that bishops should accept a congregational
ministry but its decision in 1580 to abolish diocesan episcopacy
altogether was quite another matter. Each of these enactments was
at heart a doctrinal or theological issue, within the church's com¬
petence, in which the government could expect to have little say, but
the latter claim for the complete extinction of the episcopate
constituted a direct threat to the machinery operated by the govern¬
ment and no government could afford to view with equanimity the
surrender of the last vestiges of its influence in a system of church
government which proclaimed a sovereignty and autonomy not of the
king's making. Unlike the old superintendent, the new bishop
exercised a temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction: not only
might he serve on the privy council, he was also expected to take his
seat in parliament, 2 and his presence there was almost indispensable
were parliament to continue to be (what the king called in 1605) "the
representative bodie of the state". 3

In any event, however, the approval of the government as well
as that of the assembly was obviously required before any decision
on the future of episcopacy could be finalised. As legal entities
the bishoprics continued in being and while the church possessed the
undoubted right to admit qualified candidates, it was still only the

1. B.U.K. ii. 404, 408-9, 413, 453; Calderwood, iii. 403-4, 411,
   469.
2. B.U.K. ii. 526, 527; Calderwood, iii. 578.
spiritual office and function to which a candidate was admitted that lay within the discretion and control of the church. Where the church declined or neglected to admit a candidate, the government had still recourse to its legal rights to present an individual of its choice to a bishopric and, though devoid of all spiritual office, that individual could nevertheless possess the revenues of the title and sit as a member of the spiritual estate in parliament.

It was at this point that the government showed itself wholly opposed to the direction upon which the church had set its course and taking up the assembly's challenge had proceeded to the appointment of an archbishop of Glasgow. Hitherto in April 1581 the privy council had agreed that:

"all benefices of cure presentlie vacand and that heirefter sal happen to vaik and be at his Hienes presentatioun afoir the first day of November nixtocum sall remane vacand and undisponit quhill the samyn day that in the meynyme it may be considerit and aggreit upoun the forme of dispositioun of the saidis benefices and the estate and qualiteis of the personis to quhom the samyn benefices and all uther that sal happen to vaik thairefter salbe disponit"

and in the following month the government had likewise indicated the necessity for a dissolution of "the ancient boundis of the diocyes". An abrupt change in the government's tactics did however occur in the summer of 1581 and at a time when the assembly was preoccupied with abolishing episcopacy and pressing ahead with plans for the erection of presbyteries, the government issued a licence to elect a successor

1. R.P.C. iii. 377; B.U.K. ii. 519.
2. R.P.C. iii. 383-4; B.U.K. ii. 519-21; Calderwood, viii. 35-6.
to Boyd as archbishop of Glasgow on 1 August 1581. But the refusal of all thirty members of the chapter to elect as archbishop Robert Montgomery, the crown's nominee, left the government with no option, short of acknowledging defeat, but to declare that the right of disposing the bishopric had devolved into the king's hands. The church replied by instituting proceedings against Montgomery. Yet in the very month in which the assembly required "that no acts be past in parliament repugnant to the true word of God, and namely concerning bishops with sharp admonitions therein to be pennit" by Andrew Melville and Thomas Smeton, the privy council went one step further and in October 1581 it provocatively approved the Leith agreement of 1572 for electing bishops and appointing candidates to benefices. Meanwhile in the assembly, Andrew Melville opened the case for the prosecution against Montgomery; and though forbidden by the king to proceed against him, the assembly in April 1582 finally declared Montgomery deposed and excommunicated "to the effect that his proud flesh being cast into the hands of Satan he may be win againe if it be possible to God". Apparently undaunted by the severity of the assembly's sentence, Montgomery obtained from the privy council in July 1582 a decree confirming him in his emoluments from the archbishopric.

1. Watt, Fasti, 151.
3. B.U.K. ii, 546; Calderwood, iii, 587.
5. Ibid. 476-7; B.U.K. ii, 524-5, 528, 533-4, 538, 541-2, 543-4, 545, 546-7, 557-62; Calderwood, iii. 577-83, 595, 596-8, 599-602, 605-6, 612, 619-20, 621-2.
Concurrently with the church's resolve to eliminate the episcopal office came the assembly's plans to proceed with the erection of presbyteries. As early as October 1580 a committee of assembly had been appointed to draw up plans for constituting presbyteries and with the meeting of the next assembly of April 1581 the king submitted for the assembly's examination "certaine rolls containing the planting of the kirks and the number of the presbiteries with the kirks of everie presbyterie". The government, after consultations with the church, also proposed to reduce over 900 parish churches to a mere 600 which were in turn "to be divydit in fiftie Presbyteries, twelve to every Presbytrie or therabout"; and after considering in some detail the plans for the creation of 53 presbyteries in all, the assembly decided in April 1581 to go ahead with the immediate erection of 13 model presbyteries in the lowlands "to be exemplars to the rest".

In accordance with the government's intention of revising the old diocesan and parochial boundaries to make way for the erection of a streamlined system of "presbyteries and elderships, constituted for a dossone parochins or therabout", the privy council in May 1581 appointed a group of lairds and ministers in the Haddington area - a district designated by the assembly for the creation of one of the 13 model presbyteries - to discuss the reorganisation of 18 parish churches in their area, and it cannot have been merely accidental

1. B.U.K. ii. 469-70; Calderwood, iii. 476.
2. B.U.K. ii. 475; Calderwood, iii. 516.
3. B.U.K. ii. 480; Calderwood, iii. 520.
4. B.U.K. ii. 482; Calderwood, iii. 523-4.
that these 18 churches should all have been churches included in the assembly's draft scheme of the preceding month for the creation of a presbytery at Haddington out of some 20 named churches in the surrounding district.¹ These developments in May, in effect, mark the preliminary work undertaken for establishing a presbytery at Haddington. The date on which the presbytery became operational is uncertain but if a comparison is made with Edinburgh or Stirling presbyteries, two model presbyteries erected on 31 May and 8 August 1581,² it would seem probable that Haddington presbytery along with other model presbyteries came into being at a fairly early date.

The active, and possibly uncharacteristic, co-operation and encouragement which the government gave to the assembly's proceedings at this point, in the period immediately before the Montgomery case, is perhaps best explained as simply political concessions by a government somewhat unsure of itself and of the policy it ought to pursue. Ultra-protestant feeling at the time was running high and the ascendancy of Esme Stewart, after Morton's downfall, with the ensuing popish scare had led in January 1580/1 to the signing of the Negative confession, a document scarcely excelled in its violent denunciation of all things popish.³

The government's initial concurrence in constituting presbyteries did not go unacknowledged by the church. The assembly in April 1581 thanked the king for his labours, and announced that

¹ B.U.K. ii. 485; Calderwood, iii. 523-4.
² Calderwood, viii. 34; MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August 1581.
³ Calderwood, iii. 502-5.
already "certan Presbyteries ar be them erected",\(^1\) while the following assembly of October 1581 which reaffirmed its hostility to episcopacy proceeded to review its plans for the further expansion of presbyterial organisation.\(^2\) That a number of presbyteries were already in operation in the Lothians may be inferred from the synod's recommendations to the assembly in October 1581 that schoolmasters be given a place on presbyteries, that a uniform order be adopted for summoning parties before presbyteries and that the designation of manses and glebes be recognised as falling within the jurisdiction of presbyteries.\(^3\) Further presbyteries, by April 1582, had been established at Ayr, Irvine, Linlithgow, Dunfermline, Perth, Dunkeld, Dundee, Brechin, Montrose and also in Tweeddale and Strathearn; preparations were in hand for founding a presbytery at Aberdeen; in the Mearns a presbytery of ministers existed "but not as yet of any Gentlemen or Elders"; and in St. Andrews there was established a presbytery "of Pastours and Teachers, bot not of these that hes not the cure of teaching".\(^4\) The idea, however, that presbyteries were intended to be purely clerical (or "ministerial") is simply fanciful. There may have been something of a reluctance on the part of elders to serve continuously on presbyteries and this may have lain behind the assembly's enactment of April 1582 when it was conceded that:\(^5\)

\begin{center}
"thair resort to the Presbyterie salbe no farther straitit but as the weightines and
\end{center}

\(^{1.}\) B.U.K. ii. 514; Calderwood, iii. 525.
\(^{2.}\) B.U.K. ii. 523-4, 530-3; Calderwood, iii. 587.
\(^{3.}\) B.U.K. ii. 535; Calderwood, iii. 589.
\(^{5.}\) B.U.K. ii. 567; Calderwood, iii. 616.
occasion upon intimation and advertisement made be the Pastours and Doctours sall requyre, at quhilk tyme they sall give thair godlie concurrence; exhorting them anywais that may commodiouslie resort to be present at all tymes."

In Stirling presbytery, however, where elders from the various local churches were appointed elders of the presbytery for life, the sederunts show the surprising regularity with which these life-elders attended meetings of the presbytery from 1581 until the onset of the "Black Acts" of 1584. A similar picture emerges in Dalkeith where elders attended meetings of the presbytery in the years immediately after its foundation, though admittedly it was sometimes necessary for the presbytery to remind elders of their duty to attend.

While the effect of the Arran regime discouraged the subsequent resumption of elders attending presbyteries, Edinburgh presbytery in October 1587 did nevertheless request the barons and gentlemen, initially chosen elders at the presbytery's erection, to be present once more at presbytery meetings. The church evidently viewed with concern the absence of elders from presbyteries and even although the king finally barred elders from presbyteries in 1597 the issue again

1. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August, 15 August, 22 August, 12 September, 10 October 1581; 16 January 1581/2.
2. Ibid. passim.
4. Ibid. fos. 25r, 29v. 6 September, 2 November 1582.
came to the fore in 1601 when Edinburgh presbytery decided to raise the matter in the synod of Lothian "that thair advyse may be had concerning the reparing of the unpreiching eldaris to the presbyteries according to the first institutionun".¹ This would effectively dispel any notion that presbyteries were designed to be purely ministerial from the outset and on the evidence available it would not be unrealistic to suggest that a majority of presbyteries at their erection consisted of elders elected for life as well as ministers.

As a competitor for the oversight hitherto exercised by an individual overseer, the presbytery proved a particularly useful instrument in the assembly's campaign against diocesan episcopacy. In October 1582 a group of presbyteries were empowered to proceed against the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Dunblane and the Isles.² Stirling presbytery in particular, to whom the bishops of Dunblane and the Isles were assigned for examination, had already taken action against Montgomery; and it was perhaps ironical that the presbytery, itself established by Robert Montgomery and Andrew Graham bishop of Dunblane,³ should find itself so soon after its creation instituting proceedings against its founder members.

Montgomery's principal offence in the eyes of the presbytery had of course lain in his attempts to "aspyr to the bischoprie of Glasgw" but a variety of other accusations were also levelled against him: the fellow members of his presbytery complained that "he was

¹ S.R.O. CH2/121/2. MS, Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 4 March 1601.
² B.U.K. ii. 593; Calderwood, iii. 681.
³ MS, Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August 1581.
bruittit with intemperance of his mouthe sa that sumtymis efter meikill drink his sensis wald feall him', that "his doctrein is not formall nor sensable to the commone pepill, and that his jestur in pulpet is nocht decent at sum tymis". Though he strenuously denied he was ever "swa ovircumit with drink that his sences faillit him", Montgomery did nevertheless confess "that sumtymis thruch laik of memorie and negligence in his studie ... he keipit not sic furmalitie and sensibilnes in doctrein" and he also agreed that "he hes bein sumtymis langer deteinit in cumpany than become him". When accused of "greid and avarice in taking xi merk for the hund. in contrarie to the commone ordur in the cultrie", Montgomery, by now worn down by the presbytery's relentless examination "did not proceislie deny the same bot said the mony that he haid layd on hand he hade gevin mair for viij merk not for x". The presbytery by one means or another, it would seem, was bent on discrediting Montgomery, whom it accused of stirring up "ane lamentablle schisme and trublle in the kirk", and the presbytery's actions in many ways anticipate the proceedings of the Glasgow assembly of 1638. Having condemned to its satisfaction, Montgomery's "insatiablle greid and stinking pryd", the presbytery rigorously proceeded against all resetters of the excommunicated Montgomery, including the bishop of Dunblane and dame Mary Douglas, countess of Menteith, and it viewed with grave suspicion a number of inhabitants of Stirling including two who had been "drinkand ane chopein of wyne in Michaell Gairdneris tavern at the quhilk tyme the said Mr Robert came in upone them" and another whom it accused of "talking with him and leding of his hors fra the toun
end of Striviling to the Parliament”. ¹

If the verdict in the Montgomery case was something of a triumph for the presbytery, the activities of the bishops of Dunblane and the Isles, which it proceeded to investigate, proved to be less reprehensible. Although nothing could be found "in his lyf bot godliness and honestie", Graham's reputation as a dilapidator was certainly confirmed after the presbytery examined his rental book,² but more unusual, perhaps, was the verdict in the case of the bishop of the Isles. A report from the presbytery of Glasgow found "no thing at all in lyf and conversation of the bishop of the Ilis in this our countrie bot honestie", and Stirling presbytery therefore absolved the bishop from all accusations lodged against him in the general assembly:³

"except the disjunction and separation of the abbacie of Icolmkill fra the bishoprick of the Ilis laitlie procurit be the said Mr Johnne as also ane confirmation gevin be him to the erll of Argyll of the landis of Skirkennyt quhilkis befoir was sett in few be Mr Johnne Carless his predecessur as he allegis and continewis the samin to the nixt generall assemblie of the kirk."

Unlike many of his colleagues, John Campbell, bishop of the Isles,

1. Ibid. 5 September, 12 September, 19 September, 10 October, 21 November, 28 November, 5 December, 19 December, 26 December 1581; 2 January, 6 February, 13 February, 27 February, 13 March, 20 March 1581/2; 17 April, 3 July, 17 July, 31 July, 7 August, 25 December 1582; 16 July, 23 July, 20 August 1583.
2. Ibid. 11 December, 18 December, 25 December 1582; 1 January, 8 January, 15 January, 22 January, 29 January, 1 February, 19 February, 26 February, 5 March 1582/3; 26 March, 16 April, 23 July, 20 August, 3 September, 24 September, 8 October, 3 December 1583; 14 January 1583/4.
3. Ibid. 11 December, 1582; 15 January, 22 January 1582/3; 26 March, 16 April, 9 July, 16 July, 23 July, 13 August, 20 August 1583.
does at least appear to have measured up to the reformers' ideal of the godly bishop.

Where presbyterial organisation was established the assumption of that jurisdiction hitherto assigned to commissioners went ahead uninterrupted. As early as April 1582 Stirling presbytery, and not the synod, appointed its own commissioners to the general assembly; in March 1582/3 the presbytery suspended a reader and then proceeded in the following July to deprive another reader outright; and by 1583 Stirling, Edinburgh and Dalkeith presbyteries were all conducting visitations. An unforeseen stimulus to the Melvillian campaign came as a consequence of political developments. In August 1582 the Lennox regime was suddenly overthrown by the Ruthven raid; and while personal and political factors contributed to forming the alliance of the Ruthven lords, many of the key figures in the new regime, like Gowrie, Glencairn and lord Lindsay, were staunchly protestant and Anglophile in outlook. The affiliations of many supporters of the Ruthven raid also uncover strong undercurrents of religious radicalism.

Adam Erskine, the commendator of Cambuskenneth, who together with his brother David, the commendator of Dryburgh, supported the Ruthven faction, was closely involved in ecclesiastical politics in the localities as an elder on Stirling kirk session and as an elder,

1. Ibid. 10 April 1582.
2. Ibid. 19 March 1582/3; 2 July 1583.
3. Ibid. 9 April 1583; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 459; S.R.O. CH2/424/1. MS. Dalkeith Presbytery Records, fo. 71r.-v., 27 June 1583.
elected for life, to Stirling presbytery and at national level in his appointment as a commissioner to the assembly. The same pattern also holds good for many of the lairds in the Lothians who stood in the reformation tradition and who were not only champions of the Ruthven raid but are likewise known to have been particularly active in the courts of the church: Andrew Ker of Faldonside, James Rig of Carberry, Cockburn of Ormiston, Richardson of Smeton, Alexander Hume of North Berwick and the lairds of Clerkington, Trabroun and Colinton all supported the Ruthven raid and are also known to have been commissioners appointed by presbyteries to attend the general assembly during the Melvillian ascendancy.

The complexion of the new administration which received a wide measure of popular support was undisguisedly sympathetic to the presbyterian movement. Symptomatic of this was the triumphal return to Edinburgh in September, with full government approval, of John Durie, the city minister, banished from the capital by the previous regime. What the new government did, once in power, was not so much to give legal countenance to the development of presbyteries but rather to issue a proclamation which was in general terms favourable to the Melvillian campaign. In it the government guaranteed the

1. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August, 5 December 1581; 27 March, 22 May, 19 June 1582; 15 January 1582/3; 30 July 1583; 3 March, 1595/6. David, commendator of Dryburgh, also appears in the sederunts on 12 February and 5 March 1582/3, though the reason for his attendance is unrevealed.

2. Calderwood, iii. 645-6.

3. See Appendix II.


5. Calderwood, iii. 650-1.
church's right to hold "generall, synodall and particular assembleis at all times convenient". ¹ This went some considerable way to recognising the church's autonomy which had always been at the very core of presbyterian theory; and if the Ruthven lords readily condemned the attempts of the last regime to silence the preaching of leading presbyterian ministers, ² so too did the assembly reciprocate the government's overtures and proceeded to justify the Ruthven raid as the "late actione of the Reformatione". ³

The palace revolution which thus gained the church's approval "brought a grait releive to the Kirk, and the honest breithring of Glasgw and Edinbrucht, that war soar troublit" by Lennox, but James Melville, when he came to write his diary, took pains to emphasise at the same time that the church was not an accessory to the coup d'etat itself: "the Kirk was nather art, part, read nor counsall in that mater, nather luiket for anie sic thing at thair being in St. Jhonstone". ⁴ In terms of statute law, however, the establishment of presbyterianism gained no further recognition if only because no parliament met for the duration of the Ruthven lord's ten months in power; and when reaction set in it took the form of the "anti-presbyterian dictatorship" of the Arran regime. Arran, who had been a principal accuser of Morton and a prominent member of the Lennox administration, was a man of unusual talents: he combined the attributes of a mercenary soldier with the merits of a good education,

¹. Ibid. 650.
². Ibid. 655-6.
³. B.U.K. ii. 594; Calderwood, iii. 677.
⁴. Melville, Diary, 134.
and he also possessed a vivacious and demanding wife whose voracity was perhaps excelled only by his own. Both were regarded as inordinately greedy. Even before his assumption to power in July 1583, Arran had already gained the reputation of being "a scorner of religion, presumptuous, ambitious, covetous, careless of the commonwealth, a despiser of the nobility, and of all honest men" and the assembly itself in April 1583 had condemned the misdeeds of "that ungodlie man".

If it did nothing else the Arran regime, by proscribing presbyterianism and establishing episcopacy, certainly brought into sharp focus two conflicting and irreconcilable theories about the very essence of the church's polity and constitution. Encouraged by Arran and recent developments, archbishop Adamson passed from defence to attack and, after a scathing assault on presbyterian theory, proceeded to give a terse and lucid exposition of his own views on church government which was the very obverse of everything for which presbyterianism stood. In a series of articles penned for the benefit and enlightenment of the churches of Geneva and Zurich and for the French church in London, Adamson expounded an ecclesiology which was deferential to monarchy, erastian in outlook, episcopal in form and essentially Anglican in spirit. He began by asserting that it lay within the prince's power to appoint a form of polity for the church, for the prince under Christ was chief head of the church as well as the state: his judgment was sovereign in

3. Calderwood, iv. 50-55.
both.\(^1\) Such a theory contrasted sharply with the views of both Knox
and Melville who claimed that it pertained not to kings to appoint
rules for the church since the laws of God and not of man were alone
applicable in such a situation.\(^2\) What Adamson was advocating, in
effect, was the notion of the "one kingdom" theory: that indivisibility
of sovereignty committed solely to the crown. Under the
king, the government of the church ought wholly to be committed to
diocesan bishops who alone would be empowered to conduct ordinations.\(^3\)

Adamson's rigid notions were of course quite out of keeping
with the reformers' essentially flexible ideas and downright contrary
to some of their proposals. In particular, the exclusive right to
ordain or inaugurate ministers which he attributed to bishops had
never been characteristic of the activities of superintendents, and
Knox himself had publicly inaugurated James Lawson as his successor
to the ministry of Edinburgh in 1572.\(^4\) By reasserting the traditional right of the pre-reformation bishops to a seat in parliament\(^5\)
— something on which even the convention of Leith remained silent —
Adamson at one stroke was reverting to a practice which could not but
lead to a confounding of the two jurisdictions which the first
reformers had sought to keep separate and distinct.\(^6\) Yet even
Adamson inadvertently came close to advocating a "two kingdoms"

\(^1\) Ibid. 53.
\(^2\) Knox, Works, iii. 41; iv. 232; v. 37, 515-16, 519-20; Calderwood, iv. 165.
\(^3\) Calderwood, iv. 53-4.
\(^4\) Bannatyne, Memoriales, 280-1.
\(^5\) Calderwood, iv. 54.
\(^6\) See above, chapter 5, 75ff.
theory of his own. His claim that bishops were of apostolic origin was radically incompatible with his suggestion that bishops were delegates of the crown. If the former statement were true then bishops possessed an authority outwith that invested in the crown and not of the king's making. In other words, they derived their authority immediately from the apostles, and presumably through them from Christ, and not intermediately from the crown. In establishing episcopacy, therefore, the king was consenting to that which he could not withhold. To assert all this, however, was to depart from the theory of the royal supremacy which Adamson was in the process of advancing, though possibly the logic of his implications had escaped him.

Bishops, the archbishop asserted, possessed an exclusive power of oversight and visitation, though he did allow that they might delegate their authority to others.¹ Here again, however, Adamson's ideas introduced an inflexible and dogmatic approach quite contrary to the whole character of the Scottish polity where the church or more usually the assembly (and not the superintendent) commissioned individuals to undertake the necessary supervisory functions. Reliance on an exclusive form of episcopal oversight, even after the convention of Leith, had never been a feature of the church's polity.² Visitation had always been regarded as a function delegated to a number of individuals by the general assembly which, as the supreme court, remained summus episcopus.

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¹. Calderwood, iv, 54.
Adamson himself had earlier declined to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of the assembly and the formulation of his attitude to the assembly was predictably stimulating. In effect, his proposals left no room for a regularly constituted general assembly, such as had been wont to meet, which he was intent on subverting.\textsuperscript{1} The autonomy and representative nature of the assembly, presided over by an elected moderator, where decisions were reached according to the will of the majority, had always thwarted unimpeded episcopal rule. Adamson therefore proposed to abolish the office of a rotating moderator. He wished, moreover, to bring to an end the assembly's autonomy and to reduce its status by having it meet only "upon a great and weightie occasioun", under licence from the prince, and by prohibiting it from formulating any enactments of its own save those which had the prince's approval. What Adamson seemed intent on doing, as was made explicit in 1584, was to transform the assembly into an exclusive "conventioun generall of clergie", an "assemblie of bishops or clerks", subservient to the king in parliament.\textsuperscript{2} It is significant, too, that after October 1583, no assembly met for the duration of the Arran regime. All this was completely at variance with the assembly's traditioal role, but if parallels are sought in England it is plain that Adamson's proposals were consistent with developments in England where the "submission of the clergy" in Henrician England brought to an end convocation's historic role as an independent legislature.

\textsuperscript{1} Calderwood, iv. 54.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid, 145-6; Melville, Diary, 196. See above, chapter 7, 303-4.
The participation of gentlemen and barons in presbyteries was also condemned by Adamson as introducing "a great confusion in the kirk, and an occasioun of continuall seditioun".\(^1\) His whole train of thought was towards the exclusion of the Christian community (other than the ministry) from a place on church courts and what he was advocating can only be described as a clerical oligarchy. Even more embarrassing were his views on the nature of the eldership which Knox and the first reformers had justified as an order which "O Lord, thou of thy mercie hea now restoired unto us agane efter that the publict face of the Kirk hes bene deformed by the tyranny of that Romane Antichrist".\(^2\) Provocative from the start, Adamson insisted that "seniors, or elders of the laick sort, are not agreeable with the Scriptures, nor ancient puritie of the primitive kirk".\(^3\) There was nothing in this which would have startled Whitgift, Bancroft or Bilson in England but Adamson's views were certainly novel in Scotland where they could scarcely be taken seriously. Even the godless Arran, for one, it should be noted, was not prepared to go along with Adamson's rather extreme notion of abolishing elders, for one of the actions which the new government took at a period when it was actively prohibiting presbyteries was to issue a proclamation allowing kirk sessions to function as they had done in the past.\(^4\)

While condemning elders, Adamson was nevertheless prepared to

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1. Calderwood, iv. 54.
3. Calderwood, iv. 54.
sanction the office of doctor but according to his own definition the doctors would have no say in governing the church and would likewise have "no power to preache, but by the appointment of bishops".  

Here was the archbishop's reply to Andrew Melville. No less intriguing were Adamson's views on the nature of the church's patrimony. With a reverence for statute law and constitutional procedure, he believed that it was no business of a reformed church to claim for her own the whole patrimony of the Roman church. Instead, he argued that it should be content to accept that which the laws of the land allowed; and, as was to be expected in the circumstances, he strongly supported patronage and the benefice system in its entirety. The appeal of his proposals, it is evident, was aimed particularly at the aristocracy and landed interest who could scarcely fail to be attracted by a philosophy which at one stroke would consolidate their social and political status in the localities. All this, however, was but one aspect of a many-sided conservative reaction which set in with Arran's rise to power.

In so far as his proposals were founded upon a recognition of the royal supremacy and upon an exclusive and uncompromising form of episcopacy, and in so far as they rested upon a repudiation of the eldership, a rejection of the separation and sovereignty of the two jurisdictions, and upon a denial of the assembly's traditional role, it is evident that in all this Adamson's novel theories were quite contrary to the main stream of Scottish reformed thought. The whole

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1. Calderwood, iv. 54.
2. Ibid. 55.
drift of his argument took no account of reformation principles and was in many ways the very obverse of that for which the first reformers stood. The tone and emphasis of his proposals were undisguisedly and unapologetically English, or more specifically, Anglican, in outlook. Nor is this surprising: his articles were initially formulated for consumption outwith Scotland, and Whitgift himself was amongst the recipients. On 31 October 1583 James had written to Elizabeth requesting a safe conduct through England for Adamson, who was one of James' privy councillors. The archbishop was said to have contracted a "langsum and dangerous disease" and was minded to go to Plumbers for his health but because of the high winter seas would have first to pass through England. It became clear, however, that diplomacy as well as concern for his health motivated Adamson’s journey to episcopal England. His object, according to James Melville, was "to practise the alteration of the haill esteat and discipline of the Kirk" and once there he "practised with the Bischopes for Conformitie, and gaiff tham dextra societatis". Nor does this account materially differ from that of another contemporary who, displaying no apparent presbyterian bias, wrote that:

"the King directit Patrick Archebishop of Sanctandrois to Inglend, to tak sure cognitioon of the ecclesiastical policie of that cuntrie, and to report the same to his Majestie at his returne, that he mycht

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2. C.S.P. Scot. vi. no. 684; cf. nos. 691, 696.
3. Melville, Diary, 141.
4. The Historie and Life of King James the Sext, 205. See also Melville of Halhill, Memoirs, 274-5.
frayme the kirk of Scotland conforme; but
this tuik na gude succes, for albeit this
Bishop was a man of rare learnynge, and of
excellent doctrine in the kirk, yet his
actions and proceedings in lyff and conver-
satiioun war nawayis correspondent; and the
baneist Ministers of Scotland had certefeit
sum of the counsell and prelatis of Ingland
heirof, sa that the man was the les regairdit
in his negociatioun."

Though his reputation may have suffered from presbyterian writers,
Adamson was not exactly suited to the role of an ecclesiastic and one
courtier, no less, had occasion to note his "lewd and indecent
behaviour" which had offended the ministry.¹

At one stage, it was even rumoured that Adamson would go to
Geneva and to "other reformed universities to know whether it stands
with God's Word that the Ministers may use such bold speeches against
Princes or not, the circumstances being considered".² Though he
was not exactly a stranger to Geneva,³ his reception there, had he
gone, could hardly have been cordial, for his own ideas on polity were
quite contrary to those of Beza.⁴ As it happened, Adamson contented
himself by writing instead to Geneva and Zurich, though his presence
in England did open the way for discussions with Whitgift, the new
archbishop of Canterbury. After delivering a message from James to
the English queen, Adamson applied to Walsingham for permission to
live for a spell at Cambridge or Oxford and he also asked for a

¹ David Moyses, Memoirs, 106.
² C.S.P. Scot. vi. no. 703.
³ As tutor to the eldest son of Sir James Macgill of Rankeillor,
Adamson went to France in 1566 and during his stay on the con-
tinent he visited Geneva and met Beza. D.N.B. i. 111-112.
⁴ See S.H.S. Miscellany, viii. 95-113.
licence to meet Whitgift. Although he succeeded in meeting the bishop of London, the archbishop of York and Whitgift himself, his diplomatic mission proved to be something of a failure and having found Whitgift aloof and Walsingham unsympathetic, he returned to Scotland empty-handed.

Yet his articles, together with his trip to the south, remain symbolic of Adamson's policy of approximating the church of Scotland to that of its southern neighbour. His ideal appears to have been a uniformity in both government and worship. Picking up the threads of Morton's discredited policy of conformity with England, Adamson presented in a new guise an alternative, if controversial, solution to the church's polity. Whether his ideas commanded any widespread support within the church may be doubted and, apart from Montgomery who shared some of his views, no one of outstanding merit came forward to join the archbishop in his wholesale assult upon the presbyterian discipline. Where his views did find support was within the government which had resolved to make good that initiative which it had lost at the reformation and to reassert once more its

1. C.S.P. Scot. vi. nos. 705, 707.
2. B.M. Harleian MSS. 7004. fo. 3v.; Add. MSS. 32,092, fo. 80r.
3. Adamson's correspondence with Whitgift is illustrated in two undated letters, one of which was written from London, (B.M. Add. MSS. 32,092. fos. 75v. 76v.); Whitgift wrote to Adamson from Lambeth on 4 January 1583/4 (Ibid. fo. 76r.); and in a letter dated at St. Andrews 16 June 1584 Adamson kept Whitgift informed of how the king and parliament "hathe restored in integrum the estate of Bishops and hathe contramandet the seignoreis, presbiteres, not onle be good reasoun of scripture and antiquite, bot likwayis in respect his hienes had livele experience that they were gret instrumentis of unquietnes and rebellion be there populare disordour". (B.M. Harleian MSS. 7004 fo. 3r.-v.; Add. MSS. 32,092, fos. 79v. - 80r.).
traditional authority in both church and state. One way of succeeding in doing both was by introducing episcopacy and by creating an episcopate dependent upon, and directly responsible to, the crown alone.

At the other end of the ecclesiastical spectrum stood the Melvillians who began by asserting what Adamson denied, namely, that sovereignty was divisible and that church and state were endowed by God with distinct and separate powers. There was "no absolute and unbounded authoritie in this world, except the soverane authoritie of Christ the King". As one with the Father, Christ was of course Head of the state as well as the church - this the Melvillians did not deny - but it was as Mediator and not in terms of His universal kingship that Christ was conceived as ruling the church, and through the exercise of this kingship the church was seen as the visible expression of the kingdom or body of Christ. In this church, the ministers as the messengers and ambassadors of God received their commission directly from Christ and not from any earthly king or prince; and as officers of the kingdom the ministry through the preaching of the word could thus be said to represent the Head of the body. It followed, therefore, that the whole spiritual jurisdiction which they exercised was derived immediately from Christ and not intermediately through king or civil magistrate.

Such a theology ruled out any notion of royal headship over the church but it did recognise the continued existence of the general assembly as an autonomous institution. With the rejection

1. Calderwood, vi. 486.
2. B.U.K. ii. 488-9; Calderwood, iii. 529-30; iv. 10; v. 464, 468, 469, 478, 479; vi. 415-6.
of royal supremacy went also a rejection of any permanent supremacy of one individual over another. The Melvillians' quarrel was not so much directed at the superintendents but rather against diocesan bishops. The old superintendent who by implication was also condemned could nevertheless be accommodated easily enough within the new structure as a visitor. Unlike the bishop he exercised no temporal jurisdiction and his election had been not for life but merely for an unspecified period and even the first Book of Discipline acknowledged the possibility of a superintendent "departing" from his office.

For the Melvillians the office of bishop was common to all pastors and visitation and oversight to which some might be delegated by the church remained functions which could be exercised only on a temporary basis. Superiority, permanently exercised by one individual, was denied but parity, in the strictest sense of the term, was not initially advocated, for commissioners or visitors, either individually or jointly, continued to be appointed by the assembly or by presbyteries. With some justice could Adamson illustrate how "the order and state of the kirk, as within thir few yeares, has beene frome superintendents to bishops, from bishops to visitors, from visitors to commissioners, and frome commissioners to presbytereis and moderators"; but whereas Adamson's views were founded upon an uncompromising and doctrinaire form of episcopacy, the flexible attitude of the Melvillians to the role of visitor, as defined in 1576, was not inconsistent with earlier reformed thinking in Scotland.

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1. Knox, Works, ii. 206; History, ii. 293.
2. Calderwood, iv. 87.
where the vast bulk of oversight had always been entrusted not to bishops but to superintendents and commissioners. This arrangement, moreover, had been recognised by parliament in 1567 when it approved the role of superintendents and "uthers havand commission of the Kirk to that effect"¹ in the admission of candidates to benefices.

In so far as it was founded upon a recognition of the separation of the two jurisdictions and upon a rejection of the royal supremacy Melvillianism was clearly within the main stream of Scottish reformed thought; and with its justification for the continued existence of the assembly, with its endorsement of the eldership and in its acceptance of the commissioner or visitor, Melvillianism cannot be interpreted as representing anything other than a reaffirmation and reapplication of reformation principles. What little novelty there was lay merely in its adaptation or modification of the earlier Knoxian polity rather than in the introduction of any revolutionary changes. Melvillianism, in short, showed remarkably few signs of originality. Whereas Melville's changes to the radical nature of the church's polity remained conservative and minor in character, Adamson's proposals for substituting a conservative form of church government turned out, in this context, to be truly revolutionary.

So long as the Arran regime lasted there could be but little hope of translating presbyterian theory into practice. 1584 was a particularly bad year for presbyterians in both Scotland and England. The year of William of Orange's assassination was also the year of the ascendancy of Whitgift in England and of Adamson in Scotland.

¹ A.P.S. iii. 23. c.7.
In the southern kingdom, Whitgift, elected in September 1583, began his attack on nonconformity by introducing a subscription which included an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, the prayer book and the articles of religion; and north of the border the Scottish government followed suit by formulating a subscription in August 1584 which required all beneficed men, ministers, readers, university lecturers and schoolmasters, on pain of loss of benefice and stipend, to subscribe their acceptance of the "Black Acts" and their obedience to the bishop or commissioner appointed by the king.¹

The archbishop himself had arrived home from England at the end of April 1584² but even earlier in the month of March the government had issued a proclamation discharging "all assembleis, as weill civill as ecclesiasticall";³ and, within a month of his return, parliament gave its approval in May to the controversial "Black Acts", the second of which asserted the supremacy of the crown "over all estates as well spiritual as temporal within this realm".⁴ Nor was there any qualifying clause "so far as the law of Christ allows". Such a sweeping declaration of the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical was quite without parallel in the history of the reformed church and quite contrary to the first principles of reformation thought in Scotland. But the legislation of 1584 went further and after reaffirming the sovereignty of parliament "of late years called in some doubt",⁵ the Black acts discharged all jurisdictions and judgments

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1. Ibid. 347 c.2; cf. Calderwood, iv. 209.
2. Calderwood, iv. 49.
3. Ibid. 20-1.
4. A.P.S. iii. 292. c.2.
5. Ibid. 293. c.3.
not approved by parliament and all assemblies and conventions held without the king's special licence and command. This effectively subjected the courts of the church and their jurisdiction to the crown-in-parliament. No longer was the jurisdiction to be entirely separate from that of the state as the first reformers had insisted. Instead, it was made wholly dependent on the power of the crown for all authority under God, it was held, emanated from the crown alone. No longer did the general assembly possess a sovereign jurisdiction with power to meet when it chose as it had done in the past. It could only function when licensed by the crown and what could be granted could also be withheld. The courts of the church, in short, could operate only at the discretion of the crown; and although kirk sessions continued to meet, presbyteries were proscribed.

Even in its approval of episcopacy, the legislation of 1584 represented a departure from earlier ideas, for whereas the conforming bishops at the reformation had acted as commissioners of the assembly and whereas the Leith episcopate had remained subject in spiritual matters to the final oversight of the assembly, the bishops of 1584 were answerable not to the assembly which was now to be suppressed but purely to the crown alone. The king became, as Adamson explained, "a bishop of bishops and universal bishop within his realme"; and appeals from bishops were therefore to be directed solely to the king. Despite Adamson's belief in the apostolic

1. Ibid. 293. c.4.
4. Ibid. 145.
authority of bishops, the bishops in terms of the enactments of 1584 became mere delegates of the crown. As royal commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, the bishops of 1584 were not regarded as commissioned by the apostles to exercise a spiritual jurisdiction, but were stated to be "appointed by his majesty to have exercise of spiritual jurisdiction". The source of their jurisdiction sprang purely from the crown. In accordance with this principle, Adamson received a licence from the king, granting him "power, authoritie and jurisdictioun to exercise the samine ... by himself, his commissionrs and deputs in all maters ecclesiastical".

In pressing forward with this legislation, which threatened to undermine the whole fabric of church order, the government were clearly taking the initiative and in doing so were by-passing the traditional procedure for consulting the church through the assembly or its commissioners; and there was truth in Calderwood's verdict that "ever since the reformation nothing concerning the effaires of the kirk was treated or concluded till first the Generall Assemblie was made privie thereto, and their commissioners heard to reasoun and agree to the same". The "Black Acts", both in form and content, can therefore be seen as a definite departure from earlier practice.

The test of the Arran regime's ecclesiastical measures came with the obligatory subscription. By assenting to the supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical matters and to a form of episcopacy no
longer subordinate to the assembly the ministers were not only departing from Melvillian principles but were in effect condoning a series of innovations which marked a clean breach with the past. It is not surprising, therefore, that many ministers entertained serious misgivings as to the terms of the subscription.

In November 1584 when all ministers between Stirling and Berwick were urged to sign the subscription less than a dozen did so immediately.¹ Nine ministers,² in particular, who declined to subscribe were threatened with a loss of stipend and with banishment.³ Though ready to testify their loyalty to the king, from whom they asked licence to convene a general assembly to discuss "this caus concerning the whole policie and order of the kirk", they showed themselves unsympathetic to what they called "the new brought in tyrannie of the bishops". They refused in good conscience to obey Adamson both as a man and as archbishop and ordinary, for "nather the titles of Archbishop nor Ordinar can we fund agreeable to the Word of God" and to do so would tend "to engender a new little Popedome in your Hienesse' realme". Unwavering in their conviction that "it is against the Scripture to a man to claime superioritie above his brother", they proceeded to justify the separation of the two jurisdictions and to oppose any moves at "altering that good order of discipline and ecclesiasticall governement which hath beene receaved and used of before according to God's Word, and bring in place thereof

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¹ Ibid. 209.
² The nine ministers were as follows: John Craig, Robert Pont, Andrew Simson, Patrick Kinloquhy, Nicol Dalgleish, Adam Johnston, John Clapperton, William Powrie and Patrick Simson.
³ Calderwood, iv. 211.
... a new forme of ecclesiasticall governement, taikin from the puddells of men's traditions and corruptiouns of other countreis".  

Not for the first time did the policy of conformity with England incur opposition from within the church.

At least six of these nine individuals, who drew up this statement of their beliefs, had served under the earlier Knoxian constitution of the 1560's and it is indicative of the novelty of the proposals of 1584 that these earlier reformers should all experience difficulty in accepting episcopal government and royal supremacy. Another fourteen in the Lothians, Merse and Teviotdale are known to have persistently declined the subscription, and in Fife David Ferguson, John Dykes and Thomas Buchanan were all confirmed in their opposition to it. There were also those who as an alternative to acknowledging the innovations in polity chose to find refuge in England and thereby forfeited both benefice and stipend. Andrew Melville, on being summoned before the privy council, had fled as early as February 1583/4 and was followed in turn by some two dozen others who wished to escape the rigours of the Arran regime.

With "subscription going on apace", others who remained at home devised formulae for evading the full force of the subscription. When confronted by a subscription which was obligatory, the

1. Ibid. 211-18.
2. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432, 436.
4. Ibid. no. 31; Calderwood, iv. 12-16; Melville, Diary, 141-144.
conscience-striken sought to make it conditional upon the inclusion of a face-saving, escape clause such as "in so far as it was agreeable to God's Word". 1 When John Craig eventually subscribed, he did so only after being called before the council with Blackhall, Brand and Heries to answer "how they durst be so bold as to controll the late acts of parliament". 2 By signing, Craig and another colleague, John Duncanson, made it unmistakably clear that their "subscription was nather sought to be allowance, ather of the Actes of Parliament, nor of the state of the bishops, but to be a testimonie of our obedience to his Majestie". 3 It was, moreover, along these same lines that Craig persuaded other ministers to subscribe, 4 but this, in effect, rendered the whole subscription quite meaningless. It is not surprising that even prominent Melvillians like John Durie 5 should also come to terms with the subscription. Andrew Simson, the brother-in-law of archbishop Adamson, was perhaps typical of many when he refused to subscribe any subscription other than a qualified or limited version. By swearing he would not "preache anie heresie or seditious doctrine, nor sail privatlie or publicltlie stirre up the king's Majestie's subjects to anie rebellion; and sail obey all his lawes and Acts of Parliament, so farre as they agree with the Word of God", Simson succeeded in extricating himself from a tricky situation. 6 The presbytery of Ayr, however, went one step further

1. Ibid. 213, 246.
2. Ibid. 198-9.
3. Ibid. 246.
4. Ibid. 246-7.
5. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432, 434.
and in its subscription it firmly condemned certain aspects of the legislation of 1584 as "devilish and expresse against God's Word".\(^1\) Though regarded by Melvillian exiles as a "pest then to the ministers in the North",\(^2\) Erskine of Dun can scarcely be interpreted as an archetypal conformist, for whilst counselling obedience in the matter of the subscription, he nevertheless urged that the assembly be allowed to meet again;\(^3\) and earlier, in December 1583, he had informed the king that unless he ended his violent course against the church he would be the last of his name to reign in Scotland.\(^4\) It is at any rate clear, according to Spottiswoode, that the "principal ministers" all refused to accept the subscription on any terms other than on the inclusion of the clause "agreeing with the word of God".\(^5\)

As a test of the ministry's acceptance of episcopacy and the royal supremacy, the subscription proved worthless. By making the subscription limited or conditional, the ministers had, in effect, defeated the whole object of the exercise; and it is clear that mere acquiescence cannot be taken as necessarily indicating any widespread or active approval for either episcopacy or royal supremacy. Comparisons are certainly instructive, for while it is true that a majority of ministers in the province of Merse finally signed the king's obligatory subscription on pain of deprivation, it is also

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1. Ibid. 351.
2. Ibid.; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 436.
4. C.S.P. Scot, vi. no. 721.
5. Spottiswoode, ii. 321.
true that most of these same ministers in the less repressive atmosphere of 1586 also signed the synod's voluntary protest against episcopacy and the Black acts "no wise allowing of that tyrannicall supremacy of bishops and archbishops over ministers, and their lawes, which directlie repugne to the law of God".¹

If an individual's sincerity can be better measured through freedom of choice rather than by compulsion, then it follows that a majority of ministers in the Merse abhorred the ecclesiastical measures of the Arran regime. The verdict must therefore be one of reluctant acquiescence by the ministry in the Arran regime's ecclesiastical policies rather than one of positive approval and acceptance.

It is difficult to discover how many ministers were actually deprived. Some like Robert Pont and Andrew Hay seem to have lost their stipends;² and the members of the presbytery of Ayr are reported to have had their stipends taken from them.³ Those who chose exile rather than conformity also forfeited their stipends;⁴ and if the government's decision on 23 November 1584 to withhold stipends from non-subscribing ministers⁵ was fully implemented, then the small band of ministers in the Merse and in Fife who held out against the subscription would also be deprived of a salary. Apart from these exceptions, surprisingly few ministers suffered deprivation

¹ Calderwood, iv. 603-5.
² C.S.P. Scot. vii. nos. 214, 248.
³ Calderwood, iv. 351.
⁴ C.S.P. Scot, vii. no. 181.
⁵ Calderwood, iv. 211; cf. C.S.P. Scot, vii. no. 529.
of stipend or benefice. As it was, the flight of the Melvillians to England proved a source of considerable embarrassment to James who in June 1584 sought unsuccessfully to induce them to return. In the following October, he was said to be "greatly grieved with his ministry for going away without any cause given to them, whereby, he says, other Princes think him irreligious and ready to revolt from religion". To have acted too severely against those at home who chose to sign a limited subscription would only have aggravated the problem and may possibly have led to a further exodus of ministers from Scotland.

Even to the most fatalistic who were resigned to enduring Arran's rule, it must have been evident that the present administration could not continue indefinitely. The Lennox regime had survived only from December 1580 to August 1582 and the succeeding government of the Ruthven raiders had lasted a mere ten months. Throughout the winter of 1584-5 there had been a steady build-up of the exiled lords in the north of England: in November, Walsingham had remarked on "the greate confluence of Scots nowe presently at Newcastle"; and at home chinks were beginning to appear in Arran's armour. By 1585 his position was no longer impregnable. Vulnerable at home, he could no longer count on Elizabeth's unqualified support. By July Atholl and Bothwell were wavering in their allegiance whilst others like the master of Gray began to "look through their fingers".

1. C.S.P. Scot, vii, no. 165; Calderwood, iv. 124-5.
2. C.S.P. Scot, vii, no. 344.
4. C.S.P. Scot, viii, no. 2.
as the exiled lords waited for a favourable signal to return home and seize power from Arran. The killing in July of Sir Francis Russell on the borders by Fernihurst, a Scottish warden who was related to Arran through marriage,\(^1\) gave Wotton, the English ambassador, his chance to accuse Arran of instigating the incident in order to break the proposed league with England. Though apparently unpremeditated, Russell's murder was used by Arran's opponents to discredit him, but Elizabeth still hesitated to let slip the banished lords across the border, despite Wotton's advice to Walsingham that the time was now ripe.\(^2\) By September, Walsingham reported that the banished lords were "growing now very weary of ther long restrainte and desyrous to impolye themselves in some action abroade"; and from Scotland, Wotton wrote that "though England is slow in making up its mind, Arran and his faction are not sleeping: they are now gathering all their forces".\(^3\) At last, Elizabeth gave her permission and the banished lords returned home in October.

Accompanying the nobles were Andrew Melville, Patrick Galloway and Walter Balcanquhal;\(^4\) and on their return they addressed a joint letter which also bore the signatures of Pont, Craig, Polwart, Bruce, James Anderson and Patrick Gillespie to Carmichael, Davidson, James Melville and the rest of the Melvillians still in England inviting them with all speed "to reparation heretter towart this Contrie".\(^5\) The

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2. *C.S.P. Scot.* viii. no. 94.
3. Ibid. nos. 119, 133.
Arran regime was now at an end and the coup d'etat effected by the exiled nobles resulted in the formation of an ultra-protestant coalition government which was likely to be well disposed towards the Melvillians who had been their political allies in exile. At their entry into Scotland, the lords had issued a proclamation1 condemning the misdeeds of the previous regime and in particular had drawn attention to the inhibiting of "presbyteries and other assemblies, exercises, privileges and immunities, ratified by former parliaments, or, at the least, by laudable custom, permitted ever since the first reformation within this land". The complexion of the new regime seemed sympathetic to the presbyterian cause and the prospect was that the government would grant the church a wide measure of ecclesiastical independence.

It was, however, one thing to form a united front with the ministers whilst in opposition and to use to advantage Melvillian support on their return, but once in power the restored lords were unable or unwilling to concede to Melvillian demands in matters of church order. Having cleared themselves of any possible charge of treason, the lords were ill-disposed to antagonise further a king who, in 1586, undertook to prove that there should be bishops in the church.2 In "matters of the Kirk that twitched his honour", the king, it was said, "wald nocht be controlled thairin, nor grant to na thing bot efter his pleasour; and sa tuk up e heiche humor against all the guide breithring".3 Compromise, therefore, became

2. Calderwood, iv. 491; C.S.P. Scot. viii. no. 233.
3. Melville, Diary, 225.
the order of the day.

Initially, the ministers had hoped "to recover their synod against the bishops, and so to restore the discipline of the church, if not better, at least as it was before Arran's government"; but the more sanguine expectations of the presbyterians were soon disappointed. After the failure to convene a meeting of the general assembly at Dunfermline which was inhibited by the provost who claimed to be acting on the king's instructions, the ministers proceeded to Linlithgow where parliament was due to meet. The episcopate, however, was heavily represented on the Lords of the Articles, and no move was made in parliament to repeal the legislation of 1584. In their hour of triumph the nobles whom James Melville had once identified as "our Noble-men" deserted the Melvillians despite fair promises to the contrary.

A solution to the church's government, acceptable to the king and to the assembly, had still to be worked out but it was plain that Arran's ecclesiastical policies were no longer applicable to the situation now prevailing. Andrew Melville, accredited by the exiles as a man on whom "all the godly depend", succeeded in interviewing the king in December 1585 and at the king's request the ministers were invited to submit their judgment on the ecclesiastical measures of the preceding regime. This they did in a series of "animadversions"

1. C.S.P. Scot. viii, no. 209.
2. Calderwood, iv. 448-9; Melville, Diary, 226.
3. C.S.P. Scot. viii, no. 212.
4. Melville, Diary, 222, 228.
5. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 436-7.
which began by criticising as unnecessarily restrictive the first of
the "Black Acts", confirming the church's liberty in preaching the
word and administering the sacraments, since it failed to recognise
the church's discipline and jurisdiction. The second act, in its
assertion of the royal supremacy, was condemned as attributing to
the king a sovereignty over church and state alike "wherein all men
of good judgement have justly found fault with the Pope of Rome, who
clameth to himself the power of both the swords, which is as great
a fault to a civil magistrate to claim or usurp". In their
commentary on the third act, affirming the authority of parliament, which they found "obscure" the ministers showed themselves pre-
disposed to accept the principle of ecclesiastical representation in
parliament in the form of commissioners (not bishops) who might be
either ministers or elders of the church; and they suggested that
commissioners from the church representing the third estate ought
also to have a vote in parliament. In opposition to the fourth act
which discharged all jurisdictions not approved by parliament, and
all assemblies unauthorised by the king, the ministers insisted that
unto the church God had committed a spiritual jurisdiction and that
it therefore behoved the church, and not the king, to "convocat
Assembleis and to hold the same, and to appoint an order, place and

1. A.P.S. iii. 292. c.1.
2. Calderwood, iv. 450; Melville, Diary, 229-30.
3. A.P.S. iii. 292. c.2.
4. Calderwood, iv. 451; Melville, Diary, 230.
5. A.P.S. iii. 293. c.3.
6. Calderwood, iv. 451; Melville, Diary, 231.
8. A.P.S. iii. 293. c.4.
time for conveening of the same, to treate upon suche maters as concerne the kirk effaires". This, it was claimed, applied to kirk sessions, presbyteries and synods as well as to general assemblies. Criticism of the fifth and sixth acts, relating to the deposition of ministers from benefices and to the abstraction of ministers from their office, centred on points of detail rather than on principle but exception was taken to those articles which recognised the rule of bishops: "seing the same act and other acts of this parliament attribut jurisdictioun to bishops over manie kirks, and to be judges in civill causes also, they are farre more unmeet to discharge themselves therof, nor a simple minister that hath one flocke or kirk, and peradventure, a colleague with him in the same". Objection was also taken to the twentieth act, which empowered the bishops and others appointed by the king as commissioners in ecclesiastical causes to exercise the functions of overseers, first because oversight ought properly to pertain "to the ecclesiastical senat and not to anie one man", and secondly because no power was "committed to a civill magistrat and to whom they please to governe the hous of God, which is his Kirk". The ministers also vigorously protested at the king's annulment of Montgomery's excommunication. The power to excommunicate and the corresponding

1. Calderwood, iv. 453; Melville, Diary, 233.
2. Ibid.
3. A.P.S. iii. 293. c. 5-6.
4. Calderwood, iv. 454-5; Melville, Diary, 234.
5. A.P.S. iii. 303. c. 20.
6. Calderwood, iv. 456; Melville, Diary, 236.
power to absolve, they believed, "can no more perteane to prince or anie civill magistrat, nor to preach the Word of God and ministrat sacraments, for they are both in like maner committed by Christ, our Maister, to the true office-bearers within his kirk". ¹

All this amounted to a complete repudiation of the legislation of 1584; and in reply the king himself issued a statement giving his own interpretation of the "Black Acts". ² The general tenor of the document suggests that the king was somewhat on the defensive. He promised to extend the first act relating to the church's liberty to include both jurisdiction and polity, and he limited or defined the second act asserting the royal supremacy by avowing that all matters of doctrine were "mere ecclesiasticall and altogether impertinent to my calling; therefore, never sall I, nor never ought they, I meane my posteritie, acclame anie power or jurisdictioun in the forsaides". On the third act, concerning the authority of parliament, he declared that "bishops, which are one of the three estats, sall have power, als farre as God's Word and exemple of the primitive kirk will permit", and he rejected the idea that ministers, as commissioners, should represent the spiritual estate in parliament. He remained firm on the fourth act that assemblies should meet only by his special licence. But on the twentieth act he appeared more flexible and showed himself willing "after farther conference with some of the ministrie to take a solide order theranent", and on the annulment of Montgomery's excommunication he replied that he "must first debate the occasion

1. Calderwood, iv. 457; Melville, Diary, 237.
2. Calderwood, iv. 459-463; Melville, Diary, 239-243
shortlie". The statement also gave James an opportunity to define his attitude to bishops. What he proposed in effect was constitutional episcopacy in which the bishop would not "tyrannize over his brethren or doe anie thing of himself but with advice of his whole dioce or at least with the wisest number of them to serve him for a counsell; and to do nothing him alone, except the teaching of the Word, ministratioun of the sacraments, and voting in parliament and counsell". Nor could such a bishop be misconstrued or misinterpreted by the church as a mere commissioner, for his office was to be for life and he would also possess "some probatioun and dignitie above his brethren as was in the primitive kirk". There was to be no escaping the true nature of the overseer so defined.

It was not until February 1585/6 that a compromise between the interests of crown and church was reached on the matter of the church's polity, but some of the thinking behind the compromise, as it emerged in February, was already apparent in the king's statement of December 1585. As a result of negotiations between the court and some ministers the basis of a settlement was effected in February; and amongst the provisions upon which agreement had been reached was one which stated that "the name of a bishop hath a speciall charge and function annexed to it by the Word". Bishops of a sort there were going to be. On being presented by the king and admitted by the assembly to which they remained accountable, the bishops were each to serve as a parish minister, act as a constant moderator of the

1. B.M. Cotton MSS. Caligula C. IX fos. 168r. - 169r. (C.S.P. Scot. viii. no. 276); Calderwood, iv. 491-4.
2. Calderwood, iv. 491.
presbytery and conduct visitations within the "bounds to be appointed to him". Commissioners, nominated by the king and approved by the assembly, were to assist the bishops in the larger dioceses, and, though they were presumably not elected for life, their authority was to be identical to that enjoyed by the bishops. In the appointment of bishops to parochial charges, congregations were to be allowed the somewhat negative right of declining to accept the candidate chosen. Presbyteries, instead of being proscribed as they were under the Arran regime, were once more officially recognised and the jurisdiction of bishops (and commissioners) in all essential matters of oversight, including visitations, admissions to benefices and the like was carefully restricted and always subject to their obtaining the advice and consent of their presbyteries.

The form of episcopacy advocated was decidedly constitutional, not monarchical, and may appropriately be described as approximating to the concept of the bishop-in-presbytery. Apart from the use of the title "bishop", it is clear that much of what was formulated in February 1585/6 was little other than a reiteration of the principles governing the visitor's articles of April 1576, which had been drawn up by the assembly as a result of criticism of diocesan episcopacy. There were, of course, no presbyteries in April 1576; and one important distinction between the two sets of proposals was that, unlike the visitor or commissioner as earlier defined, the bishop, as now proposed, would not only be elected for life, and not for a term at the assembly's discretion, but would also be nominated in the

1. Ibid. 492.
2. B.U.K. i. 357-8; Calderwood, iii. 364-5. See above, chapter 6,176.
first instance by the crown and not by the church. To this extent, and probably to this extent alone, can the proposals of February 1585/6 be said to mark any significant departure from the thinking behind the recommendations of April 1576.

It was clear, however, that no settlement could be said to be finalised or secured until the proposals, arrived at in February, were approved by a general assembly. With this in mind, the king arranged to summon an assembly to meet in May;¹ and this, it would seem, was the first assembly to be so convoked by special licence from the king. The assembly began on 10 May with the moderator of the last assembly preaching a sermon on the various kinds of church courts, on the causes of assemblies, the persons authorised to call them, and to moderate and vote therein, and the "rule whereby they are to be ordered and the questions decided".² Immediately thereafter, the king's commissioners declared that it was the king's pleasure that the assembly should adjourn its meeting in the Tolbooth and convene instead in the afternoon in the chapel at Holyroodhouse. This was put to the vote and being "but a circumstance of tyme and place" the assembly agreed to obey the king's instructions.³ It was felt, however, that the change in the assembly's location "was suggested by the Byschopp of St. Androwes then being at the courte to make a difference and discorde betwixt the kinge and the ministers, who (he thought) would stande faste to their liberties and so not yeelde to

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¹ R.P.C. iv. 60-1; Calderwood, iv. 493.
² N.L.S. Adv. MS. 6.1.13. fo. 33r.: "The order and accidents of the sinod ecclesiastical beganne at Edenborough the 10th of May 1586."
³ Ibid. B.U.K. ii. 645; Calderwood, iv. 548.
the king's commandement, to the end to breake of the Synod, at the first, (if he might) wherein him self is to be an accomitaunce''.

If this were his intention, Adamson was certainly frustrated.

In the afternoon session, the king addressed the assembly and declared he was ready to authorise a godly polity for the kirk. Robert Pont in reply thanked him for "decoring" the assembly with his presence; and after the assembly resumed its proceedings once more in the Tolbooth, it set about the task of reconstituting presbyteries and discussing the compromise proposed in February.

The assembly, after hesitation, accepted the compromise but it did so only with misgivings. After claiming that the church possessed the right to convene general assemblies, it approved the four offices of pastor, doctor, elder and deacon and, reaffirming earlier practice, interpreted the name of bishop as being "commoun to all Pastours and Ministers". But when the king's commissioners made it plain that unless the assembly agreed to at least a reduced form of episcopacy, the king would grant the church nothing but simply leave its polity as it stood under the Arran regime, the church had no alternative but to accept what concessions it could obtain. The assembly insisted that bishops had the same functions as pastors but that it was lawful for the assembly to admit a pastor or bishop to a benefice to which he had been presented by the king. Visitation, however, was common to pastors; and those bishops whom the assembly appointed as overseers were to act with their assessors and by the counsel and vote of their presbyteries and advice of their synods.

2. B.U.K. ii. 646; Calderwood iv. 549.
Nor were they to oversee the whole bounds of the old dioceses: commissioners of the assembly, with the same powers as bishops, would also act as visitors. The assembly also made explicit the presumption that commissioners should continue only for a term; but it went further and insisted that this temporary commission, renewable only by the assembly, was also applicable to bishops, despite the fact that bishops in other respects were elected for life. In other words, if bishops were equated with pastors, who were also elected for life, and if visitation was common to all pastors, commissioned for the purpose by the assembly, then it followed that bishops, as such, had no automatic right to conduct visitations. The whole trend was to undermine the episcopal office and substitute the more acceptable office of commissioner in accordance with the articles of 1576. Oversight, in the last analysis, was not to be conducted individually but corporately, for in each case the commissioner or bishop was required to act by advice of the presbytery or synod and with assessors chosen at the start by the assembly. But if this much was conceded, the church nevertheless failed in its attempt to subject the bishop, in life and doctrine, to the presbytery and synod, for the king insisted that in these matters bishops ought to be subordinated to the general assembly alone. ¹

As part of the compromise in February, it had been proposed that Montgomery, whose excommunication the Arran government had declared void, should submit to the assembly, acknowledge his offence and be once again reconciled with the church. ² Accordingly, in May, the

¹ B.U.K. ii. 652-55; Calderwood, iv. 557-61; Spottiswoode, ii. 342-3.
² Calderwood, iv. 494.
assembly appointed Edinburgh presbytery to see whether Montgomery was willing to repent; and in August, after reviewing the causes of his excommunication and hearing his confession, the presbytery relaxed him from excommunication, but when he asked to return to the ministry, the presbytery doubted whether he had the necessary "gracis of God" to be a minister. The case of Patrick Adamson, the other obdurate archbishop, also came before the assembly in May for determination. On being excommunicated in April by the synod of Fife, Adamson had appealed to the assembly which required him to recant certain errors: to deny that he "meaned in any sort to acclaime a supremacie, or to be judge to uthur Pastours and Ministers, or evir allowit the same to have any ground in God's Word" and to promise instead to act as "ane moderate Pastour, and in so farre as he may be able, ane Bischop prescryvit by Paul" being always subject to the assembly's final judgment. This Adamson did, and the process against him was dropped.

Besides giving hesitant approval to the scheme outlined in February and reaching a settlement with both Montgomery and Adamson, the assembly had also certain further articles of its own to propose. There were to be general assemblies once a year and oftener pro re nata; there were to be provincial synods with an appellate jurisdiction empowered to deprive office-bearers in the provinces (apart from

1. S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 24 May, 7 June, 28 June 1586; 7 February, 21 February, 21 March 1586/7; 28 March, 1 August, 22 August, 29 August, 5 September, 12 September, 19 September 1587.

2. B.U.K. ii. 655, 657-8, 662-3; Calderwood, iv. 494-547, 550-554; Melville, Diary, 245-249.
the bishops and commissioners who were exempted on the king's representations); presbyteries were to be responsible for the supervision of the ministers and congregations within their bounds; and kirk sessions were confirmed in their jurisdiction over individual congregations.¹

All the elements for compromise and conciliation were no doubt contained within the scheme adopted by the assembly in May but it still remained to be seen whether or not the church would conscientiously adhere to the agreement. In accordance with the terms agreed upon, the king in May 1586 granted a commission to James Anderson, minister of Stirling, to undertake a visitation of the diocese of Dunblane. After his nomination by the king, Anderson was presented to the general assembly which found him able and qualified for the task and to be orderly elected and admitted therein. As visitor, Anderson was charged by the king to receive all royal and other presentations and to admit candidates to benefices but his terms of reference also stated that the commissioner in undertaking a visitation was also to consult with the presbytery.² Such a commission, in which the visitor was to report his findings to the king, came close to confounding the two jurisdictions, since the authority of the commission was derived from the crown. Whether or not contemporaries regarded it in that light is uncertain but it could also be said that the king in issuing his commission was simply "interponing" his authority to that of the assembly: it amounted to no more than

the godly magistrate using his authority to advantage in the interests of the church and the Melvillians had never objected to this. The commission itself which Anderson received was no doubt typical of others which have not survived and it is certainly indicative of a readiness on both sides to make the compromise work.

Apart from the king's instructions that the commissioner should proceed with the advice of the presbytery, there is little enough evidence in Anderson's report of his visitation to indicate this, though in the course of his investigations he did remit certain matters including the examination of a minister and reader to Stirling presbytery for trial. There are, however, two indications that Anderson, as commissioner, worked not individually but conjointly with a number of assessors: before his admission to Foulis, James Burdone, a Melvillian of some promise, was to be heard by the visitor and his assessors; and at the admission of Henry Livingstone, another Melvillian, to St. Ninians it was the commissioner and his assessors who supervised the proceedings according to the ordinance of the presbytery.

Despite the assembly's advice, on the king's invitation, in April 1581, repeated in October 1582, that presentations should be directed to presbyteries, it is evident from a survey of the evidence from royal presentations in the early 1580's that commissioners,

1. Ibid. Visitation of Kippen, 18 August 1586; visitation of Muckhart, 15 September 1586; visitation of Fossoway, 16 September 1586.
2. Ibid. Visitation of Foulis, 12 October 1586.
4. B.U.K. ii. 479, 514, 602; Calderwood, iii. 519, 684.
bishops and (somewhat inappropriately) superintendents continued to be the agents specified for supervising admissions. Nor was it altogether apparent even to the assembly which was the most appropriate agency for receiving presentations, since notwithstanding the recommendations in April 1581, and in October 1582, that presentations should be directed to the presbyteries, an intervening assembly in April 1582 decided that presentations should be directed to commissioners and that the moderator of a presbytery might serve for that purpose. ¹ From practical considerations, there were of course still many areas where no presbyteries existed and it was only common sense that commissioners should continue as the normal agents for collation.

Although an act of July 1580 forbade all bishops, unless recognised by the assembly as commissioners, from giving collation to benefices, ² a number of royal presentations between July 1580 and the outset of the Arran regime in July 1584 did specify a bishop but not usually as the sole agent and the vast majority of presentations refer solely to commissioners (or, anachronistically, to superintendents). ³ There was, it would seem, a marked preference for commissioners. Only rarely did the presbytery appear as an alternative to the commissioner ⁴ or bishop and such isolated instances remain exceptional, but it is perhaps surprising and singularly inappropriate that during the Arran administration at least four presentations should specify presbyteries. ⁵ By February 1584/5,

¹ B.U.K. ii. 554, 556, 568; Calderwood, iii. 609, 610.
² B.U.K. ii. 459, 462; Calderwood, iii. 467, 472.
³ S.R.O. CH4/1/2. Register of Presentations to Benefices, passim.
⁴ E.g. ibid. fo. 92v.
⁵ Ibid. fos. 95r., 102v. PS1/50 fos. 116, 129. Register of the Privy Seal.
however, the title of a minister admitted by a presbytery, and not by the archbishop, was rejected by the privy council as prejudicial to the king's patronage, "the samin election of Presbeterie being nawyse allowit nor authorizeit be his Majestie nor his Estaitts". Such a case may suggest, incidentally, that presbyteries were already accustomed to supervising admissions; but with the prohibiting of presbyteries, presentations for the rest of the Arran regime were directed normally either to bishops or to the king's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes. Nor did the compromise, effected in the less embittered climate of 1584, do anything materially to affect presentations which still continued to be directed to commissioners or bishops.

As early as 1580, however, the assembly had decreed that assessors should be adjoined to commissioners to assist them in their duties, a principle which was later incorporated in the compromise of 1586, and it was not unknown for a presentation, as exemplified in one dated 26 May 1587, to include the commissioner's assessors or the presbytery or any six of them conjointly as the recognised agents. Nor was it long before more and more crown presentations reflected the growing importance of the presbytery by specifying presbyteries as alternatives to commissioners.

Any study which is confined merely to an analysis of royal

2. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. Register of Presentations to Benefices, passim.
3. B.U.K. ii. 460; Calderwood, iii. 472.
4. B.U.K. ii. 653-4; Calderwood, iv. 559-60.
5. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. Register of Presentations to Benefices, fo. 174r.
presentations, documents written on the government's behalf, is hardly likely to provide a sufficiently reliable guide, for the language of presentations was a conscious reflexion both of the conservatism of the lawyers and of royal intent. The very imperfect record of presbyterial operation obtained from presentations, which might give rise to speculation that presbyteries were somehow ineffective, fails to do justice to the Melvillian achievement. The evidence for presbyterial involvement in presentations is supplemented, and the notion that presbyteries were operating badly is dispelled, by examining presentations in association with, and in the light of, presbytery records which alone disclose the reality of the situation. Only in this way can a more realistic and balanced picture be obtained.

As early as October 1583, Archibald Livingston, upon receipt of a presentation to the parsonage of Culter, asked Stirling presbytery to provide him with "thair testemoniall of his lyf and conversation direct to the presbytery of Lainrig in the quhilk boundis the said kirk of Cultir is, that thaireftir he may be lauchfullie admittit thairto be the said presbytery of Lainrig";¹ and in February 1583/4 James Gibson, on being presented by the king to the vicarage of Saltoun, submitted his presentation for approval to the presbytery of Dalkeith "that thai myt gif hym collation".² Not only so, but it was again the presbytery which agreed in March 1583/4 that Gilbert Tailor "suld gait presentatioun of the benefice of Pentland".³ Even

1. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 October 1583.
3. Ibid. 11 March 1583/4.
after the compromise of 1586 it was still frequently the presbytery, and not the commissioner, which took the initiative in matters relating to benefices: in June 1586 James Cockburn, who was provided to the benefice of Muckhart without serving at the parish church, was ordered by Stirling presbytery to produce his presentation and collation before the presbytery for determination. ¹

In other instances, commissioners worked in close liaison with presbyteries. On receiving a crown presentation to the vicarage of Cramond, Patrick Simson informed Edinburgh presbytery of the details in August 1586 "desyrand the commissionar of Lauthiane with thair adwyse to admit him thairto and authoreize him with thair testimoniall thairupone". ² Similarly, in September 1586, Edinburgh presbytery read and considered a presentation produced by Adam Johnston, on his own behalf, from Francis earl of Bothwell to the provostry of Crichton and "directit to the commissioner of Lowthian and his breithren having power of admissioun and planting of ministeris, as also the said presbiterie". ³ After approving the presentation, the presbytery directed David Lindsay "present visitor of Lowthian with consent of the brethren of the presbiterie of Dalkeyth in quhilk presbiterie the said benefice lyis" to grant Johnston collation to the provostry. ⁴ The same principles governed Michael Cranston's presentation by the king to the vicarage of Liberton where the commissioner of Lothian, with the advice of the presbytery, supervised his admission in 1587;

¹ MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 28 June 1586.
² S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 30 August 1586.
³ Ibid. 6 September 1586.
⁴ Ibid.
and an almost identical procedure was adopted at Richard Thomson's provision to the vicarage of Ratho in 1589.¹

Commissioners, it would seem, if not exactly devoid of initiative were heavily dependent on the judgment of presbyteries. There was little or no scope for independent action by an individual overseer. Although it was David Lindsay, as "commissioner appointit of the kirk within the diocese of Laudiane", who designated the manse and glebe to Thomas Greg, minister of North Berwick in 1587, it was nevertheless the presbytery of Haddington which decided at that point to give James Lamb collation to the vicarage of Bolton and appointed a minister, and not the commissioner, to give Lamb institution.²

Not only so, but in November 1589 Adam Johnston, as commissioner, asked Edinburgh presbytery whether or not he might give Andrew Murdo collation to the parsonage of Stobo.³

The commissioner, in short, became an instrument of the presbytery and this opened the way for the presbytery to appoint its own commissioners. From 1583, if not earlier, presbyteries had been accustomed to carry out visitations and to discharge most of the functions of oversight. It was therefore somewhat illogical that they should not also resume their activities in admitting candidates to benefices without consulting commissioners appointed outwith the presbytery.

The continued ascendancy of the presbytery, which led to a diminution in the powers of individual overseers, is indicated, for

1. Ibid. 14 March 1586/7; 21 January 1589.
2. S.R.O. CH2/185/1. MS. Haddington Presbytery Records, fos. 3r. - 4r.
example, in Edinburgh presbytery's decision in 1589 to admit none to the ministry without the recommendation of a presbytery,¹ and it was also belatedly recognised in crown presentations which increasingly specified presbyteries as alternatives to commissioners. One of the earliest crown presentations, after the compromise of 1586, to be directed to a presbytery alone, without specifying an alternative, was a presentation on 25 November 1586 in favour of John Heriot to the vicarage of Kilbirnie and directed solely to the presbytery of Cunningham.² Again, two other presentations of 20 February 1586/7³ and 26 May 1587⁴ were directed to the commissioner or presbytery; and the accompanying table⁵ of just over 150 crown presentations examined between 1589 and June 1592⁶ (when parliament ordained "all presentationis to benefices to be direct to the particular presbiteries in all tymes cuming")⁷ gives some impression of the distribution of the various agents specified and the growing importance of the presbytery as the officially (though not strictly legally) recognised agency for collation.

The examination, admission and translation of ministers, the granting of collation and institution to benefices, the designation of

¹. Ibid. 23 September 1589.
². S.R.O. PS1/58. fo. 117r. Register of the Privy Seal.
³. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 164v. Register of Presentations to Benefices.
⁴. Ibid. fo. 174r.
⁵. See page 491.
⁶. S.R.O. PS1/59. fo. 8r. – PS1/64. fo. 35r. passim. Register of the Privy Seal.
⁷. A.P.S. iii. 541.
Table of Presentations

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One presentation in 1591 which defies any category and which is perhaps indicative of the uncertainty prevailing as to whom presentations should be directed was simply addressed "to the kirk in generall and to quhome it efferis in speciall thair commissioneris within the boundis of Lowthiane".\(^3\)

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1. I.e. commissioner, visitor or superintendent.
2. Of these 27 presentations, seven were stated to be directed in form and manner as other presentations above written and the presentation immediately preceding was directed to a presbytery alone. (S.R.O. PS1/62. 146r. - 147r.)
3. S.R.O. PS1/62. fo. 4r.
manses and glebes, together with visitation and the appointment of commissioners to the general assembly were all functions of oversight which increasingly came to be discharged by presbyteries without the initiative or assistance of an external commissioner. It therefore becomes something of a rarity to find a commissioner acting in conjunction with a presbytery, and by August 1590 the assembly decided to abolish the "yeirlie electioun of Commissioners over Countreyes quher Presbytries are weill and sufficiently constitute". Only in the more remote and isolated regions, where the scarcity of ministers forbade the creation of presbyteries, did commissioners continue to function as they had done in the past.

In much the same way as the assembly appointed from time to time

1. E.g. MS. St. Andrews Presbytery Records, 30 April 1591.


3. See Appendix II.

4. The following entries in addition to those specified above relate to the activities of commissioners: in Stirling presbytery, the commissioner supervised admissions in October 1587 and in March 1587/8; in November 1588 he, and two ministers, were ordained by the presbytery to visit Bothkennar and to design the manse and glebe; and in March 1589/90 the commissioner was ordered by the presbytery to conduct a visitation of Glendevon church (MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 17 October 1587, 12 March 1587/8, 5 November 1588, 24 March 1589/90); and in January 1589/90, Robert Rollock, as visitor, was present at a meeting of Dalkeith Presbytery to discuss whether Davidson might be admitted minister of Dalkeith, and he undertook a visitation of Dalkeith parish church in December 1591 (S.R.O. CH2/424/1. MS. Dalkeith Presbytery Records, 22 January 1589/90, 16 December 1591).


a group of ministers to supervise the activities of commissioners or visitors,\(^1\) so too were commissioners of the assembly chosen in special instances to conduct visitations of presbyteries.\(^2\) This was merely an example of the church's elaborate system of checks and balances, but if the conclusion be "that presbyteries were not operating with entire success or were not regarded as wholly adequate for the tasks of oversight and administration"\(^3\) then so also might a similar accusation be levelled against commissioners whose shortcomings were critically reviewed by assemblies.\(^4\) Furthermore, it would seem undeniable that visitations conducted by presbyteries over relatively small areas were likely to be no less efficient than those carried out by commissioners appointed for whole provinces and who, as ministers, had also their own parochial duties to perform. At any rate, it is clear that the inadequacies of James Anderson, minister of Stirling, in his capacity as commissioner, were noted by Stirling presbytery in 1588 when it accused him of neglecting the exercise and of absenting himself from the synod at Dunblane; and it proceeded to repel his excuses "berassone he is not onlie ane minister of the Word within thir boundis quhairby he is daitbund to haif bein thair, but also, seing he is commissionar of thir haill boundis quhairby sindrie thingis concerning his office was neidfull to be handlit, and becaus thair was sindrie weightie thingis traftit in the said assemblie".\(^5\)

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1. E.g. B.U.K. ii. 452, 691; Calderwood, iv. 620.
2. B.U.K.iii. 800-1; Calderwood, v. 246; MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 2 July 1588; 1 July 1589; S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 8 July 1589.
4. B.U.K. ii. 452, 691; Calderwood, iv. 620.
5. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 9 April 1588.
If presbyteries were not doing their job entirely satisfactorily, then neither were commissioners.

If the continued deployment of commissioners, whether of the assembly or presbyteries, was considered to be not inconsistent with a presbyterian structure, the continued existence of bishops, by contrast, was deemed to be both incongruous and incompatible. There was therefore a consequent disinclination on the assembly's part to co-operate in the appointment of bishops to vacant sees. In June 1587 the assembly condemned and revoked as illegal the consent which Glasgow presbytery had given to the arrangement whereby William Erskine was appointed to the temporality of the archbishopric of Glasgow, ecclesiastical jurisdiction remaining with the church, and it also forbade Robert Pont's election to the bishopric of Caithness, conceding only that he might act as visitor and "bruik the living only" were he appointed minister of Dornoch. This amounted to a breach of the agreement reached in 1586 and showed all too clearly that the church was no longer predisposed to compromise. The same assembly, in open defiance of the king's insistence in 1586 that bishops should be subject to the assembly alone, also decided that "all Pastours of quhatsoever sort they be" should be subject to the trial and censure of their brethren in presbyteries and synods as well as in assemblies.

As if to make the ordinance effective, Edinburgh presbytery received a commission from the assembly in August 1588 to investigate

1. B.U.K. ii. 690, 693; Calderwood, iv. 621-2.
2. B.U.K. ii. 688, 696, 697-8; Calderwood, iv. 625-6.
3. B.U.K. ii. 698-9; Calderwood, iv. 629.
complaints lodged by Robert Pont, Nicol Dalgleish, Adam Johnston, David Spens and John Burne against Patrick Adamson "callit bischop of St. Androis"; and in April 1586 the presbytery deputed several ministers to go to St. Andrews to examine witnesses relating to accusations made against Adamson by the presbytery of St. Andrews. Amongst the numerous charges on which Adamson was convicted was one accusing him of derogating the authority of presbyteries "in the quhilk he is fund giltie of error". He was also criticised for inveighing against Andrew and James Melville and found "for ever to be unworthie to brook ony functioun within the kirk of God". ¹

Even the assembly's decision in May 1586 that bishops and commissioners should act as moderators of presbyteries "quhill farder ordour be tane" ² does not seem to have been enforced for long, and presbyteries soon reverted to the normal practice of appointing moderators of presbyteries for a half-yearly term, from one synod to the next. On being chosen moderator of Edinburgh presbytery in April 1586, David Lindsay continued to serve in that capacity till the next synod, irrespective of his appointment as commissioner in May, ³ and in October when his tenure of the office expired the presbytery "be pluralitie of voittis" chose William Watson as his successor who remained moderator till April 1587 when

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¹ S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 4 August, 15 October, 5 November, 17 December 1588; 4 March, 11 March 1588/9; 8 April, 15 April, 10 June 1589.

² B.U.K. ii. 667; Calderwood, iv. 570. The one exception was St. Andrews Presbytery where Robert Wilkie, with the king's advice, was continued moderator till the next synod.

³ For full details, see S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 30 August 1586.
Patrick Simson was appointed in his place. In Stirling presbytery, James Anderson, the commissioner, is known to have acted as moderator but he did so only for a term and in April 1588 he was replaced by William Cowper whom the presbytery had elected till the meeting of the next synod. There seems to have been no predisposition to confine the office of moderator to the bishop or commissioner of the province, and any fears that the assembly's ordinance purported to introduce something akin to the constant moderator were quite unjustified in practice.

The polity which emerged in the intervening years was one which was unmistakably presbyterian in character and the parliamentary ratification which that polity received in 1592 was little other than an acknowledgment and recognition of the progress which the Melvillians had made in transforming a somewhat indeterminate polity into one which was thoroughly presbyterian. The initiative for the legislation of 1592 came from the assembly in May which drew up a series of articles to be presented to parliament, first and foremost of which was one calling for an annulment of the acts of 1584 and a recognition of the church's constitution in the light of prevailing practice. It should come as no surprise therefore to find that the resulting legislation which parliament granted was confined to confirming the church in its present constitution: it went no further than establishing the church's existing polity on a sound legal basis.

Not only did the act of 1592, in language borrowed verbatim from

1. Ibid. 19 April, 11 October 1586; 11 April 1587.
2. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 16 April 1588.
the assembly's ordinance of May 1586, approve the jurisdiction of synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions, it also expressly sanctioned the continued existence of the general assembly; it was to convene once a year or oftener pro re nata and the time and place of its meeting were to be determined in the first instance by the king or his commissioner, if present in the assembly, or, in their default, by the assembly itself. This was of course at odds with the whole history of the assembly's convening in the period prior to 1584 when it had been customary for assemblies to appoint both time and place for their next meeting, but it would be harder to deny that the proposals contained within the act were contrary to conditions operating in the late 1580's. The official records of the assembly for the years between 1586 and 1592, it is true, leave it uncertain as to whether king or assembly named the time and place of the next meeting. It is, however, known from other sources that the king himself appointed the assembly to meet at Edinburgh "or where his Majestie sail otherwise appoint" on 10 May 1586. Evidently, no arrangement was made at that assembly for the summoning of the next, and in March 1586/7, "seing of the greit necessitie thair is of a generall assemble of the Ministrie", Edinburgh presbytery asked the king "that be his authoritie the generall assemble may be convocat". This request, repeated in May, led the king in reply to appoint the 19th of June as the date for holding the next assembly.

1. See above, chapter 4, 54 n.1.
3. S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 14 March 1586/7; 2 May, 28 May 1587.
The machinery used to convene the succeeding four assemblies remains uncertain though that of January 1588/9 may possibly have been arranged by the ministers themselves. On the other hand, it emerges that the assembly of June 1589 gave a commission to Edinburgh presbytery "to convocat and make adverteisment to all presbytereis within this realme quhat tyme thai suld think expedient for halding of a generall assemble of the kirk" and in January 1588/9 the presbytery decided "that lettres be direct to all the presbytereis within this realme desyring thame to the effect foirsaid to convene in Edinburgh the first Tyaday of Merche nixtocum". The initiative for appointing both time and place in this instance clearly sprang from the church and not from the king. A somewhat similar situation arose in 1591 when Edinburgh presbytery again received a commission from the assembly in July to convene an interim assembly two days prior to a meeting of parliament were one summoned before the next assembly scheduled to meet in Aberdeen in 1592; and with parliament due to meet on 20 November, the presbytery duly informed the presbyteries throughout the land that an assembly would be held in Edinburgh on the 18th of November. Once more, the time and place for convening an assembly was determined by the church. By 1593, however, the king left the assembly in no doubt that he intended to make full use of his legal right, acquired in terms of the 1592 act, to appoint the time and place of future assemblies; but when the king's

3. Ibid. 21 September 1591.
commissioner left the assembly before it dissolved, it was the assembly itself, in the commissioner's presence, which appointed the time and place of its next meeting. Though initially accepted by the assembly, the king's newly established right did not go uncontested in the years ahead. When the king in 1594 challenged the ministers for "assembling of his subjects without his licence", James Melville replied "we did it be the warrant of his Majestie's lawes, and of Chryst, according to the Word, and custom of our Kirk sen the beginning;" and when the king called an assembly in March 1596/7 the church was hesistant at first as to whether it could be regarded as a lawful assembly. Not only so, but in March 1597/8 it was the assembly itself, without mention of the king or his commissioner, which appointed the time and place of the next assembly; and as late as 1605 with the meeting of the Aberdeen assembly the ministers continued to assert their right to hold assemblies on their own initiative.

Neither before nor after the act of 1592 were the attempts of the crown entirely effective in determining the time and place of assemblies. At the same time, however, clear precedents can be found in the late 1580's which would go far to justify the legislation on the assembly in 1592 as little other than a confirmation of

1. B.U.K. iii. 813.
2. B.U.K. iii. 806, 854; Calderwood, v. 244, 325.
3. Melville, Diary, 244; Calderwood, v. 328.
4. B.U.K. iii. 890, 908, 910, 924; Calderwood, v. 579, 582, 606-8; C.S.P. Scot. xii. nos. 380, 402.
5. B.U.K. iii. 948.
existing practice. There were other areas, too, in which the act of 1592 brought statute law into conformity with accepted practice. Episcopal jurisdiction was formally transferred to presbyteries, and all presentations in future were to be directed to presbyteries.\footnote{1} Earlier relevant legislation was either repealed or amended. The second of the "Black Acts" confirming the king's power over all estates was qualified and interpreted as being in no way prejudicial to "the privilege that God has given to the spirituall office bearers in the Kirk, concerning heads of religioun, materis of heresie, excommunicatioun, collatioun or deprivatioun of ministeris, or any sik essential censours, speciall groundit, and havand warrand of the word of God"; and the twentieth act granting a "commission to bischoppis and utheris juges, constitute in ecclesiasticall causes" was revoked outright.\footnote{2} Episcopacy was certainly eclipsed and by depriving bishops of all episcopal jurisdiction granted to them by the crown, parliament in following the assembly's example came perilously close to abolishing episcopacy \textit{per se} as an ecclesiastical office in the church. Titular bishops there might still be, in the sense of individuals presented to bishoprics with a legal right, contested by the assembly, to vote in parliament; but as a distinct ecclesiastical function, episcopacy no longer existed, and it was no longer recognised by parliament.

Patronage and the benefice system, on the other hand, remained untouched by the act of 1592. Their abolition had not been sought in the articles presented to parliament by the assembly held in May.

\footnote{1}{A.P.S. iii, 541.}
\footnote{2}{Ibid.}
Here again, parliament simply gave the seal of approval to the situation then operative. The act expressly provided that "presbiteries be bund and astrictit to ressave and admitt quhatsumevir qualifiet minister presentit be his Majestie, or uther laic patrounes".\(^1\) While presbyteries possessed the right of presentation \textit{iure devoluto} in cases where the patron failed to present a qualified candidate within six months, the patron at the same time was entitled to retain the whole fruits of the benefice in instances where a presbytery refused to admit a qualified candidate.\(^2\) On the issue of the church's sovereignty, however, apart from the article amending the second of the "Black Acts", ecclesiastical independence was neither granted nor denied; it was simply not discussed.

The imperfections and inadequacies of the act when compared with the far-reaching proposals of the second Book of Discipline are immediately apparent; but it had not been the assembly's intention in 1592 to press for a comprehensive settlement or for a formal recognition of every aspect of the second Book of Discipline. Even so, major concessions had been granted by the crown to the Melvillians if only by recognising the \textit{fait accompli} of the years following the repressive legislation of 1584. The act was indisputably a victory for presbyterian principles and it is perhaps an indication of the Melvillians' achievement that they succeeded in 1592 where Morton had failed in 1572.\(^3\) One or two anomalies, it is true, still persisted,

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textit{Ibid.} 542 c. 117.
\item The Leith agreement in 1572 with its approval of episcopacy did not obtain the anticipated parliamentary sanction. \textit{C.S.P. Scot.} iv. no. 149.
\end{enumerate}
and the office of reader, which found no place in the four scriptural offices annunciated in the second Book of Discipline, was not abolished as the presbyterians had initially proposed.

Though it marked a substantial triumph for presbyterianism, the legislation of 1592 is scarcely deserving of that adulation which later generations of presbyterian historians have thought fit to bestow upon it. Limited in scope, makeshift and incomplete in itself, the act was in one sense no more significant, and certainly far less innovating than the "Black Acts" which preceded it. Even the efficacy of the act is open to doubt. What it did do, beyond satisfying the lawyers, was to confer on presbyterianism a legal status and state establishment but what this amounted to in practice is hard to say. It certainly did not materially affect the church: it neither added to nor detracted from current practice. The existence of presbyterian government was already a reality and the king in upholding it was only acting in a manner consistent with a godly monarch. But

1. B.U.K. ii. 455-6, 513; Calderwood, iii. 471, 526. See also, by way of a commentary on this theme, N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.2.8. (Balcarres Papers, viii), fo. 122. Presbyteries did however attempt to maintain a strict control over the activities of readers: in May 1582 Dalkeith presbytery required all the readers within its bounds to compear "that farther ordor may be tane with thame according to the actis maid in the generall assemble", and in December 1588 the presbytery regretted "havyle the misordor in the kirk throw reidaris". (See S.R.O. CH2/424/1. MS. Dalkeith Presbytery Records, fos. 15r., 17v., 26v., 32v., 98v., 99v., 100v., 103r., 108v. 6 May, 27 May, 28 September, 15 November 1582; 19 March 1583/4; 26 March, 2 April 1584; 12 December 1588; 27 February 1588/9.) Similar action was also undertaken in 1597 by Edinburgh presbytery which not only ordained all readers to produce their forms of "admissioun to reiding" but also decided that in future none should read publicly in churches without licence from the presbytery. (S.R.O. CH2/121/2. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 18 January, 15 February 1596/7; 21 June, 6 September 1597).
parliament could always withhold that which it had granted as some earlier and much subsequent history was to show. On the other hand, presbyterians, who favoured a theocratic and not an erastian system, had never found any need for tarrying for the magistrate and had always believed their polity to be one ascribed by the word of God: "Where lay the need for a king's council when the ministers claimed that they were in counsel with God?"¹

The history of the remaining years of the sixteenth century and of most of the next proved to be a history of variations upon a familiar theme: how to devise a system of church government acceptable to men of differing persuasions, or, perhaps more often, how to adapt one system in the interests of the other in its hour of triumph. The devices were many, the success but limited. In the end, the pattern which emerged proved not to be that of two parties embraced within one national church but rather that of two separate churches, with constitutions founded on divergent principles, contained within one nation. That such a development was inevitable is surely confounded by the history of the Scottish church in the late sixteenth century.

¹ W.C. Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times to 1603*, 354.
"Tolerance and the ability to see a point of view not one’s own have never been common virtues in Scotland. They need, no less than knowledge and accuracy, to be applied to the understanding of our history."

(Sir James Fergusson, S.H.R. xlvi. 58.)

History, it would seem, seldom presents a picture of unwavering, or of unimpeded, progress towards the attainment of any single goal. The tensions and complexities of society have usually prevented this, and as a result diversity rather than uniformity has become a much more significant and dominant historical theme. This is perhaps especially true when applied to the history of the Scottish church in the late sixteenth century where the emerging pattern is not one of unrivalled advance by one faction towards achieving an ideal, be it presbyterian or episcopalian, but rather one in which diverse traditions and conflicting opinions jostle and compete for that ascendancy which would ultimately determine the form of the church’s polity.

At the reformation in Scotland, two basically divergent viewpoints can readily be detected. There was, first of all, the attitude of the political wing of the reforming movement which favoured a policy of conformity with England. To astute politicians like Moray, Morton and Maitland of Lethington who sought to realise the prospects of a uniformity in matters of religion between the two realms (thereby further cementing the diplomatic revolution which substituted a new alliance with protestant England for the old
alliance with papalist France), the example of England's religious settlement had much to commend itself. Conservative in form, erastian in outlook and deferential to the higher powers, the Anglican church had continued to utilise and uphold the ancient form of parochial and diocesan organisation which it inherited. In Scotland, too, there were some who saw the financial advantages, the stability and order, and that immunity from dislocation which would accrue were the traditional medieval organisation retained or in some way accommodated within the structure of the reformed church instead of being swept aside; and there were some like John Hamilton, the papalist archbishop of St. Andrews, who saw in such a solution the added attraction of having no irrevocable break with the past — "the work of many ages".

One solution, which was assiduously cultivated by Maitland of Lethington and Cecil, lay therefore in approximating the polity and worship of the church of Scotland to that of its southern neighbour. Even before 1560, there already existed a measure of conformity in liturgical matters and superficially, at least, there seemed a "likelihood that there would be conformity, and not divergence". But when it came to actively encouraging such a tendency, the politicians soon found to their evident dismay that the ministers remained much too "severe" and quite unwilling to compromise. Consequently, diversity became inevitable, for freed

2. C.S.P. Scot. i. no. 891.
from the restraining influences which even a godly monarch may have wished to exercise, the Scots were able "to frame their services according to their own views".  

To critics who saw the Anglican church as but half-reformed, such a model seemed unlikely to be either desirable or acceptable. Knox and Goodman, who pursued careers on both sides of the border, had each criticised aspects of the church of England's organisation and worship; and in Scotland the alternative solution to that recommended by the politicians lay in adopting a polity in no way dependent on the institutions of the old church which the authors of the first Book of Discipline were intent on subverting. This was the policy which prevailed in 1560 and which had as its advocates Knox and his colleagues in the ministry. As a result, a radically new church organisation came into being, founded on principles which, while at variance with the examples of England and Scandinavia, can be seen to be consistent with Calvinist thinking.

With its emphatic endorsement of the eldership, the Scottish Book of Discipline - directed as it was to the godly council of the realm - was clearly designed not to meet the needs of a persecuted church fighting for its survival but rather to lay the foundations for the organisation of a national church. Following Calvin's precepts, reformers in Scotland, it would seem, rejected the erastian idea that an established church under the rule of a

4. See above, 7-8, and Appendix I below.
godly magistrate had no need for a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Not only did the Scots maintain the scriptural validity of a ministry which included elected elders and deacons, but they also advocated the principle of an absolutely sovereign and independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The church's form, its very structure and organisation, as well as its confessional standards, was not left to the discretion of the civil power but was from the start determined by the ministers themselves; and the Book of Discipline, written by none other than six ministers, required the civil authorities to set the church "at fredome and libertie". The reformers in short did not place the church's future in the keeping of a godly government, nor did they vest supreme authority in the privy council or in parliament. All but invariably, initiative in ecclesiastical matters was taken not by parliament but by the general assembly.

Neither the appointment of elders nor the creation of the general assembly are attributable merely to the fact that the church was unestablished, labouring "under the cross". Neither appears to have been created to serve only as a temporary expedient, and indeed claims were actually advanced that each existed iure divino. The assembly's origins, it would seem, are not necessarily to be associated with repercussions in Scotland following the death of Francis II in December 1560 and the subsequent

1. Knox, Works, ii. 256-7; History, ii. 323.
return to Scotland of the apparently ungodly Mary. In short, the assembly was not devised and did not come into being simply as a substitute for the godly prince which the Scots so evidently lacked. Its birth is rather to be sought in that earlier period, possibly in July 1560, when the Scots possessed a government favourably disposed to the reformed cause in the godly great council of the realm. It is hard to resist the conclusion, therefore, that the creation of such a body enabled reformers to provide the church with a unified central authority which could act independently on the church's behalf. To this extent, the assembly seems to have been not so much a meeting of the godly magistracy as a meeting of the Congregation or community of believers gathered together to determine the church's future in a capacity quite independent of the civil power. In such an assembly, the ministry constituted the central, if not the dominant, element; and while the ministers may have been out-numbered by other participants in some of the earlier assemblies, as interpreters of scripture they alone could command special attention. Not only were the ministers in the assembly described as the very "mouth of the kirk" but the presence of other elements was justified as merely for the "assistance of the ministers".¹ In the period prior to 1584, assemblies met at their own behest and were in no way dependent upon the prince's consent. It is difficult to escape the conclusion, therefore, that from the beginning the reformers conceived the assembly as an autonomous

¹. See above, 72-73.
ecclesiastical body in no way connected with the machinery of the
state. Indeed, the ministers' insistence that they should have
no part in civil affairs effectively excluded them from a voice in
parliament. It fell to the assembly, therefore, as the governing
body of the church to decide the legislation which the church
required in order that parliament, as the organ of the state, might
implement and enforce it. On matters of religion, therefore, it
seems that the ministers remained the final arbiters.

Though initially framed at a time when Scotland possessed a
favourably disposed government, the Knoxian constitution, with its
self-governing institutions, was also capable of functioning even
after the return of Mary in 1561. Not only was there very little
indication that the church's polity, in any of its aspects, was
meant to be purely provisional but the prospect of the new church
system coalescing with the old seemed somewhat remote. On the
other hand, the lack of adequate finance and the claim advanced
by the reformed church to the patrimony of the old led not to a
fulfilment of the reformers' ideals, expressed in the Book of
Discipline, but rather to a deflection of these same ideals.
In effect, the adoption of the benefice system in its entirety
as a means of financing the ministry marked something like a
return to pre-reformation practice; and in the end the framework
of the old ecclesiastical structure came to be incorporated in the
new. There was, it would seem, no real incompatibility between
the claims of the Book of Discipline and the retention of the
lesser benefices as a result of the legislation of 1567, if only
because the Book of Discipline remained vague on the means whereby
the church should fall heir to its patrimony or the form which its endowment might take. Indeed, on the whole, the reformers appear to have been less concerned with the means through which they recovered the patrimony than with actually gaining access to it. The incorporation of the greater benefices within the structure of the reformed church, as a result of the Leith agreement in 1572, did however represent a certain departure from the principles laid down in the Book of Discipline, a document which, in any event, had certainly not envisaged the retention of episcopal revenues in the hands of one individual.

Though it represented a skilful attempt to solve the problem of the church's endowment, the Leith agreement carried with it other implications; and the general assembly, meeting in August 1572, entertained serious misgivings about the new constitution which it seemingly regarded as no more than a temporary expedient until a durable and more acceptable solution could be reached. Even Morton, in 1576, characterised the settlement as but a "prevat constitutioun as is the said pretendit ordinance maid at Leyth, quhilk is nayther constitute be the Estaittis as a law, nor yit is it ressavit be the ministerie universalie, bot oppugnit and callit in doubt be thame selffis in divers the maist substanciall points of the same".¹

The twin themes of what has been called "development and diversity", so discernible in the history of the church's worship,²

¹. See above, 157.
are also clearly applicable to its polity. As the dust of the civil war settled, so too did politicians see once more the prospect of recovering for the crown that initiative and directive in matters ecclesiastical which it had lost at the reformation. One means of exercising effective political control over the church, as was demonstrated in England, was of course through the appointment of bishops chosen by the crown. The convention at Leith is reported to have urged that "so far as may be the order of the kirk of England" be followed in the admission of bishops and others; and, indeed, behind the financial arrangements of Leith, a formal episcopate had emerged professedly based on imitation of Anglican procedure. Superficially at least, the prospect was again one of conformity with England. Yet on closer examination not only were the new bishops to have no greater powers than the old superintendents but the process of government, as distinct from the financial framework, came no closer to that of the church of England other than the substitution of bishop for superintendent. Moreover, by incurring the resentment of the church, Morton's Anglicanising policy showed itself to be in imminent danger of collapse, and it is hard to find any impartial contemporary evidence to support archbishop Spottiswoode's assertion attributing the innovations in church order to Melville's return in 1575. In any event, a formal episcopacy existed solely from 1572 and it is at least debatable whether criticism of episcopacy cannot be said to date not from 1575 but from as early as 1572. The widespread contempt for the new

1. See above, 158-9.
"counterfeit bishops" may well suggest that a doctrinal antipathy to diocesan episcopacy was already in the making, and Adamson's reported identification in 1572 of the parish minister alone as the truly godly bishop shows that a doctrinal objection had already made its appearance as one of the elements of protest in the general animosity surrounding Douglas' appointment as archbishop of St. Andrews.

The criticisms of the Leith settlement were manifold. Apart from the structural defects of an obsolete diocesan administration, the method of episcopal appointments, the very character and qualities of the new protestant episcopate were all called in question, and no less discreditable were the financial loopholes whereby the revenues of the bishoprics could be alienated for secular purposes. The machinery for the crown nomination of bishops did not always work in the best interests of the reformed church and all too often appointments of the dynastic or unreformed variety continued to be made. Consequently, the ablest and most experienced ministers did not become bishops. Antipathy to the Leith agreement plainly dated not merely from the period subsequent to Melville's return but had in fact emerged over two years prior to his homecoming. Not only had Morton incurred "misliking" among the ministry by attempting to "induce" into the Scottish church the "liberty used by the magistrates and bishops of the Church of England" but he is said by Spottiswoode to have forfeited the church's support as early as 1574.¹ Two years later, the

¹. See above, 198-9.
regent is said to have urged the church, if it could no longer abide by the Leith agreement, to set about devising some alternative form of government, and it is from this date that the origins of the second Book of Discipline are to be sought.

The role which Melville assumed in the ensuing discussion is hardly that of the instigator, into which he has sometimes been cast, or of the revolutionary initiating a controversy in matters of church order and episcopacy. Instead, the picture which emerges portrays Melville as a leader whose contribution lay rather in confirming the church in its opposition to Morton's innovating ecclesiastical policies. The regent's plan - to curb the church's independent stance by restraining the freedom of the assembly or even suppressing it altogether, and by integrating the church's structure more closely with the machinery of the state - had already been countered by the assembly's insistence in March 1573/4 that it existed by divine right and by the ministers' refusal at this point to concede or acknowledge any royal supremacy over the church. All this had occurred before Melville's return, but to Melville himself the issue was no less clear: unscriptural "pseudo-episcopacy" was merely an instrument of state control, a means of curtailing the reformed church's traditional independence from the machinery of the state and from royal interference.

Where Melville's true strength lay was in his ability to draw together and unite those various strands of thought, already apparent before his arrival, which would soon have been rendered meaningless had royal policy prevailed. Melvillianism without
Melville is doubtless a contradiction in terms, yet it comes as no surprise to find that practically all the elements in the programme associated with Melville's name had come to be advocated prior to his return from abroad. The theory of the two kingdoms, the rejection of royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, the insistence on the general assembly's continued existence irrespective of the sovereign's religion, the subtle changes in its composition, the acceptance of parity at national level implicit in the institution of the moderator's office together with Adamson's identification of the minister alone as the truly godly bishop had all been advocated and reaffirmed by leaders of the Knoxian church. None of these ideas can seriously be said to have been introduced by Andrew Melville; and there would seem to be slender enough grounds for maintaining that presbyterianism represented no very genuine Scottish tradition.

Even on the issue of episcopacy, there are grounds for believing that the young Melville was less inflexible in his attitude than is sometimes suggested and that his objection to diocesan episcopacy was founded as much on a practical study of the situation in Scotland as on any doctrinaire argument which he may have inherited from Geneva. As a member of two assembly committees appointed to examine the bishops of Moray and Dunblane, Melville made no known objection to the existence of episcopacy in principle, and it was only when John Durie questioned the nature of the episcopal office that Melville is said, on the sole testimony of archbishop Spottiswoode, to have supported Durie's criticisms. It is nevertheless indicative of current attitudes on the question of
episcopacy that Melville and other members of the panel appointed to adjudicate on the nature of the episcopal office should find common ground for agreement: the name of bishop, they decided, was common to all pastors, though some might legitimately act as visitors. It is also highly significant that the views of Melville and those of the committee on bishops should be readily assimilated and accepted by the church as a whole. Nor is this surprising, for the report of 1575 implied something like a return to the structure operating in the 1560's. Melville himself appears to have been satisfied with the visitation articles of 1576, and not only was parity in its strictest sense not initially advocated but the idea of a regional presbytery likewise came only later. What reformers had demanded was efficient oversight and their attitude was manifestly flexible enough to allow the system of oversight by superintendents and commissioners in the 1560's to oscillate either towards bishops, as it did in 1572 under Morton's auspices, or away from bishops to commissioners or visitors, as it did in 1576. Not only did none of the superintendents ever become a bishop as a result of the Leith agreement but contemporaries themselves, while seldom likely to confuse the offices of bishop and superintendent, came to regard both the offices and styles of superintendent and commissioner as interchangeable. Indeed, the significance of this approximation is all the more apparent when it is recalled that the office of commissioner was not then regarded as incompatible with a presbyterian polity.

Knox for one, it would seem, never expressed approval for an exclusively episcopal system and, indeed, in an estimate of
their priorities it would be difficult to discover any fundamental divergence between the views of John Knox and Andrew Melville. The latter's main achievement was in guiding opinion away from the Leith episcopacy towards another solution substantially moulded on the system developed by the former. Knox did not live to see the fulfilment of his life's work but many of his colleagues who survived became the architects behind the second Book of Discipline and it was under Melville's leadership that the system bequeathed by his predecessors expanded and matured. That Melville and these first reformers were in substantial agreement on the line of action to be taken is scarcely open to doubt. The Book itself seems to represent no more than a statement of various well established strands of thought, already in wide circulation, and, as A.F. Mitchell suggested many years ago, one is disinclined to believe that it was radically incompatible with the contents of the first Book or that the two were founded on divergent principles. The alterations which Melville's programme entailed were certainly much less drastic than might be supposed and all but invariably the changes envisaged in the second Book of Discipline were merely changes in form rather than in principle.

As might be suspected, many of the first reformers who supported Melville and the second Book of Discipline were older men, undoubtedly Melville's seniors, men who had never received university instruction from Melville and who were therefore less likely than others to be unduly affected by his teaching. It was rather among the up and coming, younger generation of presbyterians that Melville's influence as a teacher becomes more
apparent. In the revised university curricula which Melville introduced, the teaching of Aristotle, while not altogether ousted, unquestionably lost ground amidst the new educational policies and the rise of Ramist influences. The orientation towards an alliance between presbyterianism, radicalism and Ramism, on the one hand, and episcopacy, aristocracy and scholasticism, on the other, is reflected not only in the universities but in the wider church where presbyterianism established itself best in areas well known for their indigenous religious radicalism.

With the Melvillian ascendancy, the policy of "conformity with England" was certainly eclipsed, but, with the onset of a conservative reaction in the form of the Arran regime, archbishop Adamson grasped the initiative and went further than any previous apologist in advocating an approximation of the church of Scotland to that of its southern neighbour. At the same time, the Melvillian exiles were afforded a unique opportunity to practice their own brand of conformity with England - not indeed with Anglicans but with their English presbyterian counterparts.

In form and in content the "Black acts" of 1584 marked a definite departure from earlier practice, and the test of the Arran regime's ecclesiastical measures came with the obligatory subscription which failed in its intentions. Not for the first time did attempts at imposing a uniformity with England end up discredited. In the end, the polity which was to emerge was one which was unmistakably presbyterian in character and the parliamentary ratification which that polity received in 1592 confirmed the progress the Melvillians had made in transforming a somewhat indeterminate
polity into one which was thoroughly presbyterian.

With its recognition of the separation of the two jurisdictions and its reflection of the royal supremacy, its justification of the continued existence of the assembly, its endorsement of the eldership and its acceptance of the commissioner or visitor, presbyterianism cannot be interpreted as representing anything other than a reappraisal of Scottish reformation principles. In short, it showed remarkably few signs of originality; and a dispassionate survey of the evidence suggests the conclusion that Melvillianism clearly lay within the main stream of Scottish reformation thought.
A CENSUS OF MELVILLIAN PREACHERS

Note:— The following Census attempts to provide an alphabetical list of those ministers whose presbyterian sympathies can be satisfactorily attested in the period 1575 to circa 1610. As explained above (p. 385), only the more militant presbyterians, it would seem, have left a testimony of their beliefs; and many fellow-travellers who were closely associated with the second Book of Discipline and with the Melvillian programme have been excluded from this Census simply through lack of corroborative evidence of any anti-episcopal sentiments. It is true that some of the ministers included in the Census were active in 1560 while others were still alive in 1640. In one sense, therefore, the total of 155 ministers is related not to 1,000 but possibly to some 3,000 parishes. On the other hand, as explained above (p. 385 n.2), the majority of ministers listed in the Census did hold parishes in the 1590's when presbyterianism was at its height and, in this sense, it would seem legitimate to relate the 155 ministers to a possible 1,000 parishes at a given date in the 1590's. (See pp. 384-5 above).
ABERNETHY, John (d. 1639)
Minister of Jedburgh, 1593.

The son of Thomas Abernethy of Glencorse and one of the first students at Edinburgh under Rollock, graduating in 1587, Abernethy signed the protest against episcopacy in 1606. Though he was nominated in 1607 as constant moderator, the presbytery of Jedburgh initially refused to accept him, and Abernethy himself seemed unwilling to accept the office. He is stated to have hated the "course and government of bishops", and in 1608 he was still regarded as one of "the sincerer sort" which in this context was synonymous with being a presbyterian. Later he became something of a trimmer: in 1615 he solicited for the archbishopric of Glasgow, became a member of the High Commission, and was promoted to the bishopric of Caithness in December 1616, though according to Calderwood Abernethy had "not seene the diocie of Cathnesse, wherof he is bishop, thrise since his consecration, that is, the space of eight or nyne yeere; and when he went, he stayed not, but lifted up his rent and returned to Jedburgh, where he makes his residence, and serves still as minister".

1. Calderwood, vi. 491.
2. R.P.C. vii. 301.
3. Ibid. viii. 102, 148; Calderwood, vi. 680.
5. Ibid. 709-10.
6. Ibid. 777.
7. Fasti, ii. 125.
He married (1) Alison, daughter of Sir David Home of Fishwick, governor of Dumbarton castle, (2) Isabella, daughter of Patrick Murray of Philiphaugh.

AIRD, William (c. 1555 - 1606)
Minister at St. Cuthbert's, 1586 - 1606.
Aged over twenty, a married man and a mason by trade, Aird learned English and was taught by his wife. He studied Latin, Greek and especially Hebrew, and as "an extraordinar witnes steirede uppe be God" attended "the collage and exerceis", apparently in St. Andrews, where he studied theology. In 1584, he fled with James Melville to Berwick, and in 1586 he was admitted to "publict teiching" by Edinburgh presbytery which approved his doctrine and agreed to admit him to the ministry "quhen thei sall se a convenient place and a particular flock". In September 1586, the presbytery accepted "the supplicatioun of the eldaris and parochinaris of the west kirk of Edinburgh" on behalf of Aird and proceeded to admit him as minister of St. Cuthbert's. As late as November 1589, during the presbytery's customary "trial" of its members, Aird was accused, amongst other things, of damning all the ministers who had remained in the country during the Arran regime and who had put their signatures to the king's subscription of 1585, though in reply Aird explained to the presbytery's satisfaction "that he never damnitt all the brether of the

1. Melville, Diary, 218; Calderwood, iv. 236-7; viii. 281-2; cf. Select Biographies, i. 297.
2. S.R.O. CH2/121/1, MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 2 August 1586.
3. Ibid. 13 September 1586.
ministry quha remanit in the contrey, but for the subscriptioun he
damnit factioun and never the persones and that he medlit not in the
said mater sen the last act of the provinciall assemble maid
hiranent". 1 He preached vehemently against captain James Stewart
in December 1592, 2 and along with Andrew Melville and other presby-
terian ministers opposed excommunicating the lairds of Spott in
1595. 3 In 1596 he was on leets for minister of Edinburgh, 4 and in
1598 Robert Bruce recommended him as colleague, though Aird himself
refused. 5 His lasting commitment to the Melvillian cause is
indicated in his opposition in 1598 to ecclesiastical representation
in parliament, 6 and he is reported to have been critical of bishops
and of the king in "innovating usurpations upon the Church". 7

ALAN, Robert
Minister at Saltoun in 1580 and at Newlands in 1585. 8
In 1586 he signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy
and the Black acts, 9 and in the same year was appointed commissioner
for erecting presbyteries in Tweeddale. 10

1. Ibid. 4 November 1589.
2. Calderwood, v. 188.
3. Ibid. v. 366-7.
6. Ibid. 694.
7. Select Biographies, i. 297.
8. Fasti, i. 283, 391.
10. B.U.K. ii. 649; Calderwood, iv. 556.
ARBUTHNOT, Alexander (1538 - 1583)

Principal of King's college and minister of Aberdeen.

The son of Andrew Arbuthnot of Pitcairles, Arbuthnot was educated in the 1550's at St. Andrews university. In 1560 he was found qualified for ministering and teaching, but he went to France and spent five years abroad during which he studied civil law at Bourges. On returning home he was presented in 1568 to the parsonage and vicarage of Logie Buchan, and in 1569 to the parsonage and vicarage of Arbuthnot and to the principalship of King's college, Aberdeen. In conjunction with his university office, he acted as minister at St. Machars, and in October 1580 he took part in the "inauguration" of elders to the kirk session. He discussed university reform with Melville in 1575, and the latter is known to have corresponded with Arbuthnot in September 1579. During assemblies, Arbuthnot stayed at Durie's house in Edinburgh; he took part in drafting the second Book of Discipline; he was present with Melville when Adamson subscribed the articles of the second Book of Discipline relating to the

1. R.S.A.U. 152, 153, 256.
2. B.U.K. i. 4; Calderwood, ii. 46.
3. Spottiswoode, ii. 319; D.N.B. i. 531.
4. R.S.S. vi. no. 395.
5. Ibid. nos. 662, 685.
6. Fasti, vi. 18.
8. Melville, Diary, 53.
9. N.L.S. Wodrow MSS, folio vol. XLII, fo. 11r.
10. Melville, Diary, 78.
office of bishop; and in accordance with a commission from the assembly was active in establishing presbyteries. In April 1581 the assembly decided Arbuthnot should demit his university commitments in favour of Nicol Dalgleish, and serve instead as a full-time parish minister in the city; and although he received a call to become minister at St. Andrews in August 1583, Arbuthnot declined to accept the invitation. Twice elected moderator of the assembly, Arbuthnot was reputed to have been an outspoken opponent of diocesan episcopacy. His death on 10 October 1583 was commemorated by an epitaph written by Andrew Melville.

AUCHMOWTIE, William

Minister of Hawick, 1571.

In 1586 Auchmowtie signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts". He was chosen in 1581 to establish presbyteries in Teviotdale and in the same year was on leets for minister of St. Andrews. In 1585 he was mentioned as minister of

1. Melville, Diary, 121.
2. B.U.K. ii. 531, 549, 566, 587.
3. B.U.K. ii. 475; Row, History, 82. This enactment never became effective and Arbuthnot remained as principal. See B.U.K. ii. 643; Calderwood, iii. 738.
4. R.St.A.K.S. ii. 506-8; cf. B.U.K. ii. 644; Calderwood, iii. 742.
5. B.U.K. i. 269, 383; Calderwood, iii. 287, 378.
7. Melville, Diary, 140.
Duns, but he was still minister at Hawick in 1591. In 1561 a William Auchmowitz matriculated at St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews.

**BALCANQUHAL, Walter (c. 1548 - 1617)**

Minister of Edinburgh, 1574 - 1616.

Balcanquhal is stated to have been born at Balcanquhal in the parish of Strathmiglo in Fife. Although archbishop Adamson accused him of being "of small education in learning", he is known to have attended St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews in the 1560's. He became an exhorter in Aberdour, and was apparently minister at Bothans and Barro in 1572. In 1574 he was appointed minister at Edinburgh. Summoned before the privy council in December 1580 for preaching against French courtiers, he declined the privy council's jurisdiction in matters spiritual, in accordance with the doctrine of two kingdoms. His sentence of warding was however remitted; the government finally recognised the general assembly.

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1. Fasti, ii, 8.
2. Ibid. ii, 112.
4. D.N.E. i. 944; Fasti, i. 125.
5. Calderwood, iv. 84.
7. Fasti, i. 125-6.
8. Thirds of Benefices, 275.
10. Calderwood, iii. 480.
11. Ibid. 772-776.
12. Ibid. 480.
13. Ibid.
as the only competent body for judging ministers' doctrine; and the assembly, for its part, found nothing in Balcanquhal's sermon "that conteinit either errour, slander or just offence, bot solid, good and true doctrine". In 1584 Balcanquhal praised Melville and preached against "godless start-ups". An opponent of the "Black acts" and the Arran regime, Balcanquhal sought refuge in England, where he addressed letters to his old congregation and to the ministry of Scotland. During his absence, his wife, together with James Lawson's wife, conducted a spirited defence of the presbyterian exiles and launched into a scathing attack on Adamson as archbishop. He attended Lawson's funeral in London, and was a witness to his testament, and when in London he preached several sermons until inhibited from doing so by the bishop of London. Returning in October 1585, he was reproved by the king in the following year for preaching that ministers had as great authority as bishops. In

1. B.U.K. ii. 527-8; Calderwood, iii. 583-4.
2. B.U.K. ii. 543; Calderwood, iii. 585.
3. Calderwood, iv. 13; Melville, Diary, 145.
5. C.S.P. Scot. vii. nos. 106, 146, 148; Melville, Diary, 167, 170, 221; Spottiswoode, ii. 315.
6. Calderwood, iv. 73ff., 91ff.
7. Ibid. 107ff.
8. Ibid. 126-141.
9. B.M. Additional MSS. 4736 fo. 166v.
11. Ibid. 247.
12. Ibid. 381; Melville, Diary, 223.
13. C.S.P. Scot. viii. no. 233; Calderwood, iv. 491.
1591 he irritated the king by defending Knox\(^1\) and in 1592 James was again offended by one of his sermons.\(^2\) He continued, however, to preach against Arran and Lennox,\(^3\) and was critical of Nicol Dalgleish's imprisonment in 1594.\(^4\) After the Edinburgh riot of 1596 he was denounced for not compearing before the privy council;\(^5\) he escaped imprisonment by fleeing to Yorkshire;\(^6\) and in a joint letter with Robert Bruce maintained his innocence.\(^7\) In 1598 he was appointed minister of the north east quarter of Edinburgh.\(^8\) Though he initially declined to acknowledge the king's version of the Gowrie conspiracy,\(^9\) he finally declared himself convinced.\(^10\) He was, however, ordered to be translated from Edinburgh\(^11\) but on the king's birthday (19 June 1601) he re-entered his ministry at Edinburgh.\(^12\) Though not opposed to the office of constant moderator,\(^13\) he did condemn the 1610 assembly which approved episcopacy.\(^14\) He ceased preaching in July 1616 and died on 4 August 1617.\(^15\) His wife,

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1. Calderwood, v. 139.
2. Ibid. 161.
3. Ibid. 187.
4. Ibid. 358.
6. Calderwood, v. 521; Melville, Diary, 374.
8. Ibid. 713.
10. Ibid. 158-9.
11. B.U.K. iii. 971; Calderwood, vi. 121-2.
13. Ibid. vi. 627-8.
15. Fasti, i. 125-6.
Margaret, was a daughter of James Marjoribanks, an Edinburgh merchant burgess.

BALFOUR, James (d. 1613)

Minister at Guthrie and Idvies in 1563 and from 1589 minister of Edinburgh.

The son of David Balfour of Powis, he married Barbara the youngest daughter of Richard Melville of Baldowie and was therefore the brother-in-law of James Melville. During assemblies he was one of a group of Melvillians who lodged in John Durie's house. After the Edinburgh riot of December 1596 he was ordered to be warded but escaped imprisonment and "lurked" with James Melville in Fife. In 1598 he was appointed minister of the south east quarter of the city. At first he refused to believe the king's version of the Gowrie conspiracy but under pressure confessed his error. Along with the Melvilles he and a number of other presbyterians were ordered to Hampton Court in 1606 where, after an interview of the king, he was placed under the custody of the bishop of Norwich. Though allowed

1. Thirds of Benefices, 231.
3. Melville, Diary, 53.
4. Ibid. 78.
5. R.P.C. v. 353.
7. Calderwood, v. 713.
9. Calderwood, vi. 575, 638-41; Spottiswoode, iii. 177; Melville, Diary, 637, 644-5, 653, 659, 678, 697.
to return to Scotland, he was confined to Cockburnspath and Alford; ¹
and when he attempted to preach again in Edinburgh he was removed by
royal warrant in 1610 ² though the town council continued to pay his
stipend till 1 May 1613 when he died. ³

BALFOUR, William (d. 1605)
Minister of Kelso, 1585.
Son of William Balfour, a citizen of St. Andrews, ⁴ Balfour as
minister of Kelso signed the protest of the synod of Merse in 1586,
"no wise allowing of that tyrannicall supremacie of bishops and
archbishops over ministers, and their lawes, which directlie repugne
to the law of God".⁵ His son, John, was served heir on 12 July
1615.⁶

BARCLAY, David
Minister of Maybole, Kilwinning, et al.
Barclay of Touch, the eldest son of John Barclay of Touch was minister
of Dailly in 1590 and of Maybole in 1599 before becoming minister of
Dumfries in 1601,⁷ and it was when minister of Maybole that he in
1600 along with several others defended the presbyterian polity and
argued against "Antichristian and Anglican episcopall digniteis".⁸

1. R.P.C. vii. 415, 533; Calderwood, vi. 660, 668; Melville, Diary, ⁷⁰⁹.
2. Ibid. viii. 414 and n., 615.
3. Fasti, i. 63.
4. Ibid. ii. 70-1.
5. Calderwood, iv. 604.
6. Retours, i. 353.
7. Fasti, ii. 264; iii. 28, 52.
8. Calderwood, vi. 2ff.
Translated to Kilwinning circa 1605, he continued to be active in the presbyterian cause, signing the protest against the introduction of episcopacy in 1606. In 1614 he was appointed minister at St. Andrews, and though he accepted a D.D., a degree to which many presbyterians were opposed, he nevertheless protested against the articles of Perth, and was finally deprived from preaching in the diocese of St. Andrews by the court of High Commission in 1620.

He later became minister of Dairsie in 1630. His first wife, Alison, was daughter of John Melville of Raith. As minister at Dailly he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Girvan on 16 April 1591 and in July 1592 was in receipt of a gift of escheat. He may have been the person of that name who was a student at St. Andrews in the 1570's.

**BELLENDEN, Adam** (d. 1648)
Minister of Falkirk, 1593.
Bellenden, who succeeded to the lands of Kilconquhar, and described

1. Fasti, iii. 116.
2. Calderwood, vi. 491; Row, *History*, 430.
8. S.R.O. PS1/62. Register of the Privy Seal, fo. 35r.
9. S.R.O. PS1/64. Register of the Privy Seal, fo. 65v.
10. See R.St.A.U. 177, 287.
11. Fasti, i. 205.
in 1601 as "brother of the late Mr. Thomas Bellenden, tutor and wardatar of Kilconquhar", ¹ was one of a number of ministers who conferred with the brethren imprisoned for attending the assembly at Aberdeen which the king had declared illegal. ² In 1606 he protested against episcopacy, ³ and is variously described as "an eager opposer of hierarchie" ⁴ and as "sometyme a vehement opposite against bishops". ⁵ He was still reckoned as one of the "sincerer sort" in 1608, ⁶ though he later changed sides. He was appointed to the bishopric of Dunblane in 1616, ⁷ and although he signed the protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk in 1617, ⁸ he nevertheless sat as a member of the High Commission in 1620. ⁹ In 1596 Dame Margaret Livingston, the widow of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnowle, acting on behalf of her son, James Bellenden of Broughton, patron of the benefice, presented Adam Bellenden, his uncle, to the parsonage and vicarage of Falkirk. Due to the dilapidation of the benefice through granting pensions "the heall rent of the said benefice" was exhausted and there remained only from "the deutie of the takkis ane hundret ten markis, quhilk not being ane sufficient stipend to ane minister the said James Bellenden being leath to sie the kirk desolat

¹. R.P.C. vi. 195.
². Calderwood, vi. 376, 457.
³. Ibid. 491.
⁵. Calderwood, vii. 203.
⁶. Ibid. vi. 777.
⁷. Watt, Fasti, 78.
⁸. Row, History, 430.
⁹. Ibid. 269.
hes voluntarie gevin ane part of his rent to the said Mr Adames intertenement, and now he being of purpois to sie the said kirk provydit in tymes cuming have sindrie tymes requyrit the said Mr. Adame to sett the tak of the said benefice to him". This Adam Bellenden refused to do without the church's consent though he did ask the presbytery to allow it since otherwise there would be no stipend for a minister. ¹ In May 1635 he was translated from Dunblane to the bishopric of Aberdeen, was deprived in 1638, and with his death in 1648 was buried in England.²

BENNET, Andrew

Minister of Monimail, 1585.

Previously reader at Forgan and apparently minister at Creich,³ Bennet was obviously sympathetic to Melvillianism and antipathetic towards episcopacy, for in 1607 he chose rather to leave the synod of Fife before voting than to give approval to the archbishop as constant moderator.⁴ He was probably a graduate of St. Andrews university⁵ and was presented by the king to the vicarage of Creich on 26 February 1583/4.⁶ In 1585 he is described as late vicar of Creich and in 1587 as late vicar of Forgan.⁷ His wife Margaret

¹ M.S. Stirling Presbytery Records, 23 June 1596.
² Watt, Fasti, 4-5.
⁴ Calderwood, vi. 676.
⁵ R.St.A.U. 167, 169, 277
⁶ S.R.O. CH4/1/2. Register of Presentations to Benefices, fo. 97v.
⁷ S.R.O. CH4/1/2. Register of Presentations to Benefices, fo. 136r.; PS1/56. Register of the Privy Seal, fo. 96v.
Beaton who predeceased him left assets amounting to some £411.  

**BETOUN, James**  (d. c. 1607)

Minister of Roxburgh, 1579.  

As one of the ministers in the province of Merse, he signed the synod's protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts" in 1586.  

In October 1579 he received a crown presentation to the parsonage and vicarage of Old Roxburgh. The third son of John Betoun of Balfour, he married Isobel Gilray who died on 20 January 1600, with net assets totalling £2,210.  

**BISSET, Thomas**

Minister at Drumelzier.

Exhorter, reader and later styled minister at Drumelzier, Bisset was a signatory of the protest against episcopacy by the synod of Merse in 1586.  

**BLACK, David**  (c. 1550 – 1603)

Minister of St. Andrews, 1590.

A graduate of St. Andrews, and a former schoolmaster in England,  

2. Fasti ii. 86.  
4. R.S.S. vii. no. 2059.  
6. Fasti i. 268; Thirds of Benefices, 283; Calderwood, iv. 605.  
7. R.St.A.U. 268; Melville, Diary, 358.  
8. C.S.P. Scot. x. no. 362.
Black was appointed minister of St. Andrews on Andrew Melville's recommendation in 1590. Though admitted minister, Black was nevertheless unwilling to undertake the ministry of the whole parish but only of "sic ane portioun as he may deall with" and the town's failure to provide an additional minister led Black to withhold his ministry from the parishioners for a spell, and it was not until 1593 that the problem was solved with the division of the town into two districts and with Robert Wallace's appointment as a "follow laborar" in the ministry. Described by Row as "most antipraelaticall", Black was a witness to archbishop Adamson's recantation, and in 1592 he preached that the murder of Riccio, in so far as it was the work of God, was allowed by Knox and not otherwise. Summoned before the king and council at Falkland in 1595 "for certane speeches uttered by him in his doctrine against the king's progenitors", Black declined the king's jurisdiction in matters spiritual and James Melville in Black's defence before the king declared him to be "a godlie man and a powerfull preacher and that his ministrie had beene verie fruictfull in St. Andrewes". In the end James and Black were reconciled but not before Andrew Melville had launched forth with his famous "two kingdoms" speech. In 1596 Black preached before the synod of Fife on the benefits which God had bestowed upon the kirk and how the

1. Melville, Diary, 293, 323; cf. R.St.A.K.S. ii. 687-8.
5. Ibid. 160.
6. Ibid. 376-81; Melville, Diary, 323-28; C.S.P. Scot. xi. no. 636.
church had been saved from "Balaamitish bishops", and in the same year he was again summoned before the king and council for uttering seditious speeches. On the advice of his fellow ministers, Black declined to accept the king's jurisdiction in matters of doctrine and made clear his stand in favour of the two kingdoms. During his trial Black protested that the king should lodge his complaints with the presbytery in his capacity as a Christian and a member of the church and not as king. In defence of his innocence, he was supported by both Pont and Bruce and he also produced testimonials from the town council and university of St. Andrews. In the end the privy council found him guilty of lease-making and defamation, and for his speeches against James and his queen, Elizabeth of England and against the authority of princes in general Black was sentenced to be warded north of the Tay. As a result, Black was removed from his ministry at St. Andrews and translated to the church of Arbirlot in 1597 where he received a crown presentation to the vicarage of Arbirlot on 15 May 1598. He died on 12 January 1603. According to Calderwood, Black was "a man mightie in doctrine, and of singular fidelitie and diligence in the calling of the ministrie".

2. Ibid. 453.
3. Ibid. 456-60, 464-5, 475-83; C.S.P. Scot. xii. no. 292.
5. Ibid. 335-6.
6. Ibid. 340-2; Calderwood, v. 498.
7. S.R.O. PS1/69. Register of the Privy Seal, fo. 266r.
9. Ibid. v. 127.
BLACKFORD, James

An individual hard to identify, Blackford was one of forty two presbyterians who signed the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy. ¹

BLACKHALL, Andrew (c. 1537 - 1609)

Minister in 1564 of Liberton, and of Pencaitland, Ormiston and Cranston, and from 1574 of Inveresk or Musselburgh. Like Brand, Andrew Blackhall was critical of the "Black acts" and had declined to observe them. ² In the early 1580's he was actively involved in establishing presbyteries in the border country. ³ He received a royal presentation to the vicarage of Cranston on 20 March 1570/1, ⁴ together with several pensions from the crown to himself and his family. ⁵ He died on 31 January 1609 in his 73rd year. ⁶

BLYTH, Henry (c. 1573 - 1635)

Minister of the Canongate, 1598.

A student at St. Andrews university, matriculating in 1589 at St. Leonard's and graduating in 1593, Blyth was chosen as minister of the Canongate by "the kirk and counsell" who petitioned Edinburgh presbytery in February 1597/8 that he be admitted "fellow labourir with Johnne Brand, thair adgit pastor", and, in the following April, Blyth

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¹. Row, History, 430; Calderwood, vi. 491.
². Calderwood, iv. 198.
⁴. R.S.S. vi. no. 1139.
⁵. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. Register of Presentations to Benefices, fos. 78r., 155v.; PS1/60. Register of the Privy Seal, fo. 69v.
⁶. Fasti, i. 324.
was duly admitted as minister of the second charge. With the death of Brand in September 1600, Blyth was translated to the first charge in 1601. In 1600 he was called before the privy council "and threatened with punishment incase he qualified not his speeches". Two years later, in 1602, the king took exception to Blyth's sermons, and in the same year he was sentenced to be warded in Edinburgh castle for declining the privy council's jurisdiction in matters of doctrine (thereby maintaining the doctrine of the "two kingdoms"). He approved the meeting of the Aberdeen assembly in 1605, and was warded in Blackness for his condemnation of the privy council's proceedings against Forbes and Welsh, two of the ministers who had met at Aberdeen. In 1617 he subscribed the roll on behalf of the liberties of the kirk, and in 1619 was cited before the High Commission and sentenced to be suspended from the ministry and confined to Inverness for his opposition to the Perth articles. In 1622 he was appointed minister at Eccles, and died in Edinburgh in February 1635 aged about 62. His son John was served heir on 20

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2. Fasti, i. 23, 28.
3. Calderwood, vi. 100.
4. Ibid. 139.
9. Ibid. 379-80, 388; Row, History, 323.
10. Row, History, 324; Fasti, ii. 12.
March 1635. In his testament dated 20 January 1636, Blyth left net assets of some £2,513, and his widow Agnes Hart who died on 9 March 1649 left net assets around £655.

BOYD, of Trochrig, Robert. (1578 - 1627)
Principal of Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities.
The son of the archbishop of Glasgow, Boyd was educated at Edinburgh university and then left for France where he taught at Tours and Montauban before becoming pastor to the church at Verteuil in 1606. Thereafter he became professor of divinity at Saumur, and in 1610 when home in Scotland Boyd in a letter to Bruce showed himself critical of the innovations in matters of polity and of "the daylie decaying estate of that once floorishing kirk of our land". Later appointed principal of Glasgow and then of Edinburgh universities, Boyd was admitted minister of Greyfriars in 1622 where he "plainlie condemned this hierarchie of Bishops (these were his verie words) which was come into our Kirk, and condemned the ministers of Edinburgh for following of that course, beseeching them to be better instruments for the propagation of God's glorie then they were, and that they would withstand that corruption of Bishops by all lawfull means they could". For his opposition to the Perth articles, he

1. Retours of Services of Heirs, ii. no. 2117.
4. Select Biographies, i. 309.
was called before the privy council and confined in Carrick.\textsuperscript{1} In 1626 he became minister of Paisley but resigned in the same year and retired to Trochrig. He died in Edinburgh in 1627, leaving net assets of £2,536.\textsuperscript{2}

**BOYLE, John**

Minister of Eckford, 1608.

A graduate of Edinburgh university in 1596, Boyle, though blind was nominated for the proposed second charge at Jedburgh in 1601\textsuperscript{3} and was admitted minister at Eckford in 1608.\textsuperscript{4} He proved particularly conspicuous in his opposition to constant moderators and declined to recognise the bishop of Orkney as visitor of Merse and Teviotdale. Though he finally submitted, he was nevertheless confined to his parish and prohibited from attending presbyteries.\textsuperscript{5} In 1610 he is said to have been deprived for immoral conduct.\textsuperscript{6}

**BRAND, John**  (d. 1600)

Minister of the Canongate (Holyrood), 1564 - 1600.

For his critical attitude to the "Black acts" which reaffirmed diocesan episcopacy and asserted the royal supremacy over the church, Brand was summoned before the privy council on 4 September 1584 where he and others were "accused for breaking the acts of parliament,

3. B.U.K. iii. 953; Calderwood, vi. 24; Row, History, 200.
4. Fasti, ii. 110.
5. R.P.C. viii. 103, 126, 205, 509-10; Calderwood, vi. 709-11.
6. Fasti, ii. 110.
speciallie for not obeying the bishop's injunctions", which, "it was answered, they could not obey". ¹ ¹ He was active in the assembly under the Melvillian ascendancy, and in October 1581 was one of several commissioned by the assembly to ask the government that no acts of parliament be passed "repugnant to the true Word of God, and namely concerning Bishops". ² ² On 5 January 1567/8 Brand was admitted to the chaplaincy of St. Ninian beside Trinity college. ³ ³ He died in September 1600, leaving net assets amounting to £226. ⁴ ⁴

BRUCE, Robert (1554 - 1631)

Minister of Edinburgh, 1587.

The second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth and a graduate of St. Leonard's college St. Andrews, Bruce left Scotland for France and the Netherlands where he studied humanity and jurisprudence. Returning home he abandoned all notion of practising law and chose instead to enter the church. After studying theology under Andrew Melville at St. Andrews and attending the exercise for divinity students, Bruce was called to the ministry of Edinburgh on the recommendation of Andrew Melville.⁵ ⁵ Soon afterwards, in February 1587/8, he was chosen moderator of the general assembly, an office which he again held in May 1592.⁶ ⁶ During the king's absence in Scandinavia, Bruce acted as a kind of extraordinary privy councillor, and it was

2. B.U.K. ii. 546.
3. R.S.S. vi. no. 87.
5. Melville, Diary, 147-8, 255; Calderwood, iv. 18-19, 634-8; R.St.A.U. 166, 169, 178.
6. B.U.K. ii. 703, 786; Calderwood, iv. 649; v. 156.
Bruce who anointed queen Anne at her coronation in 1590. In 1592, however, Bruce required the king "to humble himself upon his knees and to confess his negligence before God", and he in turn was later accused of treason. It was to Bruce that Bothwell had made his repentance in 1589 and in 1594 Bruce declared in a sermon that Bothwell "had taikin the protection of the good caus, at least, the pretence therof, to the king's shame". In December 1596 when the king ordered Bruce and the city ministers to leave Edinburgh, Bruce, in a sermon underlining the doctrine of the two kingdoms, showed the necessity for resisting "the manifest usurpation that is made upon the spirituall kingdome and this encroaching upon our spirituall liberteis". After the Edinburgh riot, Bruce and his colleague Walter Balcanquhal left for Yorkshire where they set to work on an apologia vindicating their innocence. In July 1597 the ministers of Edinburgh were permitted to preach once more and in the following year the king declared himself reconciled with Bruce and his fellow ministers. Bruce was firmly opposed to the idea of ecclesiastical representation in parliament and was an outspoken opponent of episcopacy. For declining to accept the king's version of the Gowrie conspiracy, he was warded and then ordered to leave the country.

2. Ibid. 168.
3. Melville, Diary, 277; Calderwood, v. 295.
5. Calderwood, v. 521; Melville, Diary, 374.
7. Ibid. 694; vi. 59.
8. Ibid. vi. 83, 85-6; R.P.C. vi. 148-9, 155, 158, 161-2; Criminal Trials, ii. 298ff.
After several months in France, he returned to England and was finally given permission to return to Scotland. Still unrepentant, he remained reluctant to profess himself thoroughly resolved with the king's account of the Gowrie plot. In 1605 he was forbidden to preach and was warded in Inverness despite a plea in 1606 from the nobility, at the assembly's request, for his liberation. As late as 1621 he was again warded first in Edinburgh castle and then in Inverness for breaking the bounds of his confinement. With the death of James and the accession of Charles, Bruce was allowed to return to Kinnaird, where he died on 27 July 1631, leaving net assets amounting to a mere £300 which was scarcely surprising since he had been deprived of his stipend. His wife, Martha, the second daughter of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, died in November 1620 with debts in excess of her assets.

BUCHANAN, Thomas

Minister of Ceres, 1578.

The son of Thomas Buchanan of Drummakill and nephew of George Buchanan, Buchanan was regent in St. Salvator's college St. Andrews, then rector of Edinburgh High School in 1568 and master of Stirling grammar school

2. Calderwood, vi. 139-143, 146-8, 153-7, 181-3.
3. Ibid. 274-5, 278-9, 291-2, 607, 609, 627, 756; O.L. i. 15, 16, 19ff.
4. Ibid. vii. 392-4, 450, 509-10, 518, 545, 566.
5. Fasti, i. 54-5.
7. Ibid.
in 1571. He was appointed minister of Ceres in 1578 and received a royal presentation to the provostry of Kirkhill in the same year. In October 1582 he was nominated by the assembly as one of the masters of St. Mary's college St. Andrews. He was regarded as upright "in the cause of the Kirk against the Bischopes" and to James Melville he was "my guid nibour and frind, at that tyme, and all his dayes". He died on 12 April 1599 and in his testament left net assets amounting to some £5,258. His first wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of John Traill younger of Magask, and widow of Robert Hamilton, the principal of St. Mary's college St. Andrews, pre-deceased him, dying on 9 December 1595, with net assets totalling £9,668.

BUCHANAN, William (c. 1572 - 1614)

Minister of Methven, 1607.

A graduate of Glasgow university in 1592, Buchanan was minister of Foulis Wester in 1593 and of Methven in 1607. In 1606 he signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy. He died aged about forty two on 15 December 1614 and in his testament left assets amounting to £2,752.

1. Melville, Diary, 122; Fasti, v. 130-1; R.S.S. vii. no. 1531.
2. B.U.K. ii. 596-7; Calderwood, iii. 688-9.
3. Melville, Diary, 122, 146.
6. Fasti, iv. 221, 271.
7. Calderwood, vi. 491.
BURDOUN, James  (d. c. 1631)
Minister of Foulis, Muthill et. al.
In 1586 Burdoun graduated from St. Andrews university, and in October of that year "a certane young man callit Mr James Burdone" who had exercised in Dunblane professed himself willing to undertake the ministry at Foulis, a congregation described as "almaist godless and wythout all cair off religione". Since an insufficient number of the congregation turned up to hear him preach, Burdoun was required to preach before the visitor and his assessors prior to admission.¹
Minister of Kenmore in 1589, Blackford in 1592 and Muthill circa 1607,² Burdoun signed the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy.³ He married Agnes daughter of Andrew Murray of Lochlane; and died before December 1631.⁴ As minister of Foulis, he was presented to the parsonage of Strageath on 14 December 1592.⁵

CAIRNS, John  (d. 1595)
Reader at Edinburgh, 1561.
Probably the son of Henry Cairns, a skipper in Leith, John Cairns took part in the secret protestant meetings held in Edinburgh in 1555, and was appointed reader in 1561. He refused to proclaim the banns of Mary's marriage to Bothwell in 1567; and in 1585 he is reported to have stood out against the king's subscription approving episcopacy

². Fasti, iv. 182, 261, 271, 284.
³. Calderwood, vi. 491.
⁴. Fasti, iv. 284.
⁵. S.R.O. PS1/64. Register of the Privy Seal, fo. 194r.
and the "Black acts". He died in 1595 leaving a widow, Janet Wilson.¹

**CALDCLEUCH, John  (c. 1560 - 1612)**

Regent in St. Mary's college, St. Andrews; minister at Abdie, 1594. Educated at St. Andrews university,² Caldcleuch was appointed regent in St. Mary's college but was ousted from his post with Melville's arrival as principal and once more became "a humble student" of theology.³ Though described by James Melville as a "daft wousten man", Caldcleuch was nevertheless one of the Melvillian exiles who sought sanctuary in England during the Arran regime, and one whom James Melville "receavit gladlie" at Berwick.⁴ He later became a master of theology in St. Mary's college⁵ but failed in his attempt to claim a professorship by seniority.⁶ He witnessed archbishop Adamson's refutation,⁷ and in 1594 he became minister at Abdie.⁸ In 1607 he was nominated as constant moderator of the presbytery of Cupar.⁹ He died five years later in 1612.¹⁰

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¹. Calderwood, i. 303-4; ii. 357; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 436; Fasti, i. 52-3.
². R.St.A.U. 172, 281.
³. Melville, Diary, 123; Calderwood, iv. 236, 245.
⁴. Melville, Diary, 218.
⁵. Cf. Ibid. 308.
⁷. Calderwood, v. 124; C.S.P. Scot. x. no. 548.
⁸. Fasti, v. 123.
⁹. R.P.C. vii. 301.
¹⁰. Fasti, v. 123.
CALDERWOOD, David  (c. 1575 - 1650)
Minister of Crailing, 1605.
A graduate of Edinburgh university in 1593, Calderwood was admitted minister of Crailing circa 1605. In 1608 he opposed the attempts of bishop Law of Orkney to set aside the election of commissioners, of whom Calderwood was one, to the general assembly from the presbytery of Jedburgh. For refusing to recognise the bishop as visitor, Calderwood was put to the horn and confined to his parish. As one of the foremost subscribers of the protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk in 1617 he was summoned before the High Commission but refused to acknowledge its jurisdiction and verdict and was sentenced to be banished. A militant presbyterian, Calderwood was the author of many works, often of a polemical nature, and in 1619 a search was made to uncover some of his publications. He remained abroad for the rest of James' reign, and in 1641 was appointed minister at Pencaitland. He died, unmarried, on 29 October 1650 and in his testaments left net assets amounting to £4,088.

CAMPBELL, Colin
Minister of Kettins, c. 1605.
Campbell, who matriculated at St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews in

1. Ibid. ii. 107.
2. R.P.C. viii. 103, 126, 205, 217, 509-10; Calderwood, vi. 707-12.
4. S.T.C. nos. 4352 - 4365.
6. Fasti, i. 384-5.
1593, became minister of Kettins circa 1605 and in 1606 signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy. He was translated to the third charge at Dundee in 1617, and two years later was appointed a member of the High Commission. He died on 13 June 1638 and in his testament left net assets to the value of £250 13s 4d.

CARMICHAEL, James (c. 1543 - 1628)
Minister of Haddington, 1570.
A graduate of St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews circa 1564 Carmichael became master of St. Andrews, and then of Haddington grammar school before becoming minister of Haddington in 1570. In 1573 Walter Balcanquhal who later became a fellow presbyterian, was appointed as Carmichael's assistant with the duties of reading the common prayers, acting as clerk of the session and serving as "doctor" in the school. Relinquishing his function of schoolmaster in 1576, Carmichael contributed towards the drafting of the second Book of Discipline, and it was "Maister James Carmichels" copy of the book which found its way into the hands of English diplomatic agents. In 1581 the

1. Fasti, v. 263.
2. Calderwood, vi. 491; Row, History, 430.
7. R.St.A.K.S. i. 334, 335n.; Spottiswoode, ii. 136; R.S.S. vii. 687; Fasti, i. 369.
9. B.U.K. i. 398; Calderwood, iii. 388.
assembly appointed him as a commissioner for establishing presbyteries and in the following year he played a part in the Montgomery case.  

With the onset of the Arran regime, Carmichael was one of the presbyterian exiles who fled to England in 1584, there to carry on their campaign against the government at home. Ever active in the cause and with a view to preparing an apologia on behalf of the exiles, Carmichael set about collecting various materials, and he hoped to obtain from Davison, the English puritan diplomat, copies of "D. Hume's buik and Mr. Craig's collection of the Disciplin and actes of the Assemblie" and more especially "of Mr. Knoxes historie if it could be procurit by anie meanes from his wif, the Laird of Breade or anie of Edinburgh". While in London he had meetings with Walsingham and with Leicester and during his stay in England he corresponded with Angus and with Walsingham. He was also a witness to James Lawson's testament and attended Lawson's funeral in London. After returning to Scotland, Carmichael was occupied in the 1590s, at the assembly's request, in collecting together as a

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1. B.U.K. ii. 487; Calderwood, iii. 524.
2. Calderwood, iii. 596.
4. C.S.P. Scot. vii. no. 267; cf. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 413-414.
5. Calderwood, viii. 260-1, 267; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 413-14, 425-7.
permanent record all the acts of the general assembly, a work which was to lead to his suspension from the ministry for neglecting his duties as a parish minister. Carmichael seems to have maintained a close liaison with English diplomatic officials and in 1593 Robert Bowes, the English agent in Scotland, was able to warn Carmichael that his life was in danger from George Ker an apprehended papist. As a former schoolmaster, Carmichael retained a scholarly interest in grammatical text books, was a collector of Scots proverbs, and undertook to revise the proofs of Regiam Majestatem. In 1607 he was appointed constant moderator, and three years later he was present in the 1610 assembly which approved episcopacy. Soon afterwards, the presbytery of Haddington, of which Carmichael was moderator, defended the second Book of Discipline and the church's presbyterian polity, though Carmichael was less forthright in his opposition to the innovations in church polity than many of his

1. S.R.O. CH2/252/1. MS. Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale Records, fos. 82v., 88r. 2 April, 8 October 1595; B.U.K. iii. 815, 856; Calderwood, v. 181-4, 371, 453; Melville, Diary, 301, 303-4.

2. S.R.O. CH2/185/1. MS. Haddington Presbytery Records, 26 December 1593, 13 February, 20 February, 27 February 1593/4, 27 March 1594; CH2/252/1. MS. Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale Records, fos. 69v., 73r. 3 April, 2 October 1594; CH2/121/2 MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 16 April, 30 April, 21 May, 28 May, 11 June, 2 July 1594.

3. C.S.P. Scot. xi. no. 148.

4. B.M. Add. MSS. 19,402, fo. 120r.; R.P.C. ii. 478; v. 110; S.T.C. no. 4660.


7. Ibid. vii. 301.

brethren expected.\textsuperscript{1} Carmichael died in 1628, and left in manuscript a diary which Calderwood used in compiling his history.\textsuperscript{2} His wife, Violet Simson, was the daughter of Andrew Simson, minister at Dalkeith\textsuperscript{3} and he was therefore the brother-in-law of Archibald and Patrick Simson, two ardent presbyterians. His son, James, became minister at Athelstaneford,\textsuperscript{4} and his eldest daughter married Archibald Livingston minister at Broughton.\textsuperscript{5} As minister and schoolmaster of Haddington, Carmichael held the vicarage of Nungate; on 28 April 1581 he was presented to the vicarage of Haddington; and on 3 March 1590/1, as minister of Haddington, was presented to the vicarage of Athelstaneford.\textsuperscript{6} Though an exile in Sedan, Andrew Melville was nevertheless anxious to hear news of old friends and associates and in 1612 in a letter, written mainly in Latin interspersed with Greek, Melville asked his nephew about Carmichael: "What is the profound Dreamer (so I was accustomed to call him when we travelled together in 1584) - what is our Corydon of Haddington about? I know he cannot be idle; has he not brought forth or perfected anything yet, after so many decades of years?"\textsuperscript{7}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid. 126-9.
\item Ibid. iii. 475.
\item Fasti, i. 369.
\item Ibid.
\item S.R.O. GD. 150/Box 63. (Morton Papers).
\item S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 58r. Register of Presentations to Benefices; PS1/43. fo. 118r.; PS1/62 fo. 4v. Register of the Privy Seal.
\item E.U.L. MS. Dc.6.45. Melvini Epistolae, fo. 294; cf. M'Crie, Melville, 324; William Morison, Melville, 147.
\end{enumerate}
CARMICHAEL, John  (c. 1564 - 1622)

Minister of Newburn, 1595; Kilconquhar, 1603.

The son of David Carmichael of Balmedie and a student at St. Leonard's college in 1584, Carmichael became "a scholler of Mr Andro Melville's, but he often affirmed his scholler was more learned nor himself".  
Described by Row as "a learned divyne, a great philosopher" and "a most powerfull, zealous and eloquent preacher of God's word, inveighing at all occasions agains that disorder which had bin brought in into this Kirk by the alteration of the good old government", Carmichael was appointed minister of Newburn in 1595 and of Kilconquhar in 1603. In 1598 he opposed ecclesiastical representation in parliament, in 1606 he visited the ministers imprisoned for approving the Aberdeen assembly of 1605, and signed the protest against episcopacy; and as one of a group of Melvillians summoned to London in 1606, he succeeded in obtaining licence to return home but was confined to his parish and forbidden to preach or attend synod or presbytery meetings. In a disputation with the bishops in 1608, Carmichael and his colleagues declared themselves "defenders and favourers" of the church's presbyterian polity. He also appears to have kept in close touch

2. Ibid.
7. Ibid. 559, 576, 589, 591, 633; Melville, Diary, 637, 642ff., 660, 674, 678, 709.
with James Melville, and he earned from Andrew Melville the sobriquet “Damoetas of Elie” where he may have served as minister before his death in 1622. Three years before his death he was called before the High Commission along with Scot and Alexander Henderson as the alleged authors of the Perth Assemblie but was finally dismissed.  

CARRAILL, William (d. circa 1612)  
Minister of Edrom, 1583.  
Carrail, as minister of Edrom, refused to subscribe to the "Black acts" in 1584–5 and as a member of the synod of Merse he signed the protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts" in 1586.  

CLAPPERTON, John (d. 1617)  
Minister of Coldstream, 1576.  
With the onset of the Arran regime in 1584, Clapperton became a fugitive, remaining "obscure within the countrie", but was charged to comppear before the privy council for his opposition to the "Black acts" and his reluctance to sign the king's subscription. Along with other members of the synod of Merse, he signed the 1586 protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts" of 1584. In 1607 he and

1. Ibid. 786-7; vii. 46-8.  
5. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432; Calderwood, iv. 604.  
6. B.M. MS. Cotton Caligula C VIII fo. 49; C.S.P. Scot. vii. no. 119; Calderwood, iv. 72.  
7. C.S.P. Scot. vii. 146, 148; R.P.C. iii. 669, 703; Calderwood, iv. 211; viii. 280; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432.  
his fellow ministers were disinclined to accept a constant moderator and as a result were prosecuted for their conduct at a meeting of the synod of Merse in Duns.\(^1\) Clapperton died in 1617,\(^2\)

**CLAYHILLS, Andrew (1546 - 1617)**

Minister of Monifieth, 1569; Jedburgh, c. 1574; Eckford, 1593. The son of Peter Clayhills, dean of guild and burgess of Dundee,\(^3\) Clayhills was educated at St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews\(^4\) and as minister of Jedburgh signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy in 1586.\(^5\) He died on 23 March 1617 and in his testaments left assets amounting to a net total of £5,375.\(^6\) When minister of Jedburgh, he received from the king a gift of a pension on 27 February 1583/4,\(^7\) and, when minister of Eckford, he received from the crown a gift of victual from Jedburgh abbey on 4 July 1592.\(^8\) He was presented to the vicarage of Eckford on 30 April 1593.\(^9\)

**COLDEN, John (1561 - 1640)**

Minister of Borthwick, 1586; Kinross, 1593. In 1602 Colden was associated with the "greeves" of the synod of Fife,\(^10\)

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1. *R.P.C.* viii. 4, 5, 128, 773; Calderwood, vi. 680.
3. Ibid. v. 361.
5. Calderwood, iv. 604.
8. *S.R.O.* PS1/64. fo. 45v. Register of the Privy Seal.
and in 1606 he signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy. A year later he was warded within his own parish for opposing archbishop Gladstanes' taking the moderator's chair at a meeting of the synod, and in 1610 he was again an outspoken critic of episcopacy. He died in 1640 aged 79.

**COLT, Adam** (1562 - 1643)
Regent in Edinburgh university, 1586; minister at Borthwick, 1595; Inveresk (or Musselburgh), 1597.
The youngest son of Blaise Colt of Leonardly, provost of Perth, Colt studied at St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews, graduating in 1585, and was appointed regent at Edinburgh in 1586. In 1601 he was described by the king as a "seditious knave", and, as minister of Musselburgh, was summoned to London along with five other Melvillians and thereafter confined to his own parish. He died on 24 March 1643: his wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Sir James Johnston of Elphinston. On 19 June 1596 he received a crown presentation to the parsonage of Borthwick.

**COLVILLE, Robert** (c. 1560 - 1631)
Minister of Culross, 1593.

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1. Ibid. 491.
2. R.P.C. vii. 441; Calderwood, vi. 675, 678.
5. Calderwood, vi. 120.
6. Ibid. 641, 660.
7. *Fasti*, i. 325.
8. S.R.O. PS1/68. fo. 182r. Register of the Privy Seal.
Colville of Nether Kinneddar, the son of Alexander Colville commen-
dator of Culross, was minister of the parish in 1593. In 1606 he
signed the protest against episcopacy, and visited the ministers
imprisoned in Blackness for approving the Aberdeen assembly of 1605.

COWPER, John (c. 1560 - 1603)
Minister of Edinburgh, 1586; Glasgow, 1587.
The son of an Edinburgh tailor and a graduate of St. Andrews
university, John Cowper fled with the Melvillians to England in
1584 where he became associated with the exercise of Saltash. In
December 1585 he received testimonials in his favour, and from the
English government a safe conduct for his return to Scotland. In
June 1586 Cowper "at all tymes requisit sen new yeir supplseyet the
want of ane minister bayth in the Hie Kirk and Eist Kirk" of
Edinburgh and in the following November he was formally elected
minister of the city. By January 1587/8 Cowper with the assembly's
consent, decided to leave Edinburgh but before his departure he
refused to pray for Mary whereupon the king ordered him to leave the
pulpit and make way for archbishop Adamson who took over the rest of
the service. For offending the king from the pulpit, Cowper was

2. Calderwood, vi. 491; Forbes, Certaine Records, 455.
3. R.St.A.U. 177, 286.
5. Warrender Papers, i. 204.
6. Ibid. 205-6.
8. Ibid. 477.
9. Ibid. 511-12.
10. Calderwood, iv. 606; Row, History, 115.
warded in Blackness where he sought the intervention of Edinburgh presbytery and was shortly released, "for the king feared the miscon-
tentment of the people". It is at this point that Spottiswoode somewhat erroneously characterised Cowper as "a young man not entered as yet in the function" of the ministry but this is inconsistent with the evidence, and in 1587 Cowper was translated to Glasgow. He died on 25 December 1603, leaving net assets of £1,985; his wife, Elizabeth, was the sister of John Livingston of Baldovane.

**COWPER, William** (1566 - 1619)

Minister of Bothkennar, 1587; Perth, 1595.

Brother of the preceding and a graduate of St. Andrews, William Cowper, as minister of Perth, was openly critical of the office of bishop in 1606 and was described as "none fracker against the estate of bishops in the purer tymes than he". In 1608 he was sent by the king to deal with Melville in the Tower and was present in the assembly in 1610. Thereafter he sought to be promoted to a bishopric and became characterised as "an unconstant man now

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2. S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 14 March 1586/7, 18 April, 25 April 1587.
4. Spottiswoode, ii. 356.
6. Fasti, iii. 460.
7. R.St.A.U. 293.
8. Calderwood, vi. 600-1; cf. 492.
10. Ibid. vi. 820.
11. Ibid. vii. 105.
12. Ibid. 157, 158.
gaping for a bishoprick".¹ In 1612 he became bishop of Galloway² and decided to "sett furthe ane apologie in print to purge himself of convetousness and ambition, and gave reasons wherefore he changed his mynd in some things concerning kirk government".³ He was pressed further by David Hume of Godscroft, a Melvillian sympathiser,⁴ who was dissatisfied with his answers.⁵ Cowper died on 15 February 1619.⁶ As minister of Perth, he was presented to the vicarage pensionary of Perth on 28 October 1595.⁷

CRAIG, John (1512 - 1600)

Minister of Canongate, 1561; Edinburgh, 1562; Aberdeen, 1573; royal chaplain, 1579.⁸

In 1575 Craig sided with Melville and Lawson in opposing episcopacy⁹ and he later assisted with the preparation of the second Book of Discipline.¹⁰ Three times moderator,¹¹ he boldly rebuked the king

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1. Ibid. viii. 91.
2. Watt, Fasti, 133.
4. Ibid. iv. 466-83; vi. 726-31, 746-51; vii. 64-90, 139-145. Andrew Melville spoke warmly of "our friend Godscroft": "I love the sincere zeal and undaunted spirit of that excellent man and most upright friend". E.U.L. MS. Dc.6.45. Melvini Epistolae, fos. 293, 325; M'Crie, Melville, 325, 329.
6. Watt, Fasti, 133.
8. Fasti, i. 23, 52; iii. 35-6.
11. B.U.K. i. 158, 364; ii. 522; Calderwood, ii. 529; iii. 369, 576.
in 1582\(^1\) and in 1584 was called before the privy council for his opposition to the "Black acts".\(^2\) He figured prominently among the non-subscribers, and there took place "some hote conference betwixt Mr. Craig and the Bishop of Sanct Andrewes, in the king's presence".\(^3\) When a formula was eventually reached which allowed him to subscribe, he made it clear that his "subscription was nather sought to be allowance, ather of the Acts of Parliament, nor of the state of the bishops, but to be a testimonie of our obedience to his Majestie".\(^4\)

With the flight of the city ministers, Craig took their place and served as minister,\(^5\) and irritated at a sermon made by John Gibson condemning the king and the subscribing ministers, Craig looked to his own defence and "inveyghed against the exiled ministers, in a sermon before the estats in parliament".\(^6\) This had the result of accentuating the split between the subscribing and non-subscribing ministers and "the seid of a feirfull schisme" was in the end averted only by Melville and other "patient and wyse breithring" at the next general assembly in 1586.\(^7\) In 1591 Craig again rebuked the king,\(^8\) and though Spottiswoode maintained that Craig was inclined "to no

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1. Calderwood, iii. 674.
3. Calderwood, iv. 198-9, 211-18; viii. 280.
4. Ibid. iv. 246.
5. R.P.C. iii. 668; Edinburgh Burgh Records, iv. 369, 411.
6. Calderwood, iv. 466.
7. Melville, Diary, 229; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 439; Calderwood, iv. 491.
8. Calderwood, vi. 142.
faction"\(^1\) Row, on the other hand, believed Craig to be "an eager opposer of Prelacie".\(^2\) Craig, whose son-in-law was William Watson, minister of Edinburgh,\(^3\) died on 12 December 1600 and in his testament left assets totalling £1,322.\(^4\) His "Catechisme" ran to several editions.\(^5\)

CRANSTON, Michael  
(d. 1631)
Minister of Selkirk, 1580; Liberton, 1586; Cramond, 1590.\(^6\)
The son of Thomas Cranston, minister of Liberton, Michael Cranston was educated at St. Andrews university,\(^7\) and in 1593, when minister of Cramond, he "inveyghed against the king, lords, and all estats and regratted that some fatherlie men were discharged to teache".\(^8\) In the following year, he condemned the king's proceedings in parliament,\(^9\) and was then regarded as "a verie fordward minister".\(^10\) With the Edinburgh riot of December 1596, Cranston was warded in Blackness.\(^11\) In a sermon preached before the synod of Lothian in 1601, he "putt the ministrie in mind of the great troubles and

1. Spottiswoode, iii. 91.
2. Row, History, 415.
5. S.T.C. nos. 5962 - 5967.
6. Fasti, i. 10, 170; ii. 193.
7. R.St.A.U. 290.
9. Ibid. 337.
10. Ibid. 512.
11. Edinburgh Burgh Records, v. 172-3; Calderwood, v. 521; Melville, Diary, 517.
labours of Mr. Knox, Mr Lowsone, Mr Bruce, and their nighbour, whom God yitt ever approved, meaning Mr John Davidsone". He also met to confer with the imprisoned ministers in 1606. He held first the vicarage of Liberton and was thereafter presented to the vicarage of Cranston on 11 February 1591/2. Agnes, his wife, was the sister of James Murehead, the Melvillian minister of North Leith.

CRANSTON, William (1556 - 1633)
Regent at St. Andrews; minister of Kettle, 1589.
The son of Robert Cranston, a citizen of St. Andrews, Cranston appears to have studied at St. Andrews and then became regent in St. Salvator's college. He steadfastly opposed the king's subscription in 1585, and protested at the introduction of episcopacy in 1606. As moderator of the synod of Fife in June 1607 he opposed the introduction of a constant moderator and "mighthilie dashed" his metropolitan; and in October he opened the next meeting of the synod in defiance of the king's commissioners and was outlawed as a result. In 1609 his ward was enlarged to eight miles but he was forbidden to

1. Calderwood, vi. 103.
4. Ibid. PS1/63. 179v.
5. Fasti, i. 10.
6. R.St.A.U. 168, 278; 177, 287.
8. Calderwood, iv. 351; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432.
10. Ibid, 665, 674, 678, 682; Melville, Diary 716-18; R.P.C. viii, 16, 486.
attend presbyteries or synods. He was finally deprived by the High Commission in 1620 and though presented again by the king in 1623 he demitted in 1626 and died in January 1633. His first wife, Agnes Rutherford, who died on 23 November 1593 left net assets of £134, and his second wife Margaret Balcanquhal, who died on 28 November 1595 left the same amount.

CUNNINGHAM, John (c. 1575 - 1635)
Minister of Dalry, 1604.
The eldest son of John Cunningham of Baidland and a graduate of Glasgow university, Cunningham revealed his anti-episcopal sentiments in 1607 when he refused to accept a constant moderator for the presbytery of Irvine. He received a presentation to the vicarage of Symington on 27 May 1598; and his son, John, was served heir to the lands of Baidland and Brothoklie on 14 April 1636.

DALGLEISH, David (c. 1579 - 1652)
Minister of Cupar, 1614.
The son of David Dalgleish, a maltster in St. Andrews, and educated at St. Andrews university, Dalgleish, as "an expectant", offered to dispute publicly with Howie who defended the superiority of bishops.

1. R.P.C. viii. 266.
4. Fasti, iii. 84.
7. Retours of Heirs, i. no. 305.
9. Calderwood, vi. 703.
As minister of Cupar, he served as colleague and then as successor to William Scot, and married Scot's daughter Barbara. He served as member of the 1638 assembly¹ and died in May 1652.²

DALGLEISH, Nicol  (d. 1608)

Regent at St. Andrews; minister of St. Cuthbert's, 1581; Pittenweem, 1589.

The brother of a burgess of Inverness³ Dalgleish was educated at St. Andrews university.⁴ He took part in the proceedings against Montgomery in 1582⁵ and in 1584 was warned for refusing to sign the king's subscription.⁶ He was also convicted of approving in his public prayers "sic ministeris as ar in Inglanid, declarit tratouris", and of concealing a letter from Balcanquhal to his wife.⁷ For this he was condemned to death,⁸ though the sentence was not carried out. In 1586 he opposed absolving Adamson from excommunication⁹ and was a witness to Adamson's recantation.¹⁰ At the height of the presbyterian ascendancy he was appointed moderator of the general assembly in July 1591.¹¹ He died in July 1608;¹² and, according to James

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1. Fasti, v. 142.
3. Fasti, i. 99.
4. R.St.A.U. 263.
5. R.P.C. iii. 476.
6. Calderwood, iv. 211, 236-7; viii. 280, 282; R.P.C. iii. 703.
7. Calderwood, iv. 224, 245; Criminal Trials, i. 136-138.
8. C.S.P. Scot. vii. no. 479; Calderwood, v. 338; Melville, Diary, 218.
10. Ibid. v. 124; Row, History, 125.
11. B.U.K. ii. 779; Calderwood, v. 133.
Melville, he was "a grave and godlie brother".1

DAVIDSON, James

Minister of Wigtown, 1597; Whithorn, 1599.2

A graduate of St. Andrews in 1581, Davidson as minister of Whithorn, signed the protest in 1606 against the introduction of episcopacy.3

He was presented to the vicarage of Glasserton, which was also in his charge,4 on 19 January 1591/2.5

DAVIDSON, John (c. 1549 - 1604)

Regent at St. Andrews; minister of Liberton, 1579; Edinburgh, 1589; Canongate, 1590; Prestonpans, 1595.6

A graduate of St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews,7 Davidson incurred the hostility of the regent Morton in 1574 by writing Ane Dialog or Mutuall talking betuixt a clerk and ane Courteour concerning foure Parische Kirks till ane Minister,8 for which he was prosecuted by the privy council. Forced to flee the country, Davidson found refuge with Robert Campbell of Kingzean Cleuch who advised him to get in touch with Christopher Goodman in England who would find him a safe convoy to La Rochelle.9 Returning in 1577, Davidson became minister of

1. Melville, Diary, 218.
2. Fasti. ii. 379, 382.
3. Calderwood, vi. 491.
4. Fasti, ii. 360.
5. S.R.O. PS1/63. fo. 130r. Register of the Privy Seal.
8. Satirical Poems of the Reformation, i. 296-324.
Liberton in 1579, and executed the sentence of excommunication against archbishop Montgomery in 1582, for which he was threatened with assassination. He was strongly opposed to John Durie's removal from Edinburgh and in the assembly of June 1582, Melville as moderator had to ask Davidson "to moderat his zeale", and in 1583 David Ferguson feared lest Davidson would presume too far in his criticisms of the king. In 1583 he corresponded with Field in England and as one of the Melvillian exiles who sought sanctuary in England in 1584, Davidson served for a spell as minister to the exiled lords at Newcastle, before proceeding south to London where he attended James Lawson's funeral; and it is conceivable that he may be identified with "Daverson a Skott who preached at Aldermanbury church on St. Peter's day" in London in 1588. He is known to have "remained a long tyme in Ingland" where he saw for himself "the corruption of the Bishops there" and on returning home he denounced "that corruption at all tymes as occasion offered". In 1589, at the request of Edinburgh presbytery, he wrote a reply to Bancroft's sermon against

1. Calderwood, iii. 621.
2. Ibid. iv. 402.
3. Ibid. iii. 623-5.
4. Ibid. 623, 624.
5. Ibid. 718.
7. Melville, Diary, 172.
8. B.M. Add. MSS. 4736 fo. 166v; Calderwood, iv. 208; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i, 451.
the Scottish church; 1 in 1590 he opposed the queen's coronation on the Sabbath; 2 in 1591 he admonished the king; 3 in 1592 he preached a sermon against Arran and succeeded in offending the king once again; 4 and in 1593 he quarrelled with David Lindsay. 5 To archbishop Spottiswoode he was the "maddest man that ever he knew", 6 but to presbyterians he was "a man of authoritie in the Word", a "free rebuker of sin", a "zealous grave father", "a learned man, and a worthie preacher, yea, a verie prophet of God". 7 Opposed to ecclesiastical representation in parliament, 8 Davidson firmly believed in the doctrine of the "two kingdoms" and went so far as to inform the king that he sat in assemblies not as imperator but only as a Christian and member of the church. 9 He voiced a strong protest when Melville was discharged from attending the assembly in 1598, 10 and was himself warded in 1601 for a letter sent by him to the general assembly at Burntisland. 11 During his ministry at Prestonpans, he founded a school and built a church and manse, apparently at largely his own expense. 12 Before his death, which occurred in 1604, he

1. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 503-20.
2. Calderwood, v. 95.
3. Ibid. 130-1, 140.
4. Ibid. 188, 191-2.
5. Ibid. 283
6. Ibid. vii. 562.
7. Ibid. iv. 149; v. 238, 435; Melville, Diary, 172, 357; Row, History, 420.
9. Ibid. 683.
10. Ibid. 694.
11. R.P.C. vi. 243; Calderwood, vi. 125-30, 152, 184, 186, 212, 222.
12. M'Crie, Melville, 383, 475-6. His Edinburgh Testament is dated 28 August 1607 but the staff of the S.R.O. have been unable to locate it.
wrote De Hostibus Ecclesiae Christi wherein he affirmed that "the erecting of Bishops in this Kirk is the most suftill and prevalent mean to destroy and overthrow religion that ever could have been devised".  

DAVIDSON, John  
(c. 1562 - 1607)  
Minister of Comrie, 1588; Muthill, 1590.

In 1606 Davidson signed the protest against episcopacy and in 1607 was charged to be constant moderator of the presbytery of Auchterarder.  

His wife, Margaret, was the eldest daughter of John Drummond of Pitkellony and widow of George Graham of Callander.  

He was presented to the vicarage of Muthill on 10 August 1590 and to the parsonage of Muthill on 4 January 1591/2.

DEAS, James  
(d. circa. 1643)  
Minister of Anstruther Wester, 1585; Earlston, 1586.

In 1586 he signed the protest of the synod of Merse against the "Black acts" and episcopacy, and in 1607 he was prosecuted for his conduct in opposing the introduction of constant moderators.  

His son John was served heir on 20 June 1643.  

On 23 December 1588,

1. Row, History, 421.  
2. S.T.C. nos. 6320-6324; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 538-40.  
3. Calderwood, vi. 491.  
5. Fasti, iv. 263, 284.  
7. Fasti. ii. 148; v. 182.  
10. Retours of Heirs, ii. no. 2858.
Deas received a crown presentation to the vicarage of Earlston.  

DICKSON, Adam
Reader at Eddleston, 1574; minister at Peebles, 1586; Newlands, 1589.  

As a member of the synod of Merse, Dickson signed the 1586 protest against episcopacy.  

DOUGLAS, Archibald (d. circa. 1616)
Minister of Kirkurd, 1574.  

The son of a burgess in Edinburgh, Douglas was presented by the king to the parsonage of Kirkurd on 30 July 1574 and to the vicarage on 7 November 1588. In 1586 he signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy.  

DOUGLAS, Archibald
Minister of Peebles in 1573 and of Manor in 1586.  

The brother german of William Douglas of Cavers, Douglas was presented to the archdeaconry of Glasgow on 8 July 1573, and in 1586 he signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy.  

1. S.R.O. PS1/58. fo. 105v. Register of the Privy Seal.  
2. Fasti ii. 271, 283, 289.  
4. Fasti ii. 276, 298.  
5. R.S.S. vi. no. 2619; S.R.O. PS1/58. fo. 71r. Register of the Privy Seal.  
7. Fasti ii. 286.  
DUNBAR, George
Minister of Cumnock, 1599; Ayr, 1607.¹

In 1611 Dunbar was warded for praying for the banished ministers including Welsch, his predecessor,² and in 1622 was deprived and confined after declining the judgment of the High Commission which he claimed was "mixed of civill and ecclesiasticall persons, for the inflicting of civill and ecclesiasticall censures ... to the prejudice of that distinction that soulde be betuixt civile and ecclesiasticall judicatories".³ After a spell in the ministry in Ireland, Dunbar was deposed by his bishop and returned to Scotland where he served at Mid-Calder,⁴ still critical of episcopacy.⁵ His son, Samuel was served heir on 6 August 1646.⁶

DUNCAN, Andrew (c. 1560 - 1626)
Minister at Crail, 1596.

A graduate of St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews,⁷ Duncan was given permission to leave St. Leonard's college where he served as regent to become master of Dundee grammar school in 1591.⁸ As minister of Crail, he attended and approved of the Aberdeen assembly of 1605, declared illegal by the king, and called before the privy council he

1. Fasti. iii. 7-8, 11, 25.
2. R.P.C. ix. 258; cf. 276, 351.
4. Select Biographies, i. 327.
6. Retours of Heirs, ii. no. 3170.
was banished for declining its jurisdiction. After a period in Bordeaux and La Rochelle, he returned home in 1613 submitted to the king and resumed his ministry at Crail. Summoned before the High Commission in 1619, he declined its jurisdiction, was deprived, warded in Dundee and then imprisoned in Dumbarton castle. When liberated and allowed to live in any parish except Edinburgh or Crail, Duncan went to Kilrenny but was soon obliged to leave for Berwick. He died in 1626.

**DUNCAN, Henry**

Minister at Murroes, 1585.

The brother of a goldsmith burgess of Dundee, and probably educated at St. Andrews, Duncan signed the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy. As minister of Ballumbie and Murroes, he received a gift of stipend from the abbey of Arbroath on 10 January 1587/8 and was presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Idvie on 24 December 1593. He died on 5 April 1618 and in his testament left net assets of £2,658 plus an inventory ad omissa of £775; while his

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1. Criminal Trials, ii. 494-504; Calderwood, vi. 284, 287, 292, 303, 342, 440, 444, 449; vii. 181; Melville, Diary, 572, 575, 598, 615-16, 669.
3. Row, History, 323.
first wife, Alison Futtrie who died in June 1603, left net assets of some £793.¹

DUNCANSON, Thomas  (d. 1621)
Minister of Bowden, 1568.
As a member of the synod of Merse, Duncanson signed the 1586 protest against episcopacy.²

DURIE, John    (1537 - 1600)
Exhorter in Penicuik, 1567; minister at Colinton, 1569; South Leith, 1570; Edinburgh, 1573; Montrose, 1585.³
Critical of episcopacy in 1575,⁴ Durie, on being called before the privy council for preaching against French courtiers, protested that "the counsell sould not be judges" in matters spiritual.⁵ In 1582 he was "fervent" in the proceedings against Montgomery,⁶ and was charged to remove himself from Edinburgh for calling Lennox and Arran "abusers of the king".⁷ Returning to Edinburgh,⁸ Durie was again called before the privy council in December 1583 for approving Ruthven raid and was warded in Montrose.⁹ Along with fellow

2. Calderwood, iv. 605.
3. Fasti, i. 2, 52, 164, 343; v. 410.
4. B.U.K. i. 331; Calderwood, iii. 347.
5. Calderwood, iii. 480.
6. Ibid. 604; cf. C.S.P. Scot. vi. no. 113.
7. Ibid. 620, 622, 626; Melville, Diary, 128-9; C.S.P. Scot. vi. nos. 120, 122, 130, 142.
9. Calderwood, iii. 646, 762; Melville, Diary, 134, 138, 139; C.S.P. Scot. vi. nos. 718, 721; cf. Historie and Life of King James the Sext, 205.
Melvillians, Durie was strongly opposed to absolving Adamson's sentence of excommunication.\(^1\) As minister of Montrose, Durie received a gift of stipend from the abbey of Deer and bishopric of Brechin on 23 October 1587, and on 7 August 1590 received a similar gift from the feu mails of lands in the lordship of Altrie.\(^2\) He died on 25 February 1600 and left net assets of £121.\(^3\)

DURIE, Robert  
(1555 - 1616)

Minister of Abercrombie, 1588; Anstruther Wester, 1592.

The son of John Durie and a graduate of St. Andrews,\(^4\) Robert Durie acted as schoolmaster in Dunfermline before becoming minister.\(^5\) As the "fathfull frind and companion" of James Melville, Durie attended Parliament along with Melville in 1585 and travelled with him to Berwick in 1586.\(^6\) Prosecuted for holding the Aberdeen assembly of 1605, Durie declined to recognise the privy council's jurisdiction and with his banishment for life,\(^7\) Durie left Scotland to become minister at Leyden. As minister at Anstruther, Durie was presented to the vicarage of Anstruther by the king on 24 January 1592/3.\(^8\)

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1. Calderwood, iv. 583.
2. S.R.O. PS1/56. fo. 70r.; PS1/61. fo. 23v. Register of the Privy Seal.
4. R.St.A.U. 175, 178, 283.
5. Fasti, v. 182.
8. S.R.O. PS1/65. fo. 5r. Register of the Privy Seal.
DYKES, John (1566 - 1634)

Minister of Kilrenny, 1596; Newburn, 1604.

A graduate of Edinburgh university and the colleague of James Melville, Dykes refused to subscribe the king's subscription in 1584\(^1\) and in 1599 he made public the contents of Basilikon Doron but regained royal favour by writing sonnets against the earl of Gowrie.\(^2\) He visited the ministers imprisoned for holding and approving the Aberdeen assembly;\(^3\) signed the 1606 protest against episcopacy;\(^4\) and in 1607 was confined to his parish for his "insolent cariage and misbehaviour" at a meeting of the synod of Fife.\(^5\) He died on 8 September 1634 and in his testament left net assets of £532 together with an inventory and debts \textit{ad omissa} amounting to £729.\(^6\) His wife was the daughter of John Durie, minister of Montrose.\(^7\)

ERSKINE, William

Minister of Dunino, 1597.

Educated at St. Andrews where he studied theology at St. Mary's college, Erskine signed the protest against episcopacy in 1606.\(^8\) He was present at the Aberdeen assembly in 1604;\(^9\) complained of the

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1. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 436.
2. Calderwood, v. 744, 745; vi. 82; Melville, Diary, 444, 488.
3. Calderwood, vi. 455, 476.
4. Ibid. 491.
5. Ibid. 678; R.P.C. vii. 441, 540.
7. Fasti, v. 213.
8. Calderwood, vi. 491.
9. Ibid. 264, 266.
archbishop as moderator of the synod of Fife in 1610; and was confined in 1620 for opposition to the articles of Perth. His wife, Marjorie Hay, left net assets of £224.

FAIRFOUL, John (1546 - 1626)

Exhorter at Aberdour, 1571; schoolmaster in Dunfermline, 1584; minister at Aberdour, 1588; Dunfermline, 1598; Anstruther Wester, 1610.

A graduate of St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews, Fairfoul closely identified himself with the Melvillians. As an exhorter at Aberdour he acted along with Walter Balcanquhal; in 1598 he was appointed successor to David Ferguson at Dunfermline; and in 1610 he succeeded Robert Durie as minister of Anstruther Wester. For praying for the "distressed ministers within and without the countrie" he was warded first in Dundee and then in Anstruther. On 3 February 1594/5, he received a crown presentation to the vicarage of Dalgetty and Beath.

FERGUSON, David (c. 1533 - 1598)

Minister of Dunfermline, 1560.

A former glover by trade, and twice moderator of the assembly,

1. Ibid. vii. 120; Scot, Apologetical Narration, 232.
2. Calderwood, vii. 413, 442.
7. Calderwood, vii. 413, 442.
8. B.U.K. i. 255; ii. 418; Calderwood, iii. 272, 426.
Ferguson as moderator in 1578 argued with James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow over "the corruption of the episcopal estate to be reformed in his person". ¹ Firmly opposed to ecclesiastical representation in parliament, Ferguson in 1598 as "the eldest minister at that tyme in Scotland related how the corruptions of that office of bishops had beene espied by the Kirk of Scotland from the beginning". ² He died on 23 April 1598 and in his testament left net assets of £516, including "his buikis of theologie and humane histories" valued at £100, "reddie gold" amounting to £118, and £52 of "reddie money". ³ His daughter Margaret, married David Spens, minister of Kirkcaldy, and another daughter, Grizzel, married John Row, minister at Carnock. ⁴

FERME, Charles  (1567 - 1617)
Regent at Edinburgh, 1589; principal of the college and minister at Fraserburgh, 1598.
A graduate of Edinburgh in 1587, Ferme was the unsuccessful candidate for the office of regent there, Philip Hislop, his fellow student, proving the successful competitor. Continuing his study of theology and Hebrew under Rollock, he was appointed regent in 1589. He occasionally served as minister of Edinburgh but declined a call by Haddington presbytery to be minister there. In 1598 he resigned his office of regent and was appointed principal of the college at Fraserburgh where he also acted as parish minister. Opposed to

1. Spottiswoode, ii. 256.
2. Calderwood, v. 681; Melville, Diary, 437; Row, History, 418-19.
diocesan episcopacy, Ferme denounced bishops as "plants which God had not planted and as, therefore, to be extirpated; he accused them of violating the covenant and held them guilty of perjury".  
For attending the Aberdeen assembly in 1605 and for declining the privy council's jurisdiction, Ferme was warded in Bute until liberated in 1610.  
Thereafter he continued at Fraserburgh till his death on 24 September 1617.

FORBES, John (d. 1634)  
Minister at Alford, 1593.  
The third son of William Forbes of Corse and a graduate of St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews, Forbes was appointed minister at Alford in 1593 and acted as moderator of the presbytery of Garioch in 1600.  
Prosecuted for attending the Aberdeen assembly, of which he was moderator, Forbes declined the privy council's jurisdiction and was sentenced to be banished.  
In a letter to Robert Bruce in 1606, Forbes condemned "that two fold iniquitie of the episcopal dominatum and superematum".  
After sailing to Bordeaux, he spent a time with Boyd of Trochrig at Saumur before proceeding to Sedan. In 1611 he became minister to the English congregation at Middelburg.

3. R.P.C. vi. 78.  
4. Calderwood, vi. 279, 284, 286, 293, 303, 342, 375, 377, 382; Melville, Diary, 571, 573-5, 616, 620.  
5. Calderwood, vi. 552.
The author of *Certaine Records*, Forbes died in Holland in 1634.¹

FORBES, Patrick (1564 - 1635)

Student.

Born at Corse castle on 24 April 1564, the eldest son of Forbes of Corse, Patrick Forbes was taught by George Buchanan at Stirling grammar school. Thereafter he studied under Melville, his second cousin, first at Glasgow and then at St. Andrews. In 1584 he fled with Melville to England, was present at James Lawson's funeral in London, and was accounted "a fordward man for discipline and the banished". Later minister at Keith, Forbes was reluctant to accept a bishopric which, he explained, put him "to too great a strayt, eyther to accept, or to incurre the King's indignation which to a subject is the messenger of death", but he was finally persuaded to do so and in 1618 became bishop of Aberdeen.²

FORSYTH, Alexander

Minister of Dumfries, 1585; Craigie, 1588; Abercrombie, 1593.

Apparently a Melvillian exile in England, "Mr Forsyth" was present at James Lawson's funeral in October 1584.³ Later he demitted his charge at Abercrombie in 1605 and returned to England.⁴

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1. Fasti, vi. 117-8; Certaine Records, xxxiii - lxiv.
2. Calderwood, iv. 381; O.L. ii. 553; B.M. Add. MSS. 4,736. fo. 166v.; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 451; Keith, Scottish Bishops, 132; Watt, Fasti, 4; W.G. Sinclair Snow, The Time, Life and Thought of Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen.
FRENCH, John

In 1606, French signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy.1

FRENCH, Robert

In 1584-5, French refused to sign the king's subscription ratifying episcopacy and the "Black acts". He is probably to be identified with the minister of Eccles.2

GALLOWAY, Patrick (1551 - 1626)

Minister of Fowlis Easter, 1576; Chapel Royal, Stirling, 1590; Edinburgh, 1607.3

The son of a baxter burgess of Dundee and a graduate of St. Andrews,4 Galloway became a critic of episcopacy and of the Arran regime, and accompanied the presbyterian exiles to England in 1584.5 In 1596 he was present with the Melvilles at Falkland, where Andrew Melville made his famous "two kingdoms" speech,6 but since his appointment as minister of the king's household in 1590, Galloway appears to have become less closely identified with the presbyterian cause and in 1610 was appointed a member of the Court of High Commission.7 With his death in 1626 Galloway left net assets to the value of £10,980.8

1. Calderwood, vi. 491.
2. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 436; Fasti, ii. 12.
3. Fasti, i. 53-4; iv. 229, 332; v. 351, 357.
5. Calderwood, iv. 111, 118-9; Historie and Life of King James the Sext, 205.
His second wife, Katherine, was the daughter of James Lawson; and his son, James, was served heir on 10 October 1634. As minister of Perth, Galloway was presented by the king to the vicarage of Perth on 2 December 1581.

GIBSON, James (d. 1602)
Possibly exhorter at Gowand in 1563; minister of Spott, 1576; Saltoun, 1578; Pencaitland, 1580; Tranent and Seton, 1598.
An exile in England during the Arran regime and an opponent of the "tyrannie of bishops", Gibson on his return in November 1585 criticised the actions of the subscribing ministers and was regarded as "vehement and over peremptorie against the King whom he threatened with the judgments of Jeroboam". Imprisoned in Edinburgh in 1586 and condemned by the assembly in 1587 as "rasche in application and over particular and sair against the King", Gibson was suspended from the ministry. Denounced as a rebel in July 1590, Gibson was arrested in November 1590 but was set free again after submitting to the king. In February 1596/7 the king was unwilling that Gibson

1. Fasti, i. 54.
2. Retours of Heirs, ii. no. 2075.
4. Thirds of Benefices, 263.
5. Fasti, i. 384, 391, 396, 418.
7. Ibid. 449, 484; Melville, Diary, 229, 253.
8. Calderwood, iv. 484-8; Melville, Diary, 253.
9. Calderwood, iv. 490; Melville, Diary, 253; B.U.K. ii. 711-12; Calderwood, iv. 672.
should preach before the synod of Lothian "except he conteaned himself within bounds" but he was finally permitted to do so "upon promise to aime at God's glorie and the peace of the kirk, as the Lord sould direct him". He appears to have been presented by the king to the vicarage of Saltoun on 9 December 1581 and again on 24 January 1583/4 and was presented to the vicarage of Pencaitland on 1 November 1593.  

**GILLESPIE, John (c. 1581 - 1627)**

Minister of Alva, 1603; Kirkcaldy, 1612.  
A graduate of Glasgow university in 1602, Gillespie, as minister of Alva, signed the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy. In 1620 he was summoned before the High Commission for his opposition to the articles of Perth. His wife, Lilias, was the daughter of Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling.

**GRAHAM, John**

A "Mr John Graham", who is hard to identify, accompanied John Davidson during his exile in 1584.  

**GREIR, George (1575 - 1628)**

Minister of Haddington, 1603.  
A graduate of Edinburgh university in 1595, Greir preached in Edinburgh

2. S.R.O. PS1/66. fo. 6r. Register of the Privy Seal; CH4/1/2, fos. 64r., 95r.  
3. Fasti, iv. 296; v. 102.  
5. Ibid. vii., 411.  
6. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 420.
and was invited by Aberdeen to become minister there but declined. At a meeting of the synod of Lothian in 1607, he "alledged out of Beza, De Gradibus, that a constant moderator was the first steppe to the Popedome", and in 1618 he contested the archbishop's assumption of the moderator's office without a free election. His first wife, Elizabeth Lawson was the daughter of James Lawson minister of Edinburgh; and in his testament, Greir left net assets amounting to £1,019. A friend of the Melvilles, Greir gave James Melville a sum of money for Andrew Melville's relief.

HALL, John

Minister of Hailes, 1579; South Leith, 1596; Edinburgh, 1598. The son of a burgess of Kirkcudbright, Hall consistently refused to sign the king's subscription of 1584 ratifying episcopacy. Although he later became something of a trimmer, he nevertheless initially declined to accept the king's version of the Gowrie conspiracy or offer thanksgiving. On the other hand, he also refused to subscribe the synod of Lothian's letter to the king in 1605 on behalf of the imprisoned ministers. Appointed constant moderator in 1607, he

1. Aberdeen Burgh Records, 188, 194.
2. Calderwood, vi. 672-3.
6. Calderwood, iv. 351; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432.
8. R.P.C. vi. 148-9, 155-6, 158, 166.
became a member of the High Commission in 1610 and after subscribing the 1617 roll on behalf of the church's liberties he then recanted. He was, however, suspected of encouraging resistance to the Perth articles and was warded in 1619. His wife, Margaret Arnot, was the daughter of an Edinburgh burgess.

HAMILTON, James

A presbyterian exile in England in 1585.

HAY, Andrew (d. 1593)

Minister of Renfrew, 1560.

The son of William Hay of Talla, Hay joined the reformers in 1559 and was accused of complicity in the murder of Riccio in 1566. Twice moderator of the general assembly, and rector of Glasgow university, Hay is described in 1574 as a man "who lyked never those bishopries". He participated in drafting the second Book of Discipline, was regarded as one of the "cheefe hinderers" of Montgomery in 1582; and in 1584, when sentenced to be warded north of the Tay, he remained "obscure within the countrie".

1. Ibid. viii. 418.
3. O.L. ii. 606, 608.
4. Fasti, v. 56.
7. B.U.K. i. 286; ii. 463; Calderwood, iii. 303, 473.
8. Melville, Diary, 48.
10. Calderwood, iii. 598.
11. Ibid. iv. 71-2.
HENDERSON, David

Minister of Kilmaurs, 1598.

The son of Alexander Henderson, reader and vicar of Kilmaurs, and a graduate of St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews, David Henderson as minister of Kilmaurs refused to accept the constant moderator appointed for the presbytery of Irvine. As a student, he received a gift of a monk's portion of Kilwinning on 2 November 1588.

HEPBURN, John

Minister of Glenholm, 1592; Mertoun, 1594; Cranshaws, 1596.

A graduate of Edinburgh university, Hepburn was charged for having unlawfully accepted the moderatorship in opposition to the appointment of a constant moderator for the synod of Merse, and for his defiance he was warded in Blackness.

HERIES, John (d. circa. 1620)

Minister at Ormiston, 1576; Newbattle, 1583.

In 1584 Heries was called before the privy council for his critical attitude to the "Black acts" which ratified episcopacy and the royal supremacy over the church. On 11 March 1586/7, Heries was presented by the king to the parsonage and vicarage of Melville.

1. Fasti, iii. 112.
3. S.R.O. PS1/58. fo. 69v. Register of the Privy Seal.
4. Fasti, i. 243, 412; ii. 6.
7. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 167r. Register of Presentations to Benefices.
HISLOP, Robert (d. 1607)
Minister of Ayton, 1585; Whitsome and Hilton, 1586; Swinton and Simprin, 1590.
As a member of the synod of Merse, Hislop signed the protest in 1586 against episcopacy and the "Black acts". He was presented by the king to the vicarage of Ayton on 28 February 1585/6 and to the vicarage of Swinton on 27 April 1587. Dying on 25 June 1607, Hislop left net assets of £680.

HOGG, Thomas (d. 1652)
Minister of Dysart, 1607.
The son of a burgess of Kirkcaldy and a graduate of St. Andrews university in 1599, Hogg supported the polity approved by the 1592 act of parliament. In 1619 he was accused of declaiming vehemently against the estate of bishops and of praying against bishops whom he regarded as "belligods and hirlings"; and in 1624 was confined by the privy council.

HOGG, William (1578 - 1616)
Minister of Galashiels, 1599; Ayton 1601.
The son of a burgess in the Canongate and a graduate of Edinburgh

5. Row, History, 358.
university, Hogg signed the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy.

HOWIE, Robert  (c. 1565 - 1641 x 1647)
Minister of Aberdeen, 1591.
Educated at Aberdeen grammar school and King's college and thereafter at Rostock, Herborn and Basel, Howie, after visiting Zurich, Berne and Geneva, became minister at Aberdeen in 1591. An advocate of presbyterianism, Howie condemned "Anglican pseudo-episcopacy" but by 1597 he changed sides and became a protagonist of episcopacy. He was appointed principal of Marischal college, Aberdeen in 1593 and replaced Melville as his successor at St. Andrews. As a student, Howie sent part of his Basel theses to Melville and Rollock.

HOWIESON, John  (1530 - 1618)
Minister of Kelso, 1576; Cambuslang, 1579.
The son of a Glasgow burgess and a graduate of Glasgow university, Howieson in a sermon preached in "the blak frier Kirk" on 8 July 1584 proclaimed that "we will acknawlege na Prince, na magistrat in teaching of the Word, nor be bund to na injunctionis, nor obey na Actes of Parliament, nor na uther thing that is repugnant to the Word of God". Earlier, Howieson had opposed the appointment of Montgomery as archbishop of Glasgow and was moderator of Glasgow presbytery

1. Fasti, ii. 30.
2. Calderwood, vi. 491.
3. Calderwood, vi. 703.
5. Fasti, iii. 234.
when it passed a decree against Montgomery.\(^1\) Apprehended in 1584, Howieson declared on 12 July that he would never obey Montgomery as archbishop whom he considered to be "a monster and an idol", for it was altogether "against his conscience and the Word of God"; and he denied "that there is anie other Head of the church than Christ because he is head onlie that can give life to the members". Favouring an abolition of the spiritual estate in parliament as presently constituted, he suggested its replacement by "suche godlie and true bishops as Sanct Paul appointeth" who ought to be elected to parliament by the ministers themselves. At the same time, he refused to obey the king's injunctions concerning obedience to "Montgomrie and the bishops" and he also reaffirmed his belief in the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions.\(^2\)

Warded for a period in Perth, Howieson was charged to serve as minister there in the absence of Patrick Galloway who had fled to England.\(^3\) In 1597 he was accused of altering the text and of circulating forged copies of the 1592 act of parliament.\(^4\) He was presented to the vicarage pensionary of Cambuslang on 7 August 1590 and received a gift of the fruits of his vicarage pensionary on 21 December 1591.\(^5\) His wife, Agnes Columnes, who died in March 1612 left net assets amounting to £2,499, and Howieson himself, who died in June 1618, left books valued at over £133 and net assets of £2,080.\(^6\)

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1. Calderwood, iii. 621.
2. Calderwood, iv. 146-8.
6. S.R.O. CC9/7/9; CC9/7/15. Glasgow Testaments, 18 August 1613, 14 October 1618.
HUME, Alexander  (c. 1557 - 1609)
Minister of Logie, 1597.

Shortly before his death in 1609, Hume, who was the second son of
Patrick Hume of Polwarth and a St. Andrews graduate, wrote his
"Admonitioun to the Ministerie of Scotland" in which he criticised
the attempts of the episcopal party to "conforme yourselfes to the
disciplin of our nychtbour countrey of England". He believed that
from the reformation "that ordour of imperious byschopes hath had no
place in the kirk of God" and that attempts to introduce them had
always ended in defeat. Entering into the heart of the controversy,
he argued that the biblical "bishop" was a pastor or overseer of
souls and that "presbyter" and "Episcopus" were synonymous; and he
warned his opponents that "gif Scripture faill you, my Brethren,
antiquitie can availl you the less". Opposed to any measure of
supremacy of one minister over another which he regarded as an abuse,
Hume maintained that it was a retrograde and decadent step to copy
the English pattern, though he did believe that "without questioun,
these Inglische Byschopes ar more excusable then ye our Scottis
Byschopes". Branding the episcopaliens and not the presbyterians
as the innovators, he declared that "it is now evident that ye have
departed from your brethren and not thei from you". He died on

1. Fasti, iv. 354.
2. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 569-596.
3. Ibid. 570.
4. Ibid. 582.
5. Ibid. 574-7.
6. Ibid. 580-1.
7. Ibid. 573.
4 December 1609 and left net assets of £1,055.\(^1\) His wife, Marion Duncanson, was the daughter of John Duncanson, minister of Stirling.

**Hume, David**

Minister of Coldingham, 1584; *et al.*\(^2\)

A presbyterian exile in England during the Arran regime,\(^3\) Hume on his return subscribed the synod of Merse's protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts".\(^4\) He opposed absolving archbishop Adamson from the sentence of excommunication,\(^5\) and in the assembly of May 1586 the king refused to allow Hume's appointment as assessor to the moderator.\(^6\) He declined to act as constant moderator in 1607 though he eventually did so with the presbytery's consent. On 14 June 1592, Hume received a royal presentation to the vicarage of Coldingham.\(^7\)

**Hume, John**

Minister of Ayton, 1586; *et al.*\(^8\)

In 1586, Hume signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts".\(^9\) He was presented to the vicarage of Ayton on 10 November 1586 and when still minister of Ayton to the vicarage of Lamberton on 23 May 1588.\(^10\)

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2. *Fasti*, i. 405, 412; ii. 36, 47.
4. Ibid. 604.
5. Ibid. 583.
6. B.U.K. ii. 647; Calderwood, iv. 549.
7. S.R.O. PS1/64. fo. 21r. Register of the Privy Seal.
8. *Fasti*, ii. 21, 30, 45, 51, 53.
10. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 166r. Register of Presentations to Benefices; PS1/57, fo. 120r. Register of the Privy Seal.
HUNTER, Andrew

Minister at Carnbee, 1582; Newburn, 1588.

After graduating at St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews in 1580, Hunter studied theology under Andrew Melville.¹ A Melvillian exile in 1584, Hunter on his return home still kept in touch with Richard Field.² He asked Carmichael, who was still in England, in January 1585/6 to "comfort the brethren of England; desire them not to be discouraged for our tryell, and their disappointed expectacon" and he also asked Carmichael to pass on his "hartie commendations" to Richard Field, Dr. Pennie and other English puritans of their "good acquayntance".³ At the command of the synod of Fife, he excommunicated archbishop Adamson in 1586,⁴ and protested when the assembly later decided to release Adamson from excommunication.⁵ On his becoming a follower of Bothwell,⁶ the king in 1594 demanded his excommunication and the assembly in turn deposed him from the ministry "till he satisfied the king and the kirk for his offence".⁷ On leaving Scotland, he became minister to a Scottish regiment in the Netherlands.⁸ Earlier in 1590 Hunter had intended to go to Denmark and the presbytery had asked him "to produce the warrant of his passing

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1. R.St.A.U. 288; Calderwood, iv. 534.
2. B.M. Add. MSS. 32,092 fo. 80v.
3. Ibid. fos. 80v - 81r.
5. B.U.K. ii. 662; Calderwood, iv. 552.
8. Calderwood, iv. 326; C.S.P. Scot. xi. no. 617; Fasti, v. 223.
to Denmark" but he never appears to have made the visit. As minister of Carnbee, he received a gift of stipend from the thirds of Dunfermline abbey in 7 December 1587.

JOHNSTON, Adam (d. 1599)
Minister of Crichton, 1569.
A graduate of St. Andrews, Johnston was warded in 1584 for opposing episcopacy and the king's subscription and he still remained defiant in 1585. He opposed releasing archbishop Adamson from excommunication in 1586 and complained in 1587 that Adamson had failed to pay his stipend. He was presented to the provostry of Crichton by Bothwell in September 1586.

JOHNSTON, George
Minister of Ancrum, 1572; et. al.
Educated at St. Andrews university and an opponent of the Arran regime, Johnston declined the king's subscription of 1584 and, as

1. MS. St. Andrews Presbytery Records, 18 January 1589/90.
2. S.R.O. PS1/56. fo. 112v. Register of the Privy Seal.
3. Melville, Diary, 438.
4. R.St.A.U. 152, 258.
5. Calderwood, iv. 211, 351; viii. 280.
6. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432, 436.
7. Calderwood, iv. 583.
8. B.U.K. ii. 689; Calderwood, iv. 617.
10. Fasti, ii. 47, 98, 107, 205.
11. R.St.A.U. 278.
12. Calderwood, iv. 351; viii. 40; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432, 436.
a member of the synod of Merse, signed the 1586 protest against episcopacy.\(^1\) He was against releasing archbishop Adamson from excommunication in 1586,\(^2\) and in 1608 he refused to recognise bishop Law as visitor of the presbytery of Jedburgh.\(^3\) As a result he was put to the horn and in 1613 was given liberty within the diocese of Glasgow but was finally deprived in 1622 by the Court of High Commission for his opposition to the articles of Perth.\(^4\)

JOHNSTON, John \((c.\ 1565 - 1611)\)

Master of St. Mary's college, St. Andrews.

Educated at the grammar school and King's college, Aberdeen and thereafter at Rostock, Helmstadt and Heidelberg Johnston after visiting Zurich, Berne and Geneva returned to Scotland and was appointed to the staff of St. Mary's college, St. Andrews in 1593.\(^5\) He also served as an elder on St. Andrews kirk session.\(^6\) Opposed to ecclesiastical representation in parliament\(^7\) and to any attempts at introducing a form of pseudo-episcopacy, Johnston remained the friend and ally of Andrew Melville. He wrote a treatise in defence of a presbyterian polity\(^8\) and survived Gladstane's attempts to remove him from his office.\(^9\) He died on 20 October 1611 and James Melville,

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1. Calderwood, iv. 605.
2. Ibid, iv. 583.
4. Ibid, 712; vii. 181, 532-3, 549-50, 551; viii. 120.
6. R.St.A.K.S. ii. 760, 788, 802.
8. Row, History, 421.
9. Calderwood, vi. 703.
who duly informed his uncle, spoke of Johnston's "dislike of the lately-erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud and whole conduct of the bishops". 1 Andrew Melville, in turn, in a simple yet eloquent tribute described how with Johnston's death "the university has lost a teacher, the church a member and I a friend to whom there are few equal". 2 With his death on 20 October 1611, Johnston left net assets amounting to £3,731. 3

KEITH, William
A signatory to the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy. 4

KENNEDY, John
One of the forty two who signed the protest against episcopacy in 1606. 5

KER, John (1576 - 1644)
Minister of Prestonpans, 1605.
The son of Andrew Ker of Faldonside and Margaret Stewart, widow of John Knox, Ker after returning from France studied at Edinburgh university and graduated in 1596. 6 The successor of John Davidson at Prestonpans, Ker was accounted "one who had a great hand in keeping

2. E.U.L. MS. Dc.6.45. Melvini Epistolae, fos. 293-4; M'Crie, Melville, 324.
4. Calderwood, vi. 419.
5. Ibid.
6. Fasti, i. 388.
sundry of the nobility and gentry straight, when the land was poisoned with Episcopacie and ceremonies". In 1610 he sought to have Haddington's protestation against episcopacy read out at a meeting of the synod of Lothian; and in 1624 he was confined to his own parish for his opposition to the articles of Perth.

KER, Robert
Minister of Morebattle, 1582.

In 1582, Ker as archdeacon of Teviotdale was a member of the chapter which declined to elect an archbishop of Glasgow. He consistently refused to sign the king's subscription of 1584 and in 1586 signed the synod of Merse's protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts" which provocatively asserted the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical. On 23 January 1579/80, Ker received a royal presentation to the parsonage and vicarage of Morebattle, and was presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Ancrum on 28 June 1587.

KNOX, John (b. circa. 1555)
Minister of Melrose, 1584.

A graduate of St. Andrews in 1575, Knox opposed the king's

1. *Select Biographies*, i. 313.
3. Ibid. 313.
4. *Fasti*, ii. 80, 83, 158.
7. Calderwood, iv. 604.
8. R.S.S. vii. no. 2201.
9. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 177r. Register of Presentations to Benefices.
subscription of 1584 and signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts" in 1586. He also opposed releasing archbishop Adamson from the sentence of excommunication. Along with John Davidson, he protested in 1598 when the king discharged Melville from attending the general assembly and in 1601 was one of a group of Melvillians who refused to vote for the translation of the ministers of Edinburgh as recommended by the king. He attended the Falkland conference in 1609; and in 1618 he "exhorted the brethren to stand to the libertie and government of the kirk established before the erection of the late bishops".

LAMB, James (1557 - 1640)

Reader at Tynninghame, 1576; North Berwick, 1578; Minister of Oldhamstocks, 1585; Oldcambus, 1586; Bolton, 1587.

In 1585 Lamb consistently opposed signing the king's subscription approving episcopacy and the "Black acts". He died on 10 February 1640 aged 83.

LAUDER, Alexander

Minister of Lauder, 1584.

1. Calderwood, iv. 351; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432, 436.
2. Calderwood, iv. 604.
3. Ibid. 583.
4. Ibid. v. 694.
5. Ibid. vi. 119; Melville, Diary, 760.
6. Melville, Diary, 770.
8. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432, 436; Fasti, i. 356, 405, 412, 425.
A graduate of St. Andrews in 1581, Lauder felt compelled to sign the king's subscription of 1584, but in 1586 he subscribed the synod of Merse's protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts" of 1584.

**LAWSON, James**

Minister of Edinburgh, 1572.

Educated at Perth grammar school and St. Andrews university, Lawson travelled on the continent as tutor to the earl of Crawford. He received a gift of a place in St. Mary's college, St. Andrews in February 1568/9 and in the following July was appointed sub-principal of King's college, Aberdeen. As Knox's chosen successor Lawson became "chief minister" in Edinburgh and was inaugurated by the reformer himself. In the debate on episcopacy in 1575, he sided with Melville and he assisted in the drafting of the second Book of Discipline. Moderator in July 1580 of the assembly which condemned episcopacy, Lawson was called before the privy council in 1582. A persistent critic of "Arran, the duke and their counsellors" he was again summoned before the privy council in 1583. In 1584 he

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2. Ibid. 605.
4. R.S.S. vi. no. 518.
5. Ibid. no. 663.
7. Bannatyne, Memoriales, 280-1; Calderwood, iii. 230.
8. B.U.K. i. 340; Calderwood, iii. 355.
10. B.U.K. ii. 449; Calderwood, iii. 463.
11. Calderwood, iii. 620.
praised Andrew Melville, condemned the "Black acts" and took refuge in England. ¹ After visiting Oxford and Cambridge universities,² Lawson returned to London where he died on 12 October 1584. His funeral "was the occasion of a gathering of English and Scottish presbyterians not only more impressive than any other recorded in the sixteenth century, but in a sense more representative than even the Westminster assembly".³

LIGHTBODY, John
Reader of Coldstream, 1574; Hilton, 1576.⁴
In 1586 Lightbody signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts".⁵

LIVINGSTONE, Henry
Minister of St. Ninians, 1587.
The son of Henry Livingstone of Falkirk and a graduate of St. Salvator's college St. Andrews, Livingstone supported the ministers prosecuted in 1606 for holding the Aberdeen assembly,⁶ and he himself was summoned before the privy council and confined to his parish for accepting the office of moderator of the synod of Perth in defiance of the act approving constant moderators.⁷ In 1617 he signed the

1. Ibid. iv. 13, 64, 72.
4. Fasti, ii. 40, 66.
5. Calderwood, iv. 605.
6. Ibid. vi. 376, 457.
7. R.P.C. vii. 388, 522; Calderwood, vi. 651-3; 666-7; Row, History, 244-5.
roll on behalf of the liberties of the church.1

LIVINGSTONE, William (1576 - 1641)
Minister of Kilsyth, 1596; Lanark, 1613.
The son of Alexander Livingstone, minister of Kilsyth, and a graduate of Glasgow university, Livingstone was ordered by the privy council in 1607 to be confined within his parish for his conduct as "a fyrebrand of discorde and dissensioun".2 His son John, however, saw him as "straight and zealous in the work of reformation against Episcopacy and ceremonies".3

MACBIRNIE, John (c. 1576 - 1614)
Minister of Crail, 1601; Ferryport-on-Craig, 1604; Aberdeen, 1605.
Macbirnie, an Edinburgh graduate, was summoned before the privy council in 1607 "for preaching against bishops and constant moderators" and although he promised not to meddle any further in controverted matters,4 he was nevertheless regarded by Row as "a great opposer of hierarchie".5

McGHIE, Thomas
Minister of North Berwick, 1571; Gullane, 1576.
Probably a graduate of St. Andrews,6 McGhie consistently refused to sign the king's subscription of 1584;7 and in 1586, he opposed

3. Select Biographies, i. 130.
5. Row, History, 421.
7. Calderwood, iv. 351; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 432, 436.
absolving archbishop Adamson from excommunication. As minister of Gullane, he was presented to the vicarage of Gullane by the king on 15 June 1591.

MALCOLM, John (d. 1634)
Minister of Perth, 1591.
A graduate of St. Andrews and a former regent in St. Leonard's college, Malcolm became one of Andrew Melville's "grait students of Theologie and speciall professed frinds". In November 1595, he received a letter from the earl of Gowrie then in Padua; and in 1606 he helped organise the signing of the protestation against episcopacy which took place in his own house in Perth. In 1610 he spoke out against "prelaticall usurpation", questioned the archbishop's right to be moderator of the synod of Fife, and supported the earlier presbyterian polity. In 1615 he offended the king and was called before the High Commission for suggesting in the dedication prefixed to his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles that the king should recall the banished ministers "alledging they were, more faithfull subjects to his Majestie than those who had receaved great benefices at his hands" and also for his remarks on "the corruption brought in into the kirk by unlearned and unsanctified men".

1. Calderwood, iv. 583.
2. S.R.O. PS1/67, fo. 77r. Register of the Privy Seal.
3. R.St.A.U. 175, 179, 285.
4. Melville, Diary, 124.
7. Ibid. vii. 120; Row, History, 290-1.
8. Calderwood, vii. 201; Row, History, 305.
MEARNS, David

Minister of Newburn, 1589; Carnbee, 1590.

Matriculating at St. Mary's college, St. Andrews in 1579, Mearns graduated in 1583 and studied theology under Melville from 1587 to 1589. Critical of episcopacy, Mearns opposed the archbishop's assumption of the moderator's office at a meeting of the synod of Fife in 1610;1 and in 1620 he was confined to his parish by the court of High Commission.2

MELVILLE, Andrew (1545 - 1621)

Principal of Glasgow university, 1574; principal of St. Mary's college, St. Andrews, 1580-1607.

The youngest son of Richard Melville of Baldowie and a graduate of St. Andrews university,3 Melville after almost ten years' absence abroad in Paris, Poitiers and Geneva returned home in 1574 and, after refusing to become the regent's domestic chaplain, was appointed principal master of Glasgow university.4 In March 1574/5 he played a part in the assembly's examination of the bishops of Moray and Dunblane,5 and came out against episcopacy in the debate initiated by Durie in August 1575.6 Appointed by the assembly to take part in discussions on the nature of the church's jurisdiction and polity, he contributed to producing the second Book of Discipline.7 True to

2. Ibid. 442.
3. R.St.A.U. 267; Melville, Diary, 39.
7. B.U.K. i. 325-6, 352, 362, 365, 373, 391, 398; ii. 409; Calderwood, iii. 344, 363, 368, 374, 375, 381, 382, 388, 403.
Knox, he insisted in 1578 that the assembly as a sovereign body possessed an inalienable right to convene when the church saw fit.\(^1\) He took part in the assembly's proceedings against Adamson and Montgomery, and was chosen to help with the work of constituting presbyteries in east Fife.\(^2\) In 1582, in an address to the assembly of which he was moderator, he condemned the exercise of that "absolute authoritie whereby men intended to pull the crown off Christ's head and to wring the sceptre out of his hand".\(^3\) As a leading presbyterian, Melville was obviously of considerable interest to English diplomats in Scotland and one Stephan Pole, a student at St. Andrews, appears to have made available to the English envoy, from whom he received £50, information about Melville with whom he corresponded in April and September 1583 (and again in July 1612).\(^4\) Summoned to comppear before the privy council for certain utterances, Melville took with him testimonials in his favour from the staff of St. Andrews university but he declined the privy council's jurisdiction and when charged to enter ward in Blackness, he took flight, with his brother Roger, and sought refuge in England.\(^5\) With the departure from St. Andrews of Melville and "ane number of maisters and regentis thairof", the government declared the principalship of St. Mary's vacant and proceeded to appoint John Robertson as Melville's successor.\(^6\) In June 1584, Melville, Carmichael and Galloway had an

\(^1\) Melville, Diary, 68.
\(^2\) B.U.K. ii. 432, 531, 542, 545; Calderwood, iii. 444, 571, 581.
\(^3\) Calderwood, iii. 622.
\(^4\) Bodleian, Tanner MSS. 168. fos. 203v. - 204v.; 169. fo. 89v.
\(^5\) Melville, Diary, 141-4; Calderwood, iv. 3-14; Spottiswoode, ii. 308-9.
\(^6\) S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 124r. Register of Presentations to Benefices.
interview with secretary Walsingham in London;\(^1\) and in July Melville and other leading presbyterian exiles visited Oxford and Cambridge universities where he "conferrit with the most godlie and lernit ther".\(^2\) Nor was his contact with English university life necessarily tenuous, for in the following December after his return to London he corresponded with Thomas Savile and George Carleton, two Oxford Scholars.\(^3\)

To counteract the effect of Adamson's propaganda to the reformed churches abroad, Melville likewise took the step of writing to Geneva and to Zurich from London on 1 July 1584 giving his version of events in Scotland.\(^4\) In October 1584 he attended Lawson's funeral in London\(^5\) and thirteen months later travelled north to Scotland. In 1586, however, he was in effect warded in the north and was forbidden by the king in 1587 from preaching to the people in English on

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1. Calderwood, viii. 260; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 413.
2. Calderwood, iv. 201; Melville, Diary, 219.
3. B.M. Harleian MSS. 7,004. fo. 5.
4. Calderwood, iv. 55, 158-167. Although it purports to be the text of the Genevan letter (since it refers to "you and the brethren of Tigure", ibid. 160), Calderwood's vernacular version corresponds not with the text of the Genevan letter which is shorter in form but with that of the Zurich letter. The former letter ends in the midst of a denunciation of archbishop Adamson (Calderwood, iv. 163, line 13) with a note informing the Genevan pastors of the somewhat lengthier epistle written to their Zurich counterparts. Although the authorship of these letters is attributed to Melville himself (Melville, Diary, 154; Calderwood iv. 55, 157), both the Genevan and Zurich letters are signed respectively: James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, Andrew Melville, professor of theology, James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, Walter Balcanquhal, minister of Edinburgh and Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth. (Geneva: Bibliotheque Publique et Universitaire Geneve, MS. Fr. 410 fo. 26r. - v. Zurich: Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zurich, MS. E.II.382. fos. 1057r - 1059v.).
Sundays. In opposition to the king, he defended both Knox and Buchanan in 1592 and in the following year "gave the king a sharpe reprooffe for his favour borne to Papists, speciallie Huntlie". In 1594 Melville was suspected, apparently without foundation, of favouring Bothwell. In the following year, and again in 1596, Melville made his famous "two kingdoms" speech on the separate nature of the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions. Excluded by the king from attending presbyteries, Melville also found himself deprived of his office of rector of St. Andrews university - an office which he professed he little cared for "speciallie becaus there was in it a mixture of civill magistracie with spirituall office". Opposed to ecclesiastical representation in parliament, he was ordered by the king to leave the Dundee assembly of 1598; and though commissioned by his presbytery to attend the assembly, he was again prohibited by the king from participating in the Montrose assembly of 1600. In 1602 he was warded in his college for making the exercise upon the text Ephesians v. 11 and touching upon "the present corruptions of the kirk". He signed the 1606 protest

2. Ibid. v. 159, 288-9.
3. Ibid. 307.
5. MS. St. Andrews Presbytery Records, 15 July 1597; Calderwood, vi. 651.
6. Calderwood, v. 651; Melville, Diary, 418.
8. Ibid. 683.
9. Ibid. vi. 16; Melville, Diary, 485.
10. Calderwood, vi. 157; Melville, Diary, 545.
against episcopacy and in the same year was summoned to London. Accused by the English privy council of writing some verses "tending to the scandall and dishonour of the Church of England", he was placed under the charge of the dean of St. Paul's and finally committed to the Tower of London in April 1607. It was from there that Melville wrote a reply to Downam's sermon in defence of episcopacy. Released from the Tower in 1611, Melville became professor of divinity at Sedan but he continued to keep in touch with Scotland; and was evidently not averse from writing to those who had accepted bishoprics, for in September 1613 he corresponded with Andrew Knox, a Glasgow graduate, who in 1605 was appointed bishop of the Isles. Unmarried, he died in Sedan in 1621.

MELVILLE, James
Regent at Glasgow and St. Mary's college, St. Andrews; minister at Anstruther Wester, 1586; Kilrenny, 1590.
The son of Richard Melville of Baldowie and nephew of Andrew Melville, James Melville was educated at St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews; and in 1584 he fled from St. Andrews, where he lectured, to Berwick disguised as a "shipbroken sie-man". Prohibited from preaching in public at Berwick, he served as minister to the banished lords at Newcastle. From the safety of England he wrote a lengthy

2. Ibid. 597-600, 654-7, 660; Melville, Diary, 678-82, 708.
5. Melville, Diary, 13-14, 24-36, 84, 167-8; Calderwood, iv. 73; R.St.A.U. 168, 279.
letter condemning "this present intolerable tyranny of the fals Bischopes" and censuring the ministers who signed the king's subscription.  

He returned home, however, along with other Melvillian exiles in November 1585. Moderator of the assembly in June 1589, he strongly opposed ecclesiastical representation in parliament in 1598. By 1604 it was said that "the king hated him most of anie man in Scotland, becaus he crossed all his turnes and was a ring-leader to others". In September 1605 he wrote an apology on behalf of the warded ministers and in 1606 he signed the protest against episcopacy. One of the Melvillians summoned to London in 1606, Melville rejected any notion of royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, was warded with the bishop of Durham and then permitted to return home for a short spell. He declined to accept a bishopric, and declared in 1608 that "Episcopacie was Poprie". Warded in Newcastle in 1607, he was refused permission to remain with his uncle in London; and after seven years exile died at Berwick in 1614. He was presented by the king to the vicarage of Abercromby in 1587 and to the vicarage of Kilrenny on 21 March 1592/3. His first wife,

1. Melville, Diary, 200-18; Calderwood, iv. 219-36.
2. Melville, Diary, 227; Calderwood, iv. 449.
5. Ibid. vi. 261-2.
6. Ibid. 298-322, 491.
9. Ibid. vii. 185-190.
10. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 170v. Register of Presentations to Benefices; PS1/56. fo. 112r.; PS1/65. fo. 40r. Register of the Privy Seal.
Elizabeth, was the daughter of John Durie minister of Edinburgh.¹

MERCER, James

Minister of Logiebride, 1595.

The second son of the sheriff-depute of Perthshire, Mercer matriculated at St. Andrews in 1586 and graduated M.A. in 1590. In 1606 he signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy.² He was presented by the king to the parsonage and vicarage of Logiebride on 11 April 1595.³

MERCER, Robert

In 1606 he signed the protest against episcopacy.⁴ Was he, perhaps, the minister of Ellon, who was the close friend of John Johnston of St. Andrews?⁵

METHVEN, William

Minister of Langton, 1586.

The son of John Methven, a citizen of St. Andrews, William Methven, who was a St. Andrews graduate,⁶ signed the synod of Merse’s protest in 1586 against episcopacy and the "Black acts".⁷ He was presented by the king to the vicarage of Swinton on 25 May 1586, and when minister at Langton, to the vicarage of Fogo on 12 May 1591.⁸

1. Melville, Diary, 80, 136, 138; Fasti, v. 212.
2. Calderwood, vi. 491.
7. Calderwood, iv. 604.
8. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 147r. Register of Presentations to Benefices; PS1/62. fo. 51r. Register of the Privy Seal.
MICHAELSON, John
Minister of Markinch, 1590.
A St. Andrews graduate, Michaelson signed the 1606 protest against episcopacy and in 1607 chose to leave a meeting of the synod of Fife rather than vote for the archbishop as constant moderator. He was himself nominated as constant moderator of the presbytery of Kirkcaldy. By 1609, however, he changed sides and served as a member of the episcopal party at the conference at Falkland; and in 1610 was appointed to the court of High Commission. As minister of Markinch, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Markinch on 1 January 1590/1.

MILNE, Andrew (d. 1605)
Minister of Fetteresso, 1579.
Educated at St. Andrews university, Milne first became schoolmaster at Montrose where he taught James Melville; and later as minister he opposed absolving archbishop Adamson from excommunication in 1586 and was described by Row as a zealous opposer of the hierarchy.

MITCHELL, James (d. 1626)
Minister of Stow, 1585.
The brother of a flour miller and burgess of Edinburgh, Mitchell

1. Calderwood, vi. 491, 676; Row, History, 430.
2. R.P.C. vii. 301.
5. R.St.A.U. 263.
7. Calderwood, iv. 583; Row, History, 417.
8. Fasti, ii. 163.
signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts" in 1586.\(^1\) He was presented by the king to the parsonage and vicarage of Stow on 4 March 1591/2.\(^2\) He died in 1626 and in his testament left net assets of £4,372.\(^3\)

MONCREIFF, Andrew (d. 1596)

Minister of Kilconquhar, 1576; Crail, 1593.

The son of William Moncreiff of that Ilk\(^4\) and a graduate of St. Andrews\(^5\) Moncreiff showed himself to be a friend of the Melvillians and was described by James Melville as "a godlie fathfull and upright brother".\(^6\) He died on 8 August 1596 and left net assets amounting to a mere £99.\(^7\)

MONCREIFF, Archibald (c. 1562 - 1634)

Minister of Abernethy, 1586.

The fifth son of Moncreiff of that Ilk and a graduate of St. Andrews,\(^8\) Moncreiff was one of the Melvillian exiles who attended James Lawson's funeral in London in 1584.\(^9\)

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1. Calderwood, iv. 605.
5. R.St.A.U. 186, 278.
6. Melville, Diary, 411 n.1; cf. 289.
9. B.M. Add. MSS. 4,736. fo. 166v.; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 452.
MUREHEAD, James (d. 1612)
Minister of North Leith, 1599.
A graduate of Edinburgh university, Murehead signed the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy. He died in 1612 and in his testament left net assets of £3,656.

MURRAY, John (c. 1575 – 1632)
Minister of Borthwick, 1598; South Leith, 1603; Dunfermline, 1620.
The brother of the laird of Abercairnie and a graduate of Edinburgh university, Murray opposed the introduction of constant moderators and in 1608 was warded for his hostility towards bishops. In 1621 he was summoned before the High Commission and confined for his non-observance of the articles of Perth. He died in January 1632 and left net assets of £296. His daughter, Jean, was served heir on 4 May 1633. When minister of Borthwick, Murray was presented by the king to the parsonage and vicarage of Borthwick on 16 December 1598 and again on 6 January 1598/9.

MURRAY, William
Minister of Crail, 1600.
The son of David Murray portioner of Ardeth, and a graduate of

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1. Calderwood, vi. 491.
3. Calderwood, vi. 628, 692, 689-702; vii. 18-19; R.P.C. viii. 72, 84, 87, 270-1, 492, 496, 499; ix. 218; O.L. i. 122-6, 171, 189.
6. Retours of Heirs, ii. no. 1948.
7. S.R.O. PS1/70. fo. 102r., 122r. Register of the Privy Seal.
8. MS. St. Andrews Presbytery Records, 11 September [1600].
St. Leonard's college St. Andrews in 1591, Murray, as minister of Crail, had as his successors two well-known Melvillians, Andrew Moncreiff and Andrew Duncan. In 1607 he chose to leave the synod of Fife in protest rather than vote for the archbishop as constant moderator.¹

MYLES, Edmund

As minister of Cleish, Myles signed the 1606 protest against the introduction of episcopacy.²

OGILVIE, John

In 1606 Ogilvie signed the protest against episcopacy.³ He may have been the person of that name who entered the ministry in 1593;⁴ and there was a minister of that name serving at Kingoldrum in 1606.⁵ He is probably to be identified with the John Ogilvie who graduated from St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews in 1589.

POLWART, Andrew (d. 1587)

Minister of Paisley, 1574; Cadder, 1578.

Polwart returned home from Geneva with Andrew Melville and Alexander Campbell in 1574.⁶ He was associated with the "grieves of the kirk" presented to the king in June 1582 which reaffirmed, in effect, the doctrine of the two kingdoms.⁷ In 1584 he withdrew "for fear of

¹. Calderwood, vi. 676.
². Ibid. 491.
³. Ibid.
⁴. B.U.K. iii, 804.
⁵. Fasti, v. 266.
⁶. Melville, Diary, 42-3.
⁷. B.U.K. ii, 581-4; Calderwood, iii. 627-31.
and apparently joined the Melvillian exiles in England. He also opposed absolving archbishop Adamson from excommunication in 1586, and died on 20 May 1587 leaving net assets amounting to a mere £71.

PONT, Robert (1524 - 1606)

Minister of St. Cuthbert's, 1578.

Appointed minister of Dunblane in June 1562 and of Dunkeld in December 1562, Pont served for many years as commissioner in the north. Despite his plea in 1568 "to be placed in a particular congregation" the assembly encouraged him to continue as commissioner of Moray. It can also be said with some confidence that Pont, for several years before his appointment as provost of Trinity College in June 1571, had no parochial charge; and although he received a presentation to the vicarage of Birnay on 13 January 1567/8 he did not act as minister as a subsequent presentation to James Johnston, minister of Birnay, on 26 February 1567/8 makes clear. With Thomas Smeton he composed the act of assembly approving the Ruthven raid; and in 1584 he protested that the church was in no way obliged to give obedience to the "Black acts". He refused to sign the king's subscription and when charged to compear before the privy council, he

1. BM. MSS. Cotton Cal. C VIII. fo. 49; C.S.P. Scot. vii. no. 119.
3. Calderwood, iv. 583.
5. B.U.K. i. 129.
6. R.S.S. vi. nos. 107, 164.
fled to England. In all five times moderator of the assembly, Pont opposed Adamson's absolution in 1586, and on the assembly's advice he declined to accept the bishopric of Caithness in 1587. In 1591 he reminded the king that "there is a judgement above yours and that is God's putt in the hand of the ministrie"; and in 1592 he was one of several appointed by the assembly to draw up articles annulling the "Black acts" of 1584. He did, however, accept in principle the idea of ecclesiastical representation in parliament. In 1606 he protested against the prosecution of the ministers imprisoned for approving the Aberdeen assembly.

**Ramsay, Tobias**
Minister of Foulden, 1596.

Ramsay, the brother of William Ramsay of Nunlands, was prosecuted in 1607 by the government for acting as moderator of the synod of Merse in defiance of the act concerning constant moderators.

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1. Calderwood, iv. 65, 211, 351, 450-457; Spottiswoode, ii. 315; C.S.P. Scot. vii. no. 146.
2. B.U.K. i. 175, 331; ii. 473, 626, 857; Calderwood, iii. 1, 347, 515, 731; v. 394.
3. Calderwood, iv. 583.
8. Melville, Diary, 624.
9. Fasti, ii. 47.
10. R.P.C. vii. 453; viii. 4, 9, 773; Melville, Diary, 735.
RIDDELL, Matthew
Minister at St. Bothans.
In 1586 Riddell signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts" of 1584.¹

ROBERTSON, James (1555 - c. 1623)
Minister of Dundee, 1588.
A student of theology in St. Mary's college, St. Andrews Robertson fled with the Melvillians to England in 1584.² He was presented to the vicarage of Dundee by the king on 21 May 1596,³ and in 1617 signed the protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk.⁴

ROLLOCK, Robert (1555 - 1599)
Regent at St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews, principal of Edinburgh university; minister of Greyfriars, 1598.
Son of David Rollock of Powis and a St. Andrews graduate, Rollock was moderately sympathetic to the Melvillian cause: he was accounted "a Godly man, but simple in the matters of the Church Government".⁵ His readiness to follow the "humours of the king" somewhat impaired his reputation amongst the godly.⁶ He nevertheless found fault with the king in 1595, and on the question of ecclesiastical representation in parliament "he dissembled not, but said plainlie that lordship

¹ Calderwood iv. 604.
² Ibid. 236, 245; Melville, Diary, 218.
³ S.R.O. PS1/68, fo. 168r. Register of the Privy Seal.
⁴ Calderwood, vii. 256.
⁵ Ibid. viii. 47.
⁶ Ibid. v. 650; cf. 629, 732.
could not be denied them that were to sitt in parliament, and allowance of rent to mainteane their digniteis". According to Row, Rollock in his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians" condemned "the office of Bishops, as they are lords over their brethren" and proved "Pastors and Bishops to be both one". His attitude to the relationship which ought to exist between church and state was made clear just before his death (which, according to Calderwood, occurred on 8 February 1598/9) when he declared that:

"seeing that the wise Creator of the world has united the church and state with a loving and fraternal bond, I have laboured heart and soul that they should mutually assist each other - that the sword of the state should not be drawn to destroy the church, nor the church too bitterly inveigh against the king or the state, and that no unnecessary war should be kindled."

On his death, James Melville paid tribute to Rollock in three sonnets which he composed.

ROSS, James (d. 1634)
Minister of Forteviot, 1600.
The son of John Ross of Craigie and a St. Andrews graduate, Ross signed the 1606 protest against episcopacy. His wife, Margaret, was a daughter of Alexander Cunningham of Barns.

1. Ibid. 697.
2. Row, History, 419.
7. Fasti, iv. 211.
ROSS, John

Minister of Blairgowrie, 1603.

In 1594 Ross in a sermon before the synod of Perth proclaimed "the king to be a tratroir to God". Apprehended near Burntisland "dissguised with a plaid, a bonnet, and two dags, without breeches, as one suspected going to Bothwell", he was brought before the king and council; and though he admitted he was a kinsman of Bothwell he refused to acknowledge any fault and was consequently warded in Edinburgh castle. In the assembly of May 1594 Ross and "all other young men of the ministrie" were admonished by Melville, as moderator, not to speak irreverently of the king. What charge within the province of Perth Ross occupied remains conjectural. He was not then a graduate and he acknowledged in 1594 that he had been "not long a minister". It is possible, however, to identify him with John Ross, minister at Blairgowrie. The son of John Ross of Craigie, John Ross of Magdalens who became minister at Blairgowrie is usually stated to have graduated from St. Andrews in 1599, but it is known that "Johnne Ros, minister, son of Johnne Ros of Cragy" was already a non-graduate minister in February 1597/8 when he was denounced for failing to answer a charge of libel in which amongst other things he condemned the king's attempts "to be supreme Head of the kirk and soverane judge in all causes". As minister of Blairgowrie, Ross

3. Fasti, v. 255.
approved the Aberdeen assembly, declared illegal by the king, and was imprisoned in Stirling castle. His wife, Jean, was the daughter of John Shaw of Pitmurthlie.

ROW, James (1562 - 1614)
Minister of Kilspindie, 1587.
The son of John Row, the reformer, and a graduate of St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews in 1583, Row signed the 1606 protest against episcopacy. In 1612 he was accused of usury - charging more than 10% interest; and with his death on 29 December 1614 he left net assets amounting to £1,678.

ROW, John (c. 1526 - 1580)
Minister of Perth, 1560.
Though he took part in the debate on episcopacy on the opposite side from Melville in 1575, Row nevertheless became convinced of the logic of Melville's arguments and is said to have "thundered out mightilie against the state of bishops".

ROW, John (1569 - 1646)
Minister of Carnock, 1592.

2. Fasti, v. 255.
5. R.P.C., ix. 387.
7. B.U.K. i. 340; Calderwood, iii. 355.
8. Calderwood, iii. 479; cf. Melville, Diary, 83; Row, History 415.
Son of the minister of Perth, schoolmaster of Kennoway and tutor to his cousins the sons of Beaton and Balfour, Row graduated from Edinburgh university in 1590. Thereafter he served as schoolmaster of Aberdour and tutor to William, earl of Morton. In 1606 he signed the protest against episcopacy. In 1622 he was summoned before the High Commission and confined to his own parish for his opposition to the articles of Perth. He was present in 1638 as a member of the Glasgow assembly. His wife, Grisel, was the daughter of David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline.

**ROW, William** (1563 - 1634)

Minister of Forgandenny, 1589.

The son of John Row, the reformer, and a graduate of St. Andrews university in 1587, Row maintained in 1592 that the church possessed the right to excommunicate the king. In 1606 he signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy; and, in defiance of the king's commissioner, Row as moderator of the last synod opened the next meeting of the synod of Perth in April 1607, preached against "the Bisschoppis of Bethel" and proceeded to the election of a fresh moderator. For this he was put to the horn and warded in Blackness at his own expense. His reputation was that of a "straight, bold

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2. Calderwood, vi. 491.
3. Ibid. vii. 519, 543.
5. Calderwood, v. 179.
6. Ibid. vi. 491.
7. Ibid. 653, 666; Melville, *Diary*, 701; R.P.C. vii. 385-391, 522; viii. 434; ix. 140.
man", an opponent of constant moderators. As minister of Forgandenny, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Forgandenny on 22 December 1591.

SCOT, William (c. 1566 - 1642)
Minister of Kennoway, 1593; Cupar, 1604.
Educated at St. Salvator's college, St. Andrews where he matriculated in 1582, Scot proceeded to study theology at St. Mary's college. As moderator of the synod of Fife in April 1605, Scot preached "powerfully against the corruption of our kirk" and in 1606 he signed the protest against episcopacy. One of a group of Melvillians summoned to London in 1606, he defended the lawfulness of the Aberdeen assembly and was committed to the charge of the bishop of Peterborough. He was allowed to return to his parish in 1607 providing he obtained from the archbishop of St. Andrews a testimonial of his good behaviour. He signed the protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk in 1617; and was outspoken in his criticism of bishops whom he regarded as "but bastard office-bearers". He was served heir of his father Robert Scot in Mylne-dene on 3 April 1605.

1. Select Biographies, i. 297-9.
2. S.R.O. PS1/63. fo. 78r. Register of the Privy Seal.
3. Calderwood, vi. 276.
4. Ibid. 491.
7. Scot, Apologetical Narration, 315.
8. Retours of Heirs, i. no. 150.
SCRIMGEOUR, John (c. 1567 - 1634)

Minister of Dysart, 1604; Kinghorn, 1606.

The son of William Scrimgeour of Myres and possibly a graduate of St. Andrews, John Scrimgeour of Wester Bowhill accompanied the ministers confined for approving the Aberdeen assembly to their trial at Linlithgow in 1606. In the same year he signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy; and in 1607 was warded within the presbytery of Kirkcaldy for opposing the archbishop taking the chair at a meeting of the synod of Fife. He signed the protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk in 1617, and in 1620 was confined by the High Commission for nonconformity. His wife, Grisel, was the daughter and co-heiress of Robert Forrester of Boquhan.

SHARP, John (1572 - 1647)

Minister of Kilmany, 1601.

A graduate of St. Andrews in 1592, Sharp was banished for life in 1606 for declining the privy council's jurisdiction and for continuing to uphold the lawfulness of the Aberdeen assembly, of which he had been clerk. He became professor of theology at Die and after

1. Calderwood, vi. 454, 457.
2. Ibid. 491.
3. Ibid. 674-9.
4. Ibid. vii. 256.
6. Fasti, v. 94.
returning home in 1630 was appointed professor of divinity at Edinburgh university. 1

SHARP, Patrick
Principal master of Glasgow university, 1586 - 1614.
Together with Patrick Simson, James Melville and David Barclay, Sharp argued against "Antichristian and Anglican episcopall digniteis" in 1600. 2

SIMSON, Archibald (1564 - 1628)
Minister of Dalkeith, 1586.
The son of Andrew Simson, minister of Dalkeith, and a graduate of St. Andrews, Simson was summoned before the privy council for approving the Aberdeen assembly but was dismissed on promise of good behaviour. 3 In 1617 he was warded for presenting the protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk. 4 As minister of Dalkeith, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Dalkeith on 15 December 1587. 5

SIMSON, Patrick (1556 - 1618)
Minister of Spott, 1577; Cramond, 1582; Stirling, 1590.
The son of Andrew Simson, minister of Dalkeith, and a St. Andrews graduate, Simson refused to sign the king's subscription of 1584. 6

2. Calderwood, vi. 2-15.
5. S.R.O. PS1/56. fo. 115v. Register of the Privy Seal.
6. Calderwood, iv. 211, 351; viii. 280-1; R.P.C. iii. 703; Select Biographies, i. 73.
He held a high doctrine of the ministry which he described in 1596 as the very "Oracle of God".\(^1\) In 1600 he joined with James Melville, Patrick Sharp and David Barclay in arguing against "Antichristian and Anglican episcopall dignities";\(^2\) and he continued to speak out against the efforts of the king to introduce episcopacy, disallowing "this new imposed government as that whilk was not agreeable to the word of God".\(^3\) Justifying the legality of the Aberdeen assembly, he protested at the trial in Linlithgow of the warded ministers,\(^4\) and took a prominent part in drawing up the 1606 protest against episcopacy.\(^5\) He refused to accept the office of constant moderator when nominated in 1607, declined to accept a bishopric and defended the earlier presbyterian polity in 1608, and condemned the 1610 assembly which approved episcopacy.\(^6\) In later life he steadfastly refused to change his views on church government and continued to believe that "that episcopall seat in Scotland has a similitude with the chair of Rome".\(^7\) He died on 31 March 1618.

His wife, Martha, was the daughter of James Baron, provost of Edinburgh.\(^8\) On 24 April 1587, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Cramond, and to the parsonage and vicarage of Stirling on 1 April 1591.\(^9\)

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2. Calderwood, vi. 2-15.
3. *Select Biographies*, i. 78.
4. Ibid. 79; Calderwood, vi. 457; R.P.C. vii. 479.
5. Calderwood, vi. 485, 491.
6. Ibid. 632, 666, 733; R.P.C. vii. 301; *Select Biographies*, i. 79-80; Row, *History*, 282; Melville, *Diary*, 802.
8. Ibid. 73.
SINCLAIR, William

As minister of Bunkle and Preston, William Sinclair signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts" in 1586. He was presented by the king to the vicarage of Bunkle on 12 April 1582 and to the vicarage of Preston on 20 November 1588.

SMETON, Thomas (1536 – 1583)

Minister of Paisley, 1577; principal master of Glasgow university, 1580.

A pre-reformation graduate of St. Andrews, and a former schoolmaster at Colchester, Smeton was a member of the chapter of Glasgow which declined to nominate a candidate for the archbishopric of Glasgow and he was regarded as "fervent" in the assembly's proceedings against Montgomery. Twice moderator of the assembly in July 1579 and in April 1583, and a witness to archbishop Adamson's recantation, Smeton was characterised by Row as being a zealous opposer of Hierarchy.

SMITH, John (c. 1564 – 1634)

Minister of Selkirk, 1585; Mertoun, 1586; Maxton, 1593.

When still minister of Selkirk, Smith signed the protest of the synod

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2. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 73r. Register of Presentations to Benefices; PS1/58. fo. 53r. Register of the Privy Seal.
4. Spottiswoode, ii. 320.
5. R.P.C. iii. 475; Calderwood, iii. 604, 619.
6. B.U.K. ii. 429, 612; Calderwood, iii. 443, 705.
7. Calderwood, iv. 56.
of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts" in 1586. In 1607 he was ordered to be warded in Blackness for his opposition to the appointment of a constant moderator at a meeting of the synod of Merse of which he was clerk. He signed the 1617 protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk. As minister of Maxton he received a presentation from the king to the vicarage of Maxton on 2 January 1594/5.

**SPOTTISWOODE, John (d. circa. 1611)**

Minister of Longformacus, 1585.

As a member of the synod of Merse, Spottiswoode signed the 1586 protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts". He also opposed absolving archbishop Adamson from excommunication. The son of David Spottiswoode of that Ilk, he was mistakenly identified by Wodrow as Spottiswoode, the future archbishop. He was presented by the king to the parsonage and vicarage of Longformacus and Mordington on 11 April 1581 and, when minister at Nenthorn, was likewise presented to the vicarage of Nenthorn on 17 May 1599.

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1. Calderwood, iv. 605.
2. R.P.C. vii. 453; viii. 9; Melville, Diary, 735; Scot, Apologetical Narration, 188.
5. Calderwood, iv. 604.
6. Ibid. 583.
7. Fasti, ii. 24, 83.
9. S.R.O. CH4/1/2. fo. 56v. Register of Presentations to Benefices; PS1/70. fo. 252r. Register of the Privy Seal.
STORIE, Thomas

Minister of Foulden, 1576; Chirnside, 1578; Hutton and Fishwick, 1596; Bassendean, 1598; Gordon, 1609.

One of the Melvillian exiles, Storie fled to Berwick with Lawson and Balcanquhal in May 1584 and after his return home he opposed ending Adamson's excommunication in 1586. He signed the synod of Merse protest against episcopacy and the "Black acts" in 1586. He received a presentation from the king to the vicarage of Bassendean on 20 December 1598. In 1612 he was prosecuted by the privy council for charging an exorbitant rate of interest.

STRACHAN, Alexander (d. 1607)

Minister of Creich, 1605.

A Melvillian exile in 1584, Strachan attended James Lawson's funeral in London. After his return to Scotland he matriculated at St. Andrews in 1589 as a graduate student of theology, and in 1593 was present on the exercise at St. Andrews. For approving the Aberdeen assembly and declining the jurisdiction of the privy council, Strachan was banished for life in 1606 and died at Middelburg in 1607.

1. Calderwood, iv. 72, 583.
2. Ibid. 604.
5. B.M. Add. MSS. 4,736. fo. 166v.; Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 452.
6. R.P.C. vii. 82-3, 104-5, 112, 134, 199; Criminal Trials, ii. 494-504; Calderwood, vi. 284, 287, 292, 303, 342, 440, 449, 590, 689; Melville, Diary, 573, 575, 598, 616, 669.
STRACHAN, James
In 1606 James Strachan signed the protest against the introduction of episcopacy.¹ He was probably the student of that name who studied theology at St. Mary's college, St. Andrews, 1589-93.

STRATOUNE, John
Minister of Forres.
In 1611 Stratoune was warded in Inverness for teaching against the estate of bishops and declining to acknowledge the bishop of Moray and his judge.²

THOMSON, Richard
In 1585 it was reported that Richard Thomson at Leith had declined to sign the king's subscription of 1584.³

WALKER, Duncan (d. 1559)
Minister of Ednam, Bassendean, Nenthorn and Gordon, 1585.
In 1585 Walker signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts".⁴ As minister at Nenthorn, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Nenthorn on 23 May 1594.⁵

WALLACE, Robert (d. 1617)
Minister of St. Andrews, 1593; Glenluce, 1599; Tranent, 1602.
Infuriated by Wallace's accusations of bribery and predictions

¹. Calderwood, vi. 491.
². Ibid. vii. 160; Scot, Apologetical Narration, 235.
³. Wodrow Society Miscellany, i. 436.
⁴. Calderwood, iv. 604.
⁵. S.R.O. PS1/66. fo. 133r. Register of the Privy Seal.
against his posterity, lord Menmuir instituted proceedings in the assembly against Wallace and the whole presbytery of St. Andrews\(^1\) which resulted in Wallace's suspension for a spell from the ministry and in his removal from St. Andrews. Amongst the many charges which the secretary of state brought against Wallace were the accusations that Wallace had foreknowledge of the Edinburgh riot of December 1596 and that he had preached that the king had no vote in the election of pastors in burghs and that the same should pertain only to the ministry.\(^3\) Wallace who signed the 1606 protest against episcopacy was one of a group of Melvillians summoned to London in 1606.\(^4\) Unlike Andrew Melville, Wallace was allowed to return to Scotland in 1607 but he was warded first in Lauder and then in his own parish.\(^5\) In 1610 he obtained licence to visit his brother Matthew in Ayrshire but was forbidden to attend presbyteries or kirk sessions.\(^6\) Writing from Sedan, in a letter to his nephew, Andrew Melville affectionately spoke of "our old friend Wallace".\(^7\) He died on 25 December 1617 and left net assets amounting to £2,511 including a library worth 500 merks.\(^8\) When minister of Glenluce, Wallace was presented by the king to the vicarage pensionary of Glenluce on 11 February 1600.\(^9\)

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3. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.2.8. fos. 102r., 114r.
5. Ibid. 660, 679.
WATSON, William (d. 1619)
Minister of Edinburgh, 1585; Burntisland, 1601; Markinch, 1616.
For reproving the king to his face and for comparing him to Jeroboam, Watson was warded in Blackness in 1585.\(^1\) After the Edinburgh riot of December 1596, he was denounced by the government and went into hiding in Fife but after writing an apology he was relaxed from the horn and permitted to preach.\(^2\) Though not at once persuaded of the king's version of the Gowrie conspiracy, he finally declared himself resolved.\(^3\) He was, nevertheless, transported from Edinburgh to Burntisland in 1601,\(^4\) and in 1606 was one of eight Melvillians summoned to London.\(^5\) Permitted to return home in 1607, he was however ordered to be confined within his own parish.\(^6\) Watson died on 16 May 1619 and left net assets of £2,089.\(^7\) His first wife, Barbara, was the daughter of John Craig, minister of the Chapel Royal, Stirling.\(^8\)

WELSH, John (c. 1570 - 1622)
Minister of Selkirk, 1589; Kirkcudbright, 1594; Ayr, 1600.
The son of the laird of Colliston, Welsh who had joined a band of

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1. Calderwood, iv. 464, 494; Spottiswoode, ii. 335; Melville, Diary, 244.
2. R.P.C. v. 353, 358, 362; Calderwood, v. 521, 575, 626, 651; Melville, Diary, 374, 517.
3. R.P.C. vi. 148–9, 158–9; Calderwood, vi. 57, 83.
4. Calderwood, vi. 121.
5. Ibid 480, 576, 588, 638–41; Melville, Diary, 672, 678, 697.
6. Calderwood, vi. 660; Melville, Diary, 709.
border thieves on leaving school later repented of his ways and after studying at Edinburgh university graduated in 1588. In 1597 he was charged with having justified the Edinburgh riot of December 1596 and of speaking disrespectfully of the king, for which he appears to have been warded. For approving the Aberdeen assembly and for declining the jurisdiction of the privy council, Welsh was sentenced to be banished for life. He remained adamant, however, that the church "is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's". Although Welsh left for France, Ayr town council nevertheless remitted his stipend to him for several years after his banishment. He died in London in 1622. His wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of John Knox and on her death in January 1625 she left net assets of £4,320.

WELWOOD, William

Regent at St. Andrews.

Possibly on the fringe of the movement was William Welwood, the friend of Melville, Black and Wallace. He obtained from the king a gift of the third place in St. Mary's college, St. Andrews but with its reorganisation as a college of divinity, Welwood, who was

1. Select Biographies, i. 2.
5. Select Biographies, i. 23.
professor of mathematics, was transferred to St. Salvator's college. In 1584 he signed the university's testimonial on behalf of Melville; around 1587 became professor of law; and served for two years in 1594 and 1595 as elder on St. Andrews kirk session. He was, however, dismissed from his university appointments in 1597. In later life he still corresponded with Melville at Sedan.¹

WEMYSS, John
Minister of Kinnaird, 1597.
In 1606 Wemyss signed the protest against episcopacy,² and in 1610 he was regarded as "weill myndit" towards the presbyterian cause.³ He signed the protestation on behalf of the liberties of the kirk in 1617; opposed the articles of Perth in 1618; and was cited before the High Commission for his nonconformity in 1620.⁴

WILSON, James (d. 1630)
Minister of Kinglassie, 1585.
In 1607 Wilson left a meeting of the synod of Fife in protest rather than be forced to vote for the archbishop as constant moderator.⁵ In 1620 he was cited before the High Commission for his non-observance of the Perth articles.⁶ As minister of Kinglassie, Wilson was presented by the king to the parsonage and vicarage of Kinglassie on 26 December 1591.⁷

¹ M'Crie, Melville, 77, 206, 329, 426, 438; R.St.A.K.S. ii. 789, 803.
² Calderwood, vi. 491.
³ Ibid. vii. 27.
⁴ Ibid. 256, 332, 411, 425.
⁵ Ibid. vi. 676.
⁶ Ibid. vii. 413.
⁷ S.R.O. PS1/63, fo. 87r. Register of the Privy Seal.
WINCHESTER, Andrew (d. 1598)
Minister of Hilton, 1585.
In 1586 Winchester signed the protest of the synod of Merse against episcopacy and the "Black acts". He died on 24 October 1598, leaving net assets amounting to £462.

YOUNG, William
Minister at Redgorton, 1589.
In 1606 Young signed the protest against episcopacy.

1. Calderwood, iv. 605.
3. Calderwood, vi. 491.
APPENDIX I

The Influence of Calvinism in the Scottish Reformation

Scotland at the reformation was subjected to many and varied influences, of which Calvinism was not the least significant. The degree to which the reformed church was doctrinally affected by Calvin's teaching does perhaps lie within the province of the theologian rather than that of the historian, but scholars in both disciplines have for long recognised Calvin's remarkable influence as the "founder of a civilisation". One who is both a historian and a theologian has indicated how the Scots Confession "affirms Calvinism with a simple fervour", another has described that work as a "Calvinistic explication of the Creeds", and long ago A.F. Mitchell conclusively showed how passages of that work were directly derived from Genevan sources.

Attention, however, need not be confined to the Confession of Faith, for the Book of Common Order, popularly known as "Knox's liturgy", is an obvious example of the wholesale importation into Scotland of liturgical forms used by Knox's Genevan congregation. Included in the work was a copy of Calvin's catechism, and in 1562 and again in 1564 the general assembly sanctioned and authorised the Book of Common Order as a serviceable directory for worship in the

3. G.D. Henderson, Presbyterianism, 32.
church of Scotland, but even earlier, with the very composition of the Book of Discipline, this essentially Genevan publication had already become for Scots "oure buke of Common Ordour", "the Booke of our Common Ordour, callit the Ordour of Geneva". The assimilation had become complete.

Contemporaries were themselves by no means unaware of the influences at work. One otherwise unknown Scotsman when confronted by the discipline of St. Andrews kirk session in August 1561 declared that "he was nether ane Papist nor ane Calvynist, nor of Paul nor of Apollo, bot Jesus Cristis man", and the Catholic controversialist, Ninian Winzet, in a polemic directed against Knox and the "Calviniane ministeris", derisively spoke of "your grete maister Calvin", of the "lernit theologis of a gret number in Scotland and Geneva", designating Knox as "principal Patriark of the Calviniane court", and he went on to warn the ministers not to "mak a monstrous Idoll of your Maister Calvin".

Ninian Winzet had himself professed an acquaintance with Calvin's works, and since there were other Scottish Catholics, too, who found a place for the works of Calvin on the shelves of their

1. B.U.K. i. 30, 54; Calderwood, ii. 209, 284.
2. Knox, Works, ii. 239; History, ii. 313.
4. R.St.A.K.S. i. 135.
5. Ninian Winzet, Certane Tractatis, 58.
6. Ibid. 79.
7. Ibid. 37.
8. Ibid. 56.
9. Ibid. 87.
10. Ibid. 74, 79.
libraries, it is safe to assume both that there was a ready supply of Calvinist literature in Scotland and that it was read by reformers as well as Catholics.

Few, it would seem could disagree with the conclusion that the theology of the post-reformation church was characterised by at least a moderate Calvinism. This no doubt held good for England, too, but whereas the conservative form of polity retained by the English church was determined in the main by the crown which wished no irrevocable break with the past, in Scotland a differing political situation had enabled a more radical type of church organisation to come into being, a polity which cast aside the traditional medieval organisation and one which was therefore moulded not on the example of England, or of the Lutheran countries, but rather on that of the "best reformed churches" of Switzerland and France. Having adopted a Calvinist theology, and freed from the restraining influences which even a godly monarch might have wished to exercise, the Scots were able to adopt an essentially Calvinist polity.

The peculiar polity observed in Calvinist churches was noted by Ninian Winzet who, as a Catholic, asked the reformers in Scotland

1. Among the pre-reformation purchases of Adam Bothwell, the Catholic bishop of Orkney, who later conformed at the reformation, were Calvin's Commentaries on Isaiah, published in 1551 (Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, 29); John Duncanson, a canon regular of St. Andrews who died in 1566, and who also conformed, possessed a copy of Calvin's Opuscules, printed in Geneva in 1551 (ibid. 93); John Craig, a Dominican friar and later minister in Edinburgh, became converted to protestantism by reading Calvin's Institutes (Spottiswoode, iii. 92) and John Row, a Jesuit who subsequently became minister at Perth, received his introduction to protestantism by visiting Geneva en route from Italy to France (ibid. ii. 320). See also Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, 59, 83, 131.
to justify their introduction of a "new ordour of Eldaris" in the kirk, and the difference between the various churches of the protestant persuasion was a subject which also attracted the attention of Winzet who lectured the Scottish reformers thus:—

"your selfis knawis Ingland, Denmark, and Alemannie except sum Calvinistis and utheris strange sectis, praetending reformation alsua by the Romane kirk, to dissent in mony heidis fra your doctrine."

Nor did the impact of Calvin's teaching, it may be added, go unnoticed by Richard Hooker, eleven years the senior of archbishop Spottiswoode in Scotland, who described how the reformer's writings became "almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by" and, after describing how the French churches "all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made", he added the illuminating, though hardly surprising, comment that "the church of Scotland in erecting the fabric of their reformation took the selfsame pattern".  

The rejection of royal supremacy in the spiritual realm, the emphasis upon the church's sovereignty, and the autonomy (or perhaps theonomy) of its jurisdiction, the introduction of elders and deacons as advocated by Calvin in his Institutes and Ecclesiastical Ordinances — in all this the Scots followed a course consistent with Calvinist teaching, and at variance with Scandinavian or Anglican procedure. Even the adoption of the exercise, a feature familiar to many churches,

1. Winzet, Certane Tractatis, 90.  
2. Ibid. 86.  
4. Calvin, Institutes, IV. iii. 8, iv. 1, xi. 6; Opera, x.116, 22-23, 93, 94, 100-101.
was, it would seem, the product of Genevan contact and of the introduction into Scotland of the *Forme of Prayers* (used by Knox's Genevan congregation) which contained an exposition of the functions and features of the exercise. Knox's own experience of the Genevan exercise makes it highly probable that it was the latter which acted as a serviceable prototype for Knox and the reformers in Scotland.

The office of superintendent, which the Scots chose to introduce, had numerous parallels and cannot be said to have been a feature peculiar to Lutheran countries. Whether or not bad Latin replaced good Greek matters little, but what is important is that "superintendent" could be translated not only as "bishop": it could also mean "visitor", and indeed in some countries the term "visitor", or its equivalent, came to be preferred. The superintendent could in fact become the godly visitor just as well as the godly bishop, and this is what happened in Scotland where the superintendent in the early 1570's came to be appointed like the commissioner or visitor (and unlike the bishop) for a term from one assembly to another. Finally, in 1576, the office merged into that of visitor, with some of the surviving superintendents continuing to act in that capacity.

2. See above, chapter 3, 38ff.
3. See above. At the reformation, none of the conforming bishops, it should be mentioned, succeeded in becoming protestant bishops within the reformed church, and, despite misleading statements to the contrary, none of these bishops ever attained the office of superintendent per se; they remained technically commissioners.
4. See above, chapter 6, 187.
5. See above, chapter 6, 175ff.
the term "superintendent" was initially accepted. From an impartial survey of the evidence, it is plain that the precedents of the French Calvinist church cannot lightly be discarded, and indeed the whole pattern of ecclesiastical developments in both France and Scotland merits far greater attention than it has so far received.

As early as 1557 - the year in which Knox travelled through France from Geneva to Dieppe - "Articles of Polity" for a national church organisation were drafted by the ministers of Poitiers, and in 1559 - a year in which Knox was again in Dieppe - the French book of discipline and confession of Faith were sanctioned and adopted by the first national synod of the French reformed church - a meeting attended, significantly enough, by the Huguenot nobility, as well as ministers and elders from some fifty churches.1 The French national synod, it is true, "consisted of ministers accompanied by one or two elders or deacons who had been elected by the local consistories",2 or more probably by the provincial synods,3 but it can also be said that it was by no means unknown for the nobility to be present and vote in national synods, nor for the judges, magistrates and council of the town where the synod was held to give their attendance;4 and the parallel with Scotland is too obvious to be overlooked, where nobles, lairds and burgesses sat side by side with the ministers and elders on the general assembly from its

2. G. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 143.
4. Quick, Synodicon, i. 116.
inception. Although historians are by no means agreed on the precedents which made for the assembly's creation, evidence of this nature would certainly go far to confirm the views of at least one historian who has ventured to suggest that the idea of the assembly was:

"borrowed from France, where, as in Scotland, an independent Church required an independent central board of control. Without the Assembly the Church would have fallen permanently under the domination of the civil authorities as happened in England. The Assembly remains peculiarly symbolic of spiritual independence."

In Scotland, as in France, the higher powers were antipathetic towards the reformed church, and just as the Paris synod had provided French protestantism with a central unity and a national organisation, so too did a group of Scots ministers, nobles and burgesses, meeting together in Edinburgh in July 1560 - in what may tentatively be regarded as the first general assembly - take action for the first time on a national level for the appointment of ministers to reformed congregations. In that year, too, the Scots, like their French counterparts, drew up a confession of Faith and book of Discipline, and in the first regularly constituted general assembly, which met in Edinburgh in December 1560, composed of ministers, elders, burgesses, lairds and nobles, a further step was taken towards giving a national church a central directive.

In France the courts of the church initially consisted of the

1. S.H.S. Miscellany, viii. 105.
2. G.D. Henderson, Presbyterianism, 104.
3. See above, chapter 2, 30-31.
4. See above, chapter 4, 54ff.
consistory, provincial synod and national synod, and the same pattern also prevailed in Scotland where a parallel organisation came into being with the establishment of the consistory or session, the provincial synod and the national or general assembly. In France, the colloquy or classis was introduced in 1572, 1 and in Scotland in 1574 the exercise developed first as an administrative unit, and then finally came to be merged entirely with the new regional presbytery in 1578. 2 In both countries, the superintendent was initially accepted and only later came to be replaced. By 1576 the superintendent had to all intents faded away in Scotland, though the term appears to have survived for longer in France, 3 where "ministers with express duties of visitation were sometimes called superintendents". 4 The same system of appeal from the lesser to the higher courts operated in either church, and both churches permitted the deacons to serve alongside the elders on the consistory.

While minor differences in procedure inevitably developed, as each church made its own rules and regulations, it is noteworthy that

1. Synod of Nimes, 1572, art. XI: "Before the Title of Provincial synods shall be put, 'Titles with Articles of Colloquies'. And the first article shall be this: 'The Neighbour-Churches shall assemble themselves in Colloquies four times a year, if possibly they can, and each minister shall come accompanied with one Elder, not only for this end that Ministers in their respective turns may handle a common place in Divinity from the Scriptures; but that by mutual common counsel they may compose those emergent difficulties which trouble their Churches: For it is thus ordained by the Discipline, and generally to provide whatever they conceive expedient and necessary for the conservation of the churches'." See Quick, Synodicon, i. 106; cf. G.D. Henderson, Presbyterianism, 100.

2. See above, chapter 7, 338.

3. See above, chapter 3; Quick, Synodicon, i. 227, 266.

4. G.D. Henderson, Presbyterianism, 47.
the national assemblies of either church were organised along fundamentally the same lines. Each was presided over by a moderator elected for the occasion, who had one or more assessors to assist him in his work.\(^1\) Investigations of other polities, including those of the Lutheran churches, have failed to produce any parallel as close or as meaningful as that which characterised the organisation of the Scottish and French churches; and, apart from the brief interlude of the Leith episcopacy, it is plain that the salient features of the Scottish polity were adopted not from Scandinavia or England but are rather to be traced to those continental churches which could exhibit a polity as well as a theology which was unmistakably Calvinist in the fullest sense of that term.\(^2\)

If the hypothesis is correct that many of the conspicuous features of the Scottish polity were derived from Calvinist rather than Lutheran countries, one would expect to find corroborative evidence of contact between Scotland and centres of Calvinism abroad. Mention has already been made of Knox's peregrinations through France, of Melville's departure for Paris in 1559, and of the lively interest which the Scots had taken in the fortunes of French protestantism in the early 1560's.\(^3\) Contact between Scotland and Geneva, in particular, from a relatively early date is illustrated in the arrival at Geneva in 1554 of an unidentified Scotsman who requested the Venerable Company, apparently without success to license

\(^1\) Quick, *Synodicon*, i. 129, 157, 174; cf. 2. (where one presided and others 'assisted').


\(^3\) See above, chapter 6, 137.
him as a preacher.1 Among the Marian exiles who sought refuge on the continent were a number of Scots: David Simson, John Willock, John Rough, Alexander Cockburn of Ormiston and John Borthwick.2 Those known to have been resident in Geneva include John Davidson, possibly the principal of Glasgow university,3 Sir John Borthwick and "John Kellye his page",4 David Lindsay, later minister at Leith,5 John Baron, who became minister at Galston,6 Sir James Sandelands of Torphicen,7 Thomas Drumond,8 James Lambe rubantier, a native of Leith,9 William Keith and his wife,10 together with Knox, Marjorie his wife, Elizabeth her mother, James Hamilton his servant, and Patrick his pupil.11

Other arrivals in Geneva included the godly James Baron and the no less godly James Syme who brought Knox a letter in May 1557 from the lords of the Congregation inviting Knox to return to

3. Ibid. 141.
4. Ibid. 101.
5. Livre des habitants de Genève, i. 139 (resident 17 October 1558); Livre des Anglois in Charles Martin, Les Protestants Anglais, 334, (received into Knox's congregation, 15 September 1559).
7. Livre des habitants de Genève, i. 213 (resident 23 October 1559); Martin, Les Protestants Anglais, 47.
8. Livre des habitants de Genève, i. 213 (resident 23 October 1559); styled "Thomas Dromont, natif du pais et royaume d'Escosse".
Scotland. In the 1560s, too, other Scots known to have made the journey to Geneva include Alexander Young, the cousin of James Melville and nephew of Henry Scrimgeour the Scots professor of law at Geneva, Alexander Campbell, bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Polwart, later minister at Paisley. George Gillespie and William Collace were two regents who left St. Andrews for Geneva in the 1570's, and even Patrick Adamson had met Beza and studied theology at Geneva. Elements of the Scottish nobility were also attracted to Geneva. Both James Lindsay, fourth son of the earl of Crawford and minister at Fettercairn, and William Keith, brother of the earl Marischal, died there, and it is noteworthy, too, that, after leaving Scotland in 1594, the young earl of Gowrie should on Rollock's recommendation make a point of meeting Beza in Geneva.

It was indeed, as a centre of learning that Geneva drew a not inconsiderable number of Scottish students: Melville may be one of the best known but he was only following in the footsteps of others. Among the Scots enrolled in the academy, when the surviving register begins, was Peter Young, "Scotus Dondonesis" in 1559, followed by Gilbert Moncreiff, the friend of Melville and later royal physician,

1. Knox, Works, i. 268; History, i. 132.
2. Melville, Diary, 30.
3. Ibid. 42.
4. Ibid. 51; M'Crie, Melville, 411.
5. D.N.B. i. 112.
8. S. Stelling-Michaud, Le Livre du Recteur de l'Academie de Geneve, i. 81; Charles Borgeaud, Historie l'Universite de Geneve, i. 55.
in 1567, John Skeyne in 1569, David Hume, a law student, and James Haldane, a theology student in 1579, Andrew Lamb and Archibald Hunter in 1584-5, Robert Wirneus in 1597, and John Cameron and James Erskine in 1606.¹

Unlike the many Scots abroad who visited the Baltic, the Low Countries and France for trade and commerce, the Scots whom we have been able to trace who made the arduous journey to Geneva did so with only one object in mind, to discover for themselves what Knox had called that "maist perfyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis",² that "most godlie Reformed Churche and citie of the warld, Geneva".³ Apart from personal visits, contact with Geneva was sustained through correspondence, and although Knox and Goodman are perhaps amongst the best known of Calvin's correspondents from Scotland,⁴ there were other Scots, too, who kept Calvin carefully informed of Scottish affairs during the critical years of the reformation. In September 1560, an account was despatched to Calvin keeping him abreast of the reformers' progress in Scotland,⁵ and in July 1561 no less a person than James Stewart, the half-brother of the queen and a key figure in the political wing of the reforming movement, who, incidentally, had Calvin's works in his library,⁶ was in communication with the

3. Knox, Works, ii. 16; vi. 16; History, i. 283.
5. Ibid. 196-199.
6. Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, 149.
Genevan reformer.¹

Explorations in such a field as this are, by their very nature, apt to be tenuous and never entirely satisfactory but evidence has been adduced to illustrate the range and nature of the close relationship with Geneva which Scotland enjoyed during the period of the reformation; and, while other influences should not go unnoticed, none as yet has been shown to have been so sustained as that between Scotland and the reformed churches on the continent.

¹. Calvin, Opera, X. i. 544-5.
APPENDIX II

The Election of Commissioners to the General Assembly

Despite the appearance of scholarly work on the subject,¹ a study of the appointment of commissioners to the assembly based on an examination of record evidence from synod, presbytery and kirk session registers has never been undertaken. The following appendix, containing material extracted in the main from presbytery records available only in manuscript, is included as a contribution towards a more exact understanding of the procedure adopted in electing commissioners to the assembly.

Any exclusive reliance upon the acts of assembly is clearly bound to give a very imperfect picture. The minutes of the assembly, while providing an insight into the assembly's thinking, cannot necessarily be interpreted as a guide to existing practice: it was one thing to make an enactment but quite another to enforce it. In 1568, the assembly had recognised the synod as the appropriate body for appointing commissioners to the assembly,² and it was not until March 1597/8 that the assembly regulated presbyterial appointments by requiring each presbytery to elect three ministers and a baron as commissioners to the assembly.³ This, it would seem, was the first official indication in assembly records that presbyteries were entitled to appoint their own commissioners but a survey of presbytery records shows that from as early as 1581 certain presbyteries had

1. Duncan Shaw, General Assemblies.
2. B.U.K. i. 124; Calderwood, ii. 421.
begun to appoint commissioners to the assembly.

The entries relating to the election of assembly commissioners tend to be somewhat haphazard and irregular and in no instance is there a consecutive and unbroken record of elections. In some cases appointments were made by synods and in others they were made by individual presbyteries. The only synod records extant for the late sixteenth century are those of the synod of Lothian in which there appears to be only one entry, that of 4 April 1593, concerning the appointment of commissioners. But entries in presbytery records usually indicate whether commissioners were elected at the synod or by presbyteries. Instances of commissioners chosen by synods do however remain isolated: the overwhelming bulk of entries relate to the appointment of commissioners by presbyteries. The presbytery, it would seem, became the court normally responsible for choosing commissioners to the assembly; and it is doubtless significant that Edinburgh presbytery in 1588, and regularly thereafter, should elect its commissioners "according to the laudable use and custome observit within everie presbiterie of this realme".

On the other hand, the assembly of March 1597/8, in separate sessions, regulated the appointment of commissioners from both synods and presbyteries but it is doubtful whether such a two tier system ever operated. Appointments, it would seem, were made either by synods or by their constituent presbyteries, not by both simultaneously, and it was probably simply a matter of convenience which dictated whether commissioners were elected at meetings of

synods or presbyteries. It is conceivable, too, that the apparent inconsistency in the assembly's decree may also have sprung from a recognition that presbyteries were not in universal operation and that synods in certain areas remained the only appropriate body for electing commissioners.

The number of commissioners elected to the assembly varied considerably from one presbytery to another, and even within any given presbytery it tended to fluctuate widely. Whereas Glasgow presbytery chose only one commissioner in 1595, Edinburgh by contrast chose six; and on one occasion St. Andrews presbytery decided that "the hail presbtrie" should be appointed as commissioners to the assembly. The fact that some presbyteries elected more commissioners than others can be explained by their geographical distribution. The majority of assemblies met in or near Edinburgh which permitted commissioners from the Lothians and Fife to attend in considerably larger numbers than their counterparts from the west and the north. When it is borne in mind that ministers from Glasgow had to pay their own expenses travelling to the assembly, it is not surprising that that presbytery sent no more than two ministers at most, and more usually only one, to assemblies held in the east. Even Peebles presbytery seems to have been unable or unwilling to send any more than two ministers as commissioners to the assembly. Edinburgh presbytery, on the other hand, managed to elect four ministers and three gentlemen to the assembly appointed to be held at Aberdeen in July 1591 but when the place of the assembly was changed to Edinburgh instead the presbytery increased its representation to six ministers and eight lairds. At the same time, it should be noted that
Edinburgh was a considerably larger presbytery than, say, Glasgow.¹

There was apparently no limitation on the number of commissioners who might attend. In one instance no fewer than eight ministers and doctors together with twenty seven representatives, recruited from the gentry and burgesses, were elected from within the bounds of St. Andrews presbytery alone; and on another occasion, more than twenty eight commissioners, of whom nine were ministers or doctors, were chosen to attend the assembly "out of the boundis of the presbitrie of Sanctandros". It is evident that in certain presbyteries the gentry sometimes outnumbered the ministerial element elected. This tendency, apparent in St. Andrews presbytery, is also revealed in Dalkeith where it was not unknown for twice as many gentlemen as ministers to be chosen. In Stirling presbytery, too, there are several instances in which the gentry numerically outweighed the ministers nominated to the assembly. Nor was the non-ministerial element restricted merely to the ranks of the gentry and burgesses. On two occasions the earl of Morton figured among the commissioners from Dalkeith presbytery and in March 1595/6 Stirling presbytery chose the earls of Argyll and Mar as two of its representatives to the assembly. In Edinburgh presbytery, however, there is no record of earls being chosen as commissioners, and in that presbytery it was

¹ In March 1589/90 Edinburgh presbytery had some thirty five "brethren quha exercesis", but Glasgow presbytery, on the other hand, complained in March 1595/6 that it consisted "presentlie only of sex kirkis to wit Glasgw, Govane, Ruglen, Cadder, Leinze and Campsie" and of these only four ministers attended, the ministers of Lenzie and Campsie "throch poverte keipis not the dayes of presbiterie". (S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 24 March 1589/90; G.C.A. MS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, fo. 65v. 16 March 1595/6).
exceedingly rare for the gentry to surpass the not insubstantial number of ministers commissioned to attend the assembly.

Although the form of commission which ministers received appears to have given them carte blanche to vote in assemblies according to their conscience and the word of God, there is nevertheless some indication that ministers were accountable to their presbyteries for the way in which they voted in assemblies. In February 1596/7, when the king appointed an assembly to be held at Perth, Edinburgh presbytery after choosing three ministers as commissioners proceeded to give them a detailed list of instructions;¹ Stirling presbytery charged its commissioner "gif any thing beis concludit in this nixt assemblie against the actis of the generall assemblie to protest against it" and then found fault with him on his return for failing to make a protest "against thais thingis thair concludit"; and Peebles presbytery also sought to discover whether its commissioner had "past the boundis of his commioun or not".

St. Andrews kirk session records are the only surviving session records for the late sixteenth century which give a clear indication of the procedure adopted in the choice of burgh commissioners. It is, however, significant that in St. Andrews it was the kirk session and not the town council which determined the choice of commissioners. Nor is it altogether surprising that the commissioners chosen by the session also turned out to be members of the session. It is undeniable, therefore, that the commissioners from St. Andrews were normally current elders of the session. Nor was St. Andrews an

¹. B.U.K. iii. 909-11; Calderwood, v. 581-3; C.S.P. Scot. xii. no. 380.
altogether isolated example, since it is also known that Glasgow general session was expected to send commissioners to the assembly at Edinburgh in March 1595/6.

In no instance in presbytery records are the gentry who were appointed as commissioners ever styled elders. It can be shown, however, that many of them were elders either of sessions or presbyteries, and one contemporary account indicates how it was customary for "gentlemen elders" to be elected to the assembly from presbyteries. In Dalkeith presbytery, the gentlemen who were elders were either termed simply "gentlemen", "gentlemen elders" or "gentlemen and elders"; and in 1587 Edinburgh presbytery "thocht good that the baronis and gentilmen quha wer chosin to be eldaris at the first erecting of the presbyterie salbe desyrit be the brethren of the ministrie to be present" at a presbytery meeting. The term "gentleman" had apparently a social significance which contemporaries felt compelled to record. It is observable, too, that the same small tightly knit groups of gentlemen were repeatedly returned as commissioners to the assembly.

It was neither Melville nor the proposals of the second Book which threatened to alter the assembly's traditional composition as

1. See above, chapter 7, 310ff.
4. S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 17 October 1587. Edinburgh presbytery was established on 30 May 1581, "consisting of fifteen or sixteen Ministers of the Kirks adjacent within four or five miles, and of some Barons and Gentlemen Elders out of every Church for that effect": Calderwood, viii. 34.
a meeting of the three estates, but rather the action of the king himself who in November 1596 discharged all barons and other lieges from attending presbyteries and "other ecclesiastical judgements" without his express approval; and despite the act of assembly passed in March 1597/8 permitting three ministers and a baron to be elected from each presbytery to the assembly, none of the entries in presbytery records beyond 1596 indicates the appointment of any gentlemen as commissioners to the assembly. It is evident, however, that the gentry continued to attend assemblies in one capacity or another but they were certainly not commissioned by presbyteries; and it was not until 1600 when "the baronis convenit haive chosen be them selfis the yong laird of Dersy the commissioner to the generall assemblie" that St. Andrews presbytery decided to ask them to be present in future "at synodall assembleis to the intent the ancient forme of electioun of commissioneris may be kepit".

1. See above, chapter 7, 302ff.
(a) SYNOD RECORDS:

**Synod of Lothian**

4 April 1593 (fos. 57v.-58r.)

"The assemble understanding the generall assemble of the kirk is to be convenit at Dundee in this instant moneth of Apryle appointis thair brether, of the presbyterie of Dunbar, Mr Robert Hepburne, Mr Alexander Hum; of the presbyterie of Hadintoun, Mr James Carmichel, James Gibsoun, Mr Walter Hay; off the presbyterie of Dalkeyth, Mr George Ramsay, Mr Johne Nimbill, Mr Archibald Sympsoun; off the presbyterie of Edinburgh, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lyndsay, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Balfour, Mr Michel Cranstoun; off the presbyterie of Peblis, Mr David Narne; off the presbyterie of Linlythgw, Mr Johne Spottiswod, Mr James Law and Mr Patrik Sharpe, thir foirsaid brether thair commissioneris to compeir before the assemble generall for thame and in thair names to vote, ressome and conclude all thingis that concernis the glorie of God and weill of His kirk f firme and stable, etc."
PRESBYTERY RECORDS:

Dalkeith Presbytery

19 April 1582 (fo. 12r.—v.)
This day there was "sum commissioneris chosin according to the
decree of the synodall assembele" to pass to the general assembly at
St. Andrews on 24 April 1582, etc. "Of ministeris within the
said elderschip thair is ordanit Mr George Ramsay, moderator, Mr
Adam Johnestone, Mr Johnne Bennat, Johnne Herres, James Gibsone."

18 April 1583 (fo. 57v.)
"The moderator proponit quha suld be elected to go to the generall
assemble to assist the sam in all godlie effaris concerning the
glorie of God and weill of His kirk and eftir reasoning haid
heirupone be the brethren they all togyther with conformitie of votis
nominates electis and chese the lardis of Ormestoun and Cokpen,
Thomas Megget of Newbottill, Robert Wilson, Mrs. George Ramsay,
Jhone Bennet, Adam Jhonestoun, Gilbert Tailyor and Johne Hereis with
James Gibsone ordaining thame to be present in Edinburgh the xxiii
at the said assemblie to await upon for the causses foirsaid giffin
thame full power in all thair names to reasone, vote and conclude in
all matteris treated in the sam concerning the glorie of God and
weill of His kirk according to God's law and guid conscience."

26 February 1589/90
"Item this day commissioneris to the generall chosin, naimle,
ministeris Mrs. Adam Johnestone, George Ramsay, Johne Bennet,
George Lundye; utheris, the erll of Morton, the lord of Newbottill,
the lairdis of Dalhowssye, Ormistoun, Newbyris, Lugtoun,
Hatharindaill younger."

29 July 1590

"The quhilk day also because the generall assemblie approcheit the brether thocht gud according to the ordor to chuse commissionaris authorisit with thair powar thairto bayth gentillmen and ministeris and to that effect nominat my lord of Newbottill, the laird of Ormestoun, the laird of Newbyris, David Crychtoun of Lughtoun, the lard of Bruntstoun; Mr Adam Johnestoun, George Ramsay and Jhone Bennet with Jhone Hereis ordaining the brether to foirwarn the gentillmen of the day of the assemblie and to travell ernistlie with thame to be present thairat bayth for the glorie of God, quyetnes of the kirk and commounwealth of the countrie."

1 July 1591

"Becaus the generall assemblie wes to be this nixt day, the brethren choois Mr Adame Jhonston, Mr Jhone Bennet and Mr Jhone Nymble to be ther commissionetis to the said assemblie to vot and conclud in ther names in actiones spirituall agreing with the word of God."

18 May 1592

"The brether having put in leittis a sevith or aucht of thair awin nominationes to mak chose of them to be commissioneris to the generall assemble: thair vottis inclinat to Mris. Adame Jhonsoun, George Ramsay, Jhone Nimble, the moderator being glaid, with full power to vot and resoun at the said future generall assemble."

2 May 1594

"The quhilk day war nominat commissionares to the general assemble: of the ministrie, Mr Adam Jonstoun, Mr George Ramsay and Mr Andro Blackhal; and of nobil men, baronnes and gentl men, my lord of
Mortoun, Sir George Douglas, the laird of Dalhoussy, Cokpen and Smeytoun with the gudman of Carbury and Mentoun."

**Edinburgh Presbytery**

28 May 1587

"Anent the commission gevin the secund of this instant to Mr David Lyndsay, Mr Robert Pont and Johnn Duncansoun to speik the kingis majestie for licenciating a generall assemble be convocat of the ministrie of this realme and a speciall day to be appointit for that effect, quha delcaring his majestie good will yit as of before and that his majestie had appointit for that effect the xix of Junii nixt, quhairof the presbytere being certefeit appointis Mr Robert Pont, ane of the ministeris of Edinburgh, Mr Patrik Symsoun, Johnn Brand and ane of the kingis ministeris for the kingis houss commisioneris for the nixt generall assemble to be convenit the said day with power to thame in thair names to voit and ressoun in all matteris ecclesiasticall concerning the glory of God and weill of His kirk that sall come before thame and generally to use and exerce all thingis that sall come before thame promittere de rato etc."

4 August 1588

"According to the laudable use and custome observit within everie presbiterie of this realme to nominat and appoint thair commissioneris to compeir for thame and in thair names before [the] generall assemble, the brether of the presbiterie convenit hes thocht meit and be thair ordinance statute that Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Gualter Belcanquel, Johnn Brand, Mr Patrik Sympsoun, Mr Johnn Hall, Mr Robert Rollock,
Mr John Craig, Mr Andro Blakhall, the lardis of Merchinstone, Pilrik, Braid, Colingtoun, the guidman of Carbarry, Smetoun and Mr James McKgill, compeir befoir the nixt generall assemble to be haldin at Edinburgh the vj of this instant for thame as commissioneris, etc."

10 June 1589

"According to the laudable use observit and keipit in all the presbyteries of the kirk of this realme to appoint commissioneris to everie generall assemble of the kirk, the presbiterie understanding the generall assemble of the kirk for to be convenit in Edinburgh the xvij of this instant hes nominat and appointit commissioneris for thame and in thair names the lardis of Merchinstoun, Pilrik, Colintoun, Braid, Carberry, Smeton, Mris. Johnn Davidsoun, Robert Rollock, Patrik Sympsoun, Robert Pont, Robert Bruce, the kingis majesteis ministeris, Johnn Hall, Mr Gualter Belcanquel, Johnn Brand, ordaning to compeir before the said assemble etc."

25 February 1589/90

"According to the laudable use observit and keipit in all the presbiteries of the kirk of this realme to appoint commissioneris to everie generall assemble of the kirk, the presbytere be ressoun the generall assemble of the kirk is to meit the v. of Merche nixtocum in Edinburgh hes nominat and appointit commissioneris for thame and in thair names Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr John Balfour, Mr Robert Rollock, Mr John Davidsoun, Mr Patrik Sympsone, the lairdis of Merchinstoun, Pilrik, Braid, Corstorphin, Colintoun, James Rutherford of Smetoun, the gudman of Carbarry ordaining thame to compeir before the said assemble."
1 June 1591

"According to the laudable use observit and keipit in all the kirkis of this realme to appoint commissioneris to every generall assemble of the kirk, the presbytere be ressoun the generall assemble of the kirk is to meit at Abirden in the moneth of July nixt hes nominat and appointis commissioneris for thame and in thair names viz. Mr David Lyndsay, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Balfour, the laird of Braid, the laird of Pilrik, James Rutherford of Smetoun, ordaining thame to compeir before the said assemble and for this end hes appointit a commissioun to be gevin to thame."

22 June 1591

"The presbytere notwithstanding the first of this instant appointit thair commissioneris to the nixt generall assemble quhilk at that tyme was supposit to be haldin at Abirden in the moneth of July nixt, and now seing the place of the assemble is alterit hes nominat of new thair commissioneris to the said assemble Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lyndsay, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Balfour, Mr John Craig, Mr John Hall, the lardis of Braid, Colintoun, Pilrik, Merchinstoun, Dalmahoy, the gudman of Carberry, James Rutherford of Smetoun, Gilbert Hay of Mont Hall."

16 May 1592

"According to the laudable use observit and keipit in all the presbytereis of this realme to appoint commissioners to everie generall assemble of the kirk, the presbytere in respect the generall assemble of the kirk is to meitt heir in Edinburgh the xxii of this instant nominattis and appointis commissioners for thame and in thair names viz. Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lyndsay,
Mr Walter Belcanquell, Mr James Balfour and the kingis ministeris ordaning thame to compeir before the said assemble and for this end hes appointit a commissioun to be gevin thame."

30 April 1594

"The generall assemble of the kirk being to convene the vii of May nixt heir in Edinburgh, the presbytere appointis thair brether Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lyndsay, Mr Robert Rollock, Mr Walter Belcanquell, Mr James Balfor, the lardis of Merchistoun, Pilrik, Colintoun, Dalmahoy, Braid and Andro Logan of Cotfeild thair commissioners to compeir before the said assemble in thair names to vote resson and conclude in all thingis that concernis the glorie of God and weill of his kirk, ffirme and stable, etc."

10 June 1595

"Forasmekle as the Generall assemble of the kirk is to convene the xxiii of this instant at Montros, the presbyterie hes appointit and directit in commissione thair brether the lard of Colintoun, the lard of Dalmahoy, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lyndesay, Mr Robert Pont and Mrs James Balfor and for this purpos ordanis a commissioun to be writtin to the effect foresaid."

16 March 1595/6

"Forasmekle as thair is a generall assemble of the kirk to be haldin heir at Edinburgh the xxiii of this instant the presbyterie appointis as commissionaris for thame to be present at the said assemble Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Pont, Mr David Lyndsay, Mr John Hall, Mr James Bennet, the kingis majesteis ministeris, the lardis of Braid, Merchinstoun, Colintoun, Dalmahoy, Pilrik and Brunstoun."
22 February 1596/7

"Anent the lettre directit from the kingis majestie in effect declaring that his majestie had appointit ane assemble generall of the kirk to convene at Perth the last of this instant and thairfore willit the presbytere to direct thair commissioner to be present at the said assemble, the presbytere continewis quhill the xxii of this instant to be advysit quhat brether sail go."¹

17 January 1597/8

"Anent the lettre directit from the commissionaris of the generall assemble in effect craifing the presbyterie to direct thair commissionaris to keip the nixt generall assemble to be haldin at Dundie the first Tysday of Merche nixt, the brether having red and considerit the said lettre hes appointit a meitting to be the xxiii of this instant to resoun upon the occasioun of the said assemble."²

26 February 1600

"The presbyterie understanding that the generall assemble of the kirk is to convene at Montros the xviii of Merche nixt hes nominat and appointit and be thir presentis nominatis and appointis thair brether Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Henrie Blyth and Michael Cranstoun to compeir for thame and in thair names as thair commissionaris to vot resoun and conclude in all thingis that concernis the glorie of God and weill of the kirk promisesing to hald ferme and stable quhatsoever thair commissionaris foresaid sail do in the premissis."

¹ For details of the commissioners appointed and of the form of their commission see B.U.K. iii. 909-11; Calderwood, v. 581-3; C.S.P. Scot. xii. no. 380.
² No further details are available of this meeting, or of the appointment of commissioners to the assembly.
4 March 1600

"Instructions to commissioners of the general assembly.

"Ordanis the commissionaris direct in commissioun to ga to the nixt generall assemblie to observe in discharging thair commissioun the instructionis after following. 1. Concerning the question to be nominat in the nixt generall assemblie that thair said commissionaris keip thame selfis within the boundis of the actis of the provinciall assemblie haldin at Inverask the moneth of July 1598. 2. Gif ony thing sall happen to be concluidit in the said mater (as God forbid) aganes the word of God, actes of parliament, grantit in favoris of the kirk, book of disciplin be act of generall assemblie ratefeit and subscryvit be all the presbyteries of Scotland, or the said actes of the said provinciall and generall assemblies concluidit in the said mater that in that cais they in the name of the presbyterie protest in the contrar. 3. Incais the congregatioun of Leyth mak requeist to the generall assemble for an uther minister that they protest that the assemblie reserve to the presbyterie thair awin liberty to plant the said kirk unto the tyme they have occasion to find falt with the said presbytery quhilk they hope they sall not have. 4. Becaus the brether appointit upon the wark of the constant plat haifing convenit thair brother Mr Robert Bruce before thame quha willingly (albeit he neidit not) consentit for planting the kirkis of Arbroth to quyt a greit part of his pension quhairupon the brether appointit for the said wark of the plat agreis as haifing commission of the haill kirk of Scotland and in takin of thair agre- ment subscryvit with thair handis quhais deid the last generall assemblie haldin at Montros ratefeit that the said Mr Robert suld
enjoy the rest of his pension during his lyftyme that tharefore the assemblie wald requeist his majestie that the sam may be keipit to the said Mr Robert, and also command the brether of the ministry not to hurt the said Mr Robert."

29 April 1601
"The presbytere understanding the nixt generall assemblie is to convene at Bruntisland the xii of May nixt gives full power and commissioun to thair brether Mr Peter Hewat, Mr William Arthur and Mr James Mureheid to compeir for thame and in thair names before the said assembly as thair commissioneris and in all thingis to vot, ressone and conclude that concernis the glory of God and weill of his kirk."

27 October 1602
"The presbytery nominatis and appointis thair brether Mr James Balfour, Mr Walter Belcanquell and William Ard commissionaris for thame and in thair names to compeir before the nixt generall assemblie of the kirk to be convenit in Edinburgh the ix of November nixt."

Glasgow Presbytery

5 March 1594/5 (fo. 45r.)
"Qhilk daye the moderator and brethrene of the presbiterie of Gl[asgw] maid and constitut as be thir presentis makis and constitutis thair weilbel[ovit] Mr Patrik Scharp, principall of the college of Glasgw, minister at Go[van], thair verie lauchtfull undoutit irrevocabill commissioner geving and committand to him thair full
power to compeir for thame and [in thair name] in the assemblie of
the kirk tobe haldin at Edinburt. the..................\(^1\) with
continuation of dayes, and thair to resoun voite [and conclud in
all materis] agg[reab]ill to Goddis word. To the sayming and....
.....moderator and brethrene gevis to the said Mr Patrik thair
commissioun ....... said thair full power."

17 June 1595 (fo. 54v.)

"The quhilk day the presbiterie of Glasgw inrespect of the age,
sicknes and present inhabilitie of Mr David Wemes appointit in the
last synodall commissioner to the nixt generall assemblie hes
appointit be thir presentis appointtis Mr Alexander Rowat commissioner
in his steade to the generall assemblie and thair to do in all thingis
according to the commissioun of the said last synodall."

17 February 1595/6 (fo. 65r.)

"The presbiterie makis and constitutis Mr Patrik Scharp, principal
of the college of Glasgw, and Mr John Couper, ane of the ministeris,
thair commissioneris to the nixt generall assemblie to conven in
Edinburt. upone the xxiii daye of Marche instant, thair to aggrie
and condiscend to all thingis that salbe voitit and concludit thair
that salbe found consonant and aggreabill to the Word of God for
Godis glorie and weale of his kirk within this realme."

[In margin: "Certane gentilmen to be desyrit to be commissioneris
to the nixt general assemblie."]

"Quhilk daye the presbiterie ordenis Sir MattheW Stewart of Mynto,

\(^1\) MS. damaged. The assembly of June 24 1595 met at Montrose
and the succeeding assembly of 22 March 1595/6 met at Edinburgh.
kn yt., William Levingstoun younger of Kilseythe, the lardis of Craigbernat and Banclot. tobe desyrit to ryid to Edinburt. agane the xxiii daye of Merche instant unto the nixt generall assemblie and the said lardis of Campsie to be warnit be the minister of Campsie to the effect foirsaid."

"The said presbiterie ordenis the letter send fra the kirk of Edinburt anent the desyre of certane tobe present with the ministeris in the nixt general assemblie to be producit befoir the sessioun of Glasgw the nixt Thursiday."

16 March 1595/6 (fo. 65v.)

"The presbiterie ordenis the commissioner for thame quha salbe voitit heireftir pas and ryid on his awin expensis without ony contributioun fra his brethrene."

11 March 1600 (fo. 148v.)

"Put on lytes to be commissioner to the nixt generall assemblie Mr John Bell, minister at Cader

Mr Patrik Scharp

The presbiterie electit Mr Patrik Scharp, principall of the college of Glasgw to be commissioner to the nixt generall assemblie to be haldin at Montros.

Mr Alexander Rowat

Mr Archibald Glen

Mr Andro Boyde

The presbiterie hes chosen Mr Archibald Glen to be commissioner with Mr Patrik Scharp, principall of the college of Glasgw, to the nixt generall assemblie to be haldin as said is."

"Quhilk daye the moderator and brethrene of the presbiterie of Glasgw
hes maid and constitut, as be thir presenti makis and constitutis, 
thair weilbelovit brethrene Mr Patrik Scharp, principal of the college 
of Glasgw, minister at Govane, and Mr Archibald Glen, minister at 
Ruglen, conjunctlie and severalie thair verie lauchtfull undowttit 
commissioneris gevand, grantand and committand to thame conjunctlie 
and severalie as saidis thair full power to compeir for thame and in 
their name in Muntros upone the auchtein daye of Merche instant 
with contineuatioon of dayes in the generall assemblie of the kirk 
thair to be haldin Godwilling and thair to propone, heir, ressoun, 
voitt, conclud and aggrie to all and sindrie materis and actionis 
that salhappin to fall furthe in the said assemblie quhilk salbe 
consonant and aggreabill to Godis word and for the weale of His kirk 
within this realme and quhatsumever thing the saidis Mr Patrik and 
Mr Archibald commissioneris foirsaid conjunctlie and severalie sall 
do or leid to be done in the premissis the said moderator and brethren 
foirsaid sall abyd thairat fulfill and underly the same but contra-
dictioun."

9 September 1600 (fo. 164r.-v.)
[A transcript of minutes of the synod held at Glasgow on 16 September 
1600, contained within the presbytery records.]

"Put on lytes to be commissioneris in the next generall assemblie.

Maister William Birnie  
Thomas Lindsaye  
Mr Johnne Hewesoun [18 votes]  
Mr Robert Darroche [8 votes]  
Mr Johnne Couper [10 votes]  
Mr Johnne Bell, minister at Cader
Mr Johnne Haye

Mr Walter Stewart

The synodal assemblie be voittis prevaleand hes nominat Mr John Hewesone minister at Cambuslayng and Mr Johnne Haye, minister at Renfrew, commissioneris for thame the nixt generall assemblie and ordenis thair commissioun to be imbuikit."

"Quhilk daye the brethrene of the ministerie within the presbiteries of Lanerk, Hammiltoun, Glasgw, Paslaye and Dumbartone hes maid and now be thir presentis makis and constitutis thair weilbelovit brethrene Mr Johnne Hewesoune, minister at Cambuslayng, and Mr Johnne Haye, minister at Renfrew, thair verie lauchtfull, undowtit, irrevocabill commissioneris gevand, grantand and committand to thame conjunctlie and severalie thair full power, expres bidding, command and charge to compeir for thame and in thair name in the nixt generall assemblie of the ministrie to be haldin Godwilling in the toun of Edinburt. upone the fourtein daye of October nixtocum, and thair to voit, conclude ressoun and aggrie to all and sindrie materis that salhappin tobe intreatit in the said assemblie quhilk salbe fund consonant and aggreabill to Godis word and tending to His glorie and weale of His kirk within this realme, and specialie to deploir the advogatioun be our souverane lordis lettres usit be incestuous persones, adulteraris and excommunicat persones fra the discipline of the kirk to the lordis of secreit counsale and sessioun seing fors. ar chasticed and the haynous sclanderaris escapis, and to deploir that mariages unlauchtfullie ar maid be persones haveing na calling in the kirk quhilk mariages unlauchtfull in the self ar ratefeit be the commissaris of Edinburt. to the hurt of the discipline
of the kirk, and to lament that the donatioun of benefices quhilk of befoir be actis of parliament pertenit to his M. ar now devolvit in particular menis handis to the hurt of the ministerie, and to lament anent the new erectionis of benefices (decimis inclusis) in temporal lordshipes specialie of the abbacie of Paslaye quhair vicares pensionaires within the said abbacie everie ane of thame of auld had yeirlie to everie kirk fyve or sex chalder of victuall now the minister at everie kirk is reducit to thre of four chalder of victuall yeirlie to the greit prejudice of the kirk, and to meane\(^1\) the restitutioun of the bishop of Glasgw aganis the actis of parliamentis to the greit prejudice of the ministerie and schullis within the boundis of the bischoprik of Glasgw, and to meane\(^1\) that excommunicat persones ar recept in nobill menis housis to the greit contempt of the discipline of the kirk, and crave uniforme ordor of buriallis to be estabischit in the nixt parliament, and ane securitie for thair stipendis that ar perrillit be the restitutioun of the bishop of Glasgw, and to crave that ane act of parliament be maid in the nixt parliament that all the takis of teindis be reduced allanerlie to ane nynetein yeir tak or lyfrent tak eftir the making of the said act for the weale of the ministerie and poore within this realme, and for the planting of the kirkis within the same, and quhatsumever thing the said commissioneris conjunctlie and severalie sall do or leid to be done in the premisses the brethrene of the ministerie within the said presbiteries convenit in thair synodall assemblie faythfullie promises to underly fulfill and obey but contradictioun under the pane of defamatioun.

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1. Initially written as "deploir" then altered to "meane". 
"Quhilk daye the presbiterie of Glasgw willis the commissioneris appointtit in the last synodall assemblie haldin in Glasgw quha ar to pas God willing to the nixt generall assemblie to be haldin in Edinburt. the xiii daye of October instant to propone incase thair be restitution of the bishop of Glasgw that the pensionis gevin to the ministerie and schullis within the bischoprik of Glasgw quhairin thai stand in possessioun be ratefeit be act of parliament, to wit, twa chalder victuall to Mr Johnne Couper out of the thriddis of the said bischoprik, uther twa chalder to Mr Johnne Bell out of the said thriddis, twentie pundis yeirlie to Mr Johnne Allansone readare in Glasgw furt. of the said thriddis, fyve chalder victuall to Mr Alexander Rowat, minister in the parochin of Glasgw furt. of the twa part of the said bischoprik seven chalder victuall to Mr Archibald Spittell, minister at Driman, furt. of the said bischoprik. [blank. ] to Mr Thomas Muirheid, minister at Cannathane i.e. Cambusnethan furt. of the said bischoprik ane chalder of victuall to the college of Glasgw for the sustentatioun of ane bursar furt. of the mylne of Partik and the trone of Glasgw to the said college, and to meane the greit abuse the pepill ar brocht into be the setting out and prenting of the buikis of prognosticatioun quhairby thai ar driven to beleve the secund cause."

**Haddington Presbytery**

4 June [1589] (fo. 27v.)

"The quhilk day the brethrene nominat commissioneris for the generall assembly, to wit my lord Yester, Alexander Howme of Northberwik, the
lardis of Trabroun, Elphinstoun, Saltcottis, Blanshe and Cashkelpie. Ministeris, Mr James Carmicheall, Mr Thomas Macgy and Thomas Greg. Ordanis the brethren speik the baronns and gentilmen to compeir at the generall assembleie to be haldin at Edinburgh the xvij of Juni nixtocum."

25 February [1589/90] (fo. 54v.)
"Commissioneris to the generall assembly my lord Yester, the lairdis of Clarkintoun, Hirmanstoun, Elphinstoun, Fadounsyd, George Hammiltoun, Mr James Carmichaell, Mr Thomas Macghie, James Gibsone, Alexander Forrester."

[July 1590] (fo. 62v.)
"[Commissioneris to the generall] assemblie, the lairdis of Clerkingtoun, Elphistoun, Cas[kh]kelpie 1 ................. Thomas Macghie, Thomas Greg."

24 April [1594] (fo. 90v.)
"The presbyterie understanding that the generall assembleie appoyntit to be haldin in Edinburgh wer to begin the vij of May appoyntis Mr William Hay, Mr Thomas Makghie and James Gibsone commissioneris unto the same for thame."

11 June 1595 (fo. 110r.)
"Pforasmiekle as the generall assembly to be haldin at Montros is to begin the xxiii June instant, the presbyterie gives commissioun to to thair brother Mr Walter Hay to go to the said assembly to resson vote and conclude as if thai wer all present thame selvis."

1. MS. damaged. It is known from internal evidence that James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, was also appointed commissiioner to the assembly. (See fo. 63v.)
15 February 1595/6 (fo. 125v.)

"Anent the letter direct from the commissioneris of the generall assembly desyring us that, seing for sundrie caussis thair is ane generall assembly to be heldin and to begin the xxiii of Merche nixt following not only of ministeris bot of the best affectit noblemen and gentlemen of this realme to appoynt some commissioneris bayth of the ministrie, and of the best affectit gentlemen within our boundis, the presbyterie appoyntis commissioneris for thame of the ministrie thair brethren Mr James Carmichael, Mr Walter Hay, James Gibson and Mr Jhone Davidson to awayt upon the said assembly and everie minister to wairne the gentlemen within thair parochin to be present heir this day aucht dayes for accomplishing of the uther part of the letter touching commissioneris to bechosin of the gentlemen."

3 March 1595/6 (fo. 125v.)

"Anent the ordinance maid the last day touching the warning of the gentlemen to compuir this day to the effect as is contenit in the said ordinance, in respect of the few number that is convenit the presbyterie continewis farder dealing in the said matter quhill this day aucht dayes desyring the gentlemen present to resort againe and ordaines the rest to be warnit and requeistit ernistlie to be present the said day."

10 March 1595/6 (fo. 126r.)

"Anent the ordinance maid the last day ... of the gentlemen of this presbyterie to be present this day for ch[oosing] commissioneris of thame to the generall assembly, ane grat number [of] thame being present, with uniforme consent it wes aggreit that thai ....sould

1. MS. damaged.
give their presence to the said assembly upon the xxiii of this insta[nt] and that they sould meet the said day at thrie eft[er] noone among tham[se]lvis to chuse out some commissi[oneris] in thair names to awayt quhill the said assembly sould be endit."

27 April 1597

"Fforasmekle as the generall assamblie to be held in Dundie [and] to begin upon Tyisday the tenth of May nixtocum, the presby[terie] gives commissioun to thair brethren Mr Thomas Makghe, Mr J[ames] Carmichael and Mr Walter Hay to pas to the said assamblie and in thair names to resson vote and conclude in all thingis not prejudiciall to the libertie we have bene thir monie yeiris and ar presentlie in possessioun of, and na furder."

29 April 1601

"The quhilk day Mr James Carmichell and James Gibsone war chosin commisionars to the generall assamblie."

6 July 1608

"The quhilk day the B. considering the generall assamblie of the kirk of Scotland to [be] helden at Linlithgow upon Tu[s]day the 26 of July instant did by electione appoynt Mr Archibald Orswald, Mr John Addison, Mr John Ker their commissi[oneris] to compeir in thair name at the said assamblye day and place foirsaidis."

Paisley Presbytery

14 October 1602 (fo. 3r.)

The presbytery ordain[M]ESSRs. John Hay, Andrew Knox and William Curstile to repair to the assembly in the name of the presbytery.
Peebles Presbytery

17 February 1596/7 (fo. 8r.)
"Forsamekill as his majesties lettre being presentit to us in our conference efter exerceis at Peblis the xvii day of Februar instant craving our commissionaris to be direct to the conventioun to be haldin at Perthe the last of this moneth, ffor obeying his majesties requeste the brethrene although ffew in number hes appointit and ordanit Mr Archibald Douglas minister at Peblis to pas to the said conventioun or assemble gif ony be to concure with the commissionaris of the rest of the presbitreis to heir and sie his majesties will and weill affectit mynd concerning the polacie of the kirk alreadie establischit and reformit be sindre actis of parliament and to report the samyn bak agane to us that we may be readie to consentt with the his majestie ffor establisching and concluding of thais thingis that sail tend to the glorie of God, weill of His kirk, and standing of his majesties persoun and estait at sic tyme as salbe thocht maist expedient and to this effect giffis and grantis to the foirsaid Mr Archibald power and commission be thir presenttis subscryvit be our moderatour and clerk as followis the day foirsaid 1596.

Adam Hepburne, moderator of the presbyterie of Peblis
Hector Cranstoun, clerk of the presbyterie of Peblis."

14 April 1597 (fo. 10r.)
"The quhilk day the presbyterie ordanis according to the act of the provinciall assemble to try Mr Archibald Douglas, minister at Peblis, commissionar to the generall assemble haldin at Perth to sie gif he past the boundis of his commissioun or not."
"The presbyterie ordanis the nixt day ane commissionar to be apointit to the generall assemble."

12 January 1597/8 (fo. 21v.)

"The quhilk day the presbyterie resavit ane lettre direct frome his majestie concerning commissionaris to be direct to the generall assemble continewis the electioun of thame to the nixt day."

26 January 1597/8 (fo. 21v.)

"The quhilk day the presbyterie appoynttis Adam Hepburne and Maister Robert Levingstoun, commissionaris to the generall assemble."

6 March 1600 (fo. 57.)

"The presbyterie appoynttis Mr Johnne Wemis commissionar to the generall assemble."

St. Andrews Presbytery

31 July 1590

"Commissioneris appoyntit to the generall assemblie: Mris. Androw Moncreiff, Jhone Robertsoun and David Monipenny."

19 April 1593

"The Roll of the names of the commissionares nominat out of the boundis of the presbitrie of Sanctandros to pas to the generall assemble to be halden at Dundee, commissionares for the towne and landwart of the paroche of Sanctandros Mr David and William Russells, Mr William Cock, Duncane Balfour, Charles Watsoune, David Dalgleishe, Mr Robert Zuil, Andro Wood of Stravithie, Mr Johnne Aittoun of Kinnadie; for Crail Wirmestoun, Cambo; for Kilrennie William Barclay, Robert Strang; for Kilconchar, Rires; for Ceres Largo.  

1. The MS. is badly faded at this point and the writing is consequently indistinct.
Leuchars Colluthie, Durie, Darshall. Commissionaires to the general assemble of the presbitrie: Mr David Black, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr James Melvill, Mr Nicol Dagleish, Mr Robert Durie, Mr Andro Melvill, Mr Johne Johnsoun, Mr Patrik Melvill, Mr Andro Moncref.

2 May 1594
"Commissionaires to the generall assemble. Gentlemen, borrowis and ministrie. Provest of Sanctandros, Andro Wood of Stravithie, Craighall, George Ramsay, Carnbie youngar, James Traill, Wilmistoun, Pitmillie younger, Cambo younger, Ardrie, William Barclay, Robert Strang, Mr William Scott, Bufrey, Balcorno, Balmoanth, Kilconchar, Rires, Kincraig, Sandfurd, Mr Andro Sandilandis, Largo, Lundie, Kirkton, Durie, Kembok, Blebo, Mr Nicol Dalgleish, Robert Wilkie, Robert Durie, David Mercus, Homar Blair, David Black, James Melvill, the Rector."

11 March 1595/6
"Mris. Andro Melvill, Nicoll Dalgleische, James Melvill, Robert Wallace, Robert Durie being put on leittis and being votit quhilk thre of them suld pase commissioner to the generall assemble it wes concludit that be pluraletie of vottis that Mris. Andro and James Melvill, with Nicol Dalgleishe suld be commissionaris to the assemble."

26 January 1597/8
"Commissionaris to the general assemble, the hail presbetrie."

6 March 1600
"The same day the baronis convenit haive chosen be them selfis the yong laird of Dersy the commissioner to the generall assemblie quhairwith the presbyterie aggreit for that tyme, and ordanis this to
be remembred that the baronis be adverteist in all tymis heirefter to be present at synodall assembleis to the intent the ancient forme of electioun of commissioneris may be kepit."

26 July 1604
"The Presbitrie chuissis and appoyntis Mris. James Melvill, William Erskyne and William Murra thir commissioneris to the generall assemblie appoyntit to be holden in Aberdene this moneth geving them ther full commissioun and expres charge to pas to Aberdene and thair for the said presbytare and in thair name to reason vote and conclude in sic thingis as salbe handlit in the said assemblie, and to do quhatsumevir uther thingis belongis to the weill of the kirk promiseing to ratifie and approve quhatsumevir the said commissioners sall do thairintill, according to the word of God."

Stirling Presbytery

10 October 1581
"The moderator schew to the lairdis of Garden and Keir and Mr James Pont that thai war appointit be the provinciall assemblie to be commissioneris to the generall assemblie to be heldin in Edinbrugh the xvii day of this instant and desyrit thame to keip the samin."

10 April 1582
"The brethren of the presbyterii of Striviling electit and nominat Patrik Gillaspie, Mr Andro Yung and Mr William Stirling, ministers, Alexander Bruce of Airthe or his sone Mr Robert Bruce, James Kinross of Kippenross, Umphra Cunynghame, commissar of Striviling, and Mr James Pont, commissar of Dunblane, barronis and gentill men commissioneris to the nixt generall assemblie to be heldin in
Sanctandrus the xxiii day of April instant for the said presbyterii to concur with the said assemble for treating of thair thingis concerning the weill and gude ordur to be observit within the kirkis of the said presbyterii and also quhatsumevir thingis salbe trettit in the said assemble that may tend to the glorie of God and weill of His hail kirk plantit of His mercie within this realme."

19 June 1582
"The brethrein of the presbyterii of Striviling electit and nominat Patrik Gillaspie and Mr Andro Yung, ministeris, commissionaris to the nixt generall assemble to be haldin in Edinburgh the [blank] day of Junii instant for the said presbyterii to concur with the said assemble for treating of thair thingis concerning the weill and gude ordur to be observit within the kirkis of the said presbyterii and also quhatsumevir thingis salbe trettit in the said assemble that may tend to the glorie of God and weill of His haiil kirk plantit of His mercie within this realme."

9 April 1583
"The quhilk day the brethrein of the presbyterii of Striviling electit and nominat James Andirsone, Patrik Gillaspie and Johnne Duncanson, ministeris, Sir James Stirling off Keir knyt. provest of Striviling and Alexander Forester of Garden, barronis, commissionaris for thame to pass to the nixt generall assemble of the kirk to be haldin in Edinburgh the xxiii day of Aprill instant with full powar to concur with the said assemble for treating of thair thingis concerning the weill and gude ordur to be observit within the kirkis of the said presbyterii and also quhatsumevir thingis that salbe trettit in the said assemble that may tend to the glorie of God and
weill of His haill kirk plantit of His mercie within this realme."

13 June 1587
Commissioners to the general assembly: Arthur Futhie and Andrew Forrester, ministers, to pass with James Anderson, commissioner, as commissioners from the presbytery to the next assembly at Edinburgh on 20 June 1587.

16 May 1592
"The quhilk day the brethrein nominatis commissionaris to the nixt generall assemblie for this presbyterii, of gentilmen: Alexander Bruce of Airth and William Mentayt of Cars to concur with the brethrein of the ministrie nominat commissionaris for this presbyterii to the said assemblie be the last synodall."

17 April 1593
"The commissionaris nominat to the nixt general assemblie for this presbyterii ar admonesit to be thairat in Dundy the nixt Tuesdaiy the xxiii day of April instant and ar desyrit to be cairfull to thais thingis concerning the weill of the kirk namelie within thir boundis and according to the commissione of the last synod nominatis Alexander Bruce of Airth, William Mentayt of Cars and Johnne Murray of Touchadame, zealus barronis, commissionaris for this presbyterii to convein with the said assemblie, reassone and voit in sic materis as salhappin to be treated thairin and ordanis the clark to mak everie ane of thame adverteisit heirof and request thame in the brethreinis name to keip the said assemblie."

3 March 1595/6
"The quhilk day thair being producit ane miseive letter direct to this presbyterii from the commissionaris of the generall assemblie
appointed to the plat and otheris brethren conveinit with thame in Edinburgh makand adverteisment that the Spanish armie ar of deliberat purpous with all possible diligence to arryve in this cuntrie and extinguish all trew religione in this Ill, to conques the samin, and thairin to erect up idolatrie and thairfor hes thocht meit that thair be ane generall assemblie conveinit at Edinburgh the xxiii day of Merche instant of the maist grave, wyse and godlie professoris of the treuth within this cuntrie alsweill of the nobilitie, barronis, commissionaris of burghis as of the ministrie as lykwys hes thocht meit that thair be observit oulkie everie Sabboth a publict humiliatioun with ane fast at all the kirkis within this realm ay and quhilk we receave sum confortable effect of our humiliatioun and that the said exerceis of humiliatioun and fasting be observit everie day throughout that haill oulk quhilk is appointed for the generall assemblie. According to the quhilk advys, the brethren of this presbyterii hes electit and nominat commissionaris for thame to the said assemblie: Archibauld Erle of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne, Johnne Erle of Mar, Lord Erskein and Gariot, Adame Commendator of Cambuskynnet, Sir Archibauld Stirling of Keir, knyt. Johnne Murray of Touchadame, James Saittone of Tullibody, Sir William Mentayt of Kers, knyt. and James Shaw of Sauchie; off ministeris Mr Patrik Simsone, Mr William Stirling and Mr Henrie Levingstone to concur with the said assemblie as commissionaris foirsaidis to consult, reasone and conclude how the just wrath of God sa neir approching may be turned away from us by ane unversall and trew convertione of all estaitis from thair sinis to repentence, and to condiscend upon sum gude and ordinar meinis for the maintenane of the libertie of the
trew religione and cuntrie against thair violence and for resisting of thair invasionis as also to give thair advys and opinione in sic uther materis as salbe treated in the said assemblie tending to Godis glorie and promotione of His Evangell within this cuntrie, and siclyke ordanis that ane humiliatioun and fast be observit the said spaic and in the burgh of Stirling and citie off Dunblane ilk day of that oulk appointed for the generall assemblie according to the judgment of the saidis commisionaris and uther brethrein conveninit with thame."

16 February 1596/7
"The brethrein nominatis and constitutis Mr William Stirling thair commissionar to conven with the remanent commisionaris of the kirk at Perth to desyr of his Majesteis letter thair to heir quhat beis proponit, and report againe that this presbyterie may caus answer be maid thairto at the next generall assemblie of the kirk to be conveninit in Sanctandrus and gif any thing beis concludit in this nixt assemblie against the actis of the generall assemblie to protest against it."

9 March 1596/7
"The quhilk day Mr William Stirling commissionar directit to Perth for this presbyterie is askit gif he hes done any thing thair, besyd and attour the commissione gevin to him, he ansotes that his voit was nevir socht and that he ansored not and gave na voit to any thing, and being askit gif he protested against thais thingis thair concludit, he ansored negative for the quhilk he is now fund fault with."

20 April 1597
Commissioner to the generall assembly: Andrew Young, minister of
Dunblane, appointed commissioner to the next assembly at St. Andrews, with full power etc.

4 May 1597

Commissioners to the general assembly: Adam Bellenden, Richard Wright, Henry Laing, James Duncanson, and Malcolm Henrieson, commissioners to the next assembly at Dundee.
31 July 1572
"The quhilk day, the session thinkis expedient ane commission to be gevin to Mr Robert Hamilton, minister, and Mr William Cok, bailie, to compeir in the Assemblie General to be haldin at Pertht the vj of August nixt to cum."

2 March 1574/5
"The quhilk day, the seat hes votit commission to be gevin to Maisteris Thomas Balfour and William Cok, commissionaris of the seat, to compeir in Edinburght in the General Assemblie of the Kirk, to be haldin the vj day of Marche instant."

6 December 1581
"The quhilk day, Mr William Cok, bailye, and being commissioner for this citee to the Generall Assemblie to procure ane pastore for the kirk of St. Androis, comperit befoir this assemble of St. Androis..."

28 April 1582
"The quhilk day, the sessioun thinkis meit and expedient that ane commissioun be gevin to Mris. William Cok, David Russell and Martine Geddy, or ony tua of thame, as commissioneris to compeir in the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, to be haldin in this citee the xxiiiij day of Aprile instant."

22 April 1584
"The quhilk day, the sessioun and ministrie of St. Androus hes electit

1. R.St.A.K.S. i. 367-8, 406, 459, 478-9; ii. 526, 748-9, 798, 921.
Schir Patrik Lermont, of Darsy, knycht, Provost of St. Androus, Mr Martin Geddy, balye, and Mr William Cok, commissionaris to compeir in the Generall Assemblie, to be holdin at St. Androus the xxiiij of Aprile instant, to mak instance for ane minister and ordinar pastour for the kirk of St. Androus; and to assist ressoun voit concluid and determin in all thingis, with the said Assemblie, for the outsetting of Goddis glorie, mentinance of the religioun, and punishement of vice."

18 April 1593
"The quhilk day, the sessioun of St. Androus, being convenit and eftir ernest incalling upon the holy name of God, hes, eftir dew consideratioun, nominat electit chosin Mr David Russell, balye, William Lermont, Dane of Gild, Maister Robert Zuill, teachear of the Evangell, and Charlis Watsoun, scribe of the sessioun, or ony ane tua or thrie of thame, commisioneris for the said citee; and Johne Melvill of Raith, Patrik Dudingston portioner of Kyncapill, Androw Wod of Straythwethy, George Ramsay of Langraw, and Mr Jhone Aytoun of Kynnaldy, or ony ane tua thre or four of thame, commisioneris for the parrocheneris upon laun; to conpeir in the Generall Assemble, to be holdin at the burth of Dunde, the xxiiij of Aprile instant; and thair to mak instance and suit for ordinar pastouris and ministeris, and for satling of ane soleit ministrie to the said kirk of St. Androus, conforme to the Act of the last Synnodall Assemblie, holdin at St. Androus in the Ixxxxij yeiris; and to voite ressoun concluid and determing in all thingis with the said Assemblie, for outsetting of the glorie of God, mentinance of the trew religioun, and punishement of vice."
18 June 1595

"The quhilk day, William Muffett bailye is electit commissioner to pas to the nixt Generall Assemblie, to be haldin at Montrois the xxiiij of Junii instant."

12 March 1600

"The quhilk day, eftir incalling upon the name of God, the bretheren hes nominat and choisin Mr William Russell advocat, thair commissionar to pas to the Generall Assemblie, to be haldin at Montrois the xviiij day of Marche, 1600."
APPENDIX III

Scottish Ordinations in the late Sixteenth Century

Whilst it is true that the imposition of hands in Scottish "inaugurations" was initially rejected in 1560, it also remains true that the inclusion of the ceremony in ordination services came to be advocated by some in little more than a decade after its initial rejection. It is also demonstrable that by the end of the century ordination with the accompanying laying on of hands became standard practice within the church of Scotland. This was of course entirely consistent with the recommendations of the second Book of Discipline, and one is therefore disinclined to agree unreservedly with the statement that "the authority of this Book as evidence for ordinations, or anything else, from 1578 onwards is not as great as is often insinuated".2

As early as October 1581, in the assembly immediately following that which approved the second Book of Discipline, the synod of Lothian petitioned that "ane universall ordour be tane and made be the Generall Assemblie for examinatione, tryall, admissioun and ordination of Ministers".3 Although a committee, which included Andrew Melville, was formed to discuss the matter,4 nothing is known of what recommendations it may have made.

Eight years later, however, in April 1589, the synod of

1. See above, chapter 7, 257ff.
4. B.U.K. ii. 536-7; Calderwood, iii. 591.
Lothian, taking the initiative, drew up its own regulations governing the admission of men to the ministry within its own province: the minimum age of admission was set at twenty five, unless the person was deemed by the general assembly to be of exceptional merit; a candidate was required to have "exercised" for a year on the exercise and to have attended the kirk session of the principal town of the presbytery, where he had exercised, "to the end that he may grow in the gift of government alsweill as in doctrein"; and a representative - a "speciall man" - from every presbytery within the province was to be present to examine the candidate's qualifications, and after offering prayers "handis salbe laid on" the person appointed, provided he had the approval of his flock.¹

In June of that year, the presbytery of Haddington, in admitting George Byres to Barro, had appointed James Carmichael to "mak the prayer and gif hime ordinatioun", but, interestingly enough, this was deleted by the clerk to the presbytery, and Carmichael instead was instructed to search "out of the book of God and custom of the primitye kirk quhat haiv bene the rycht forme of ordinatioun of ministeris and ryttis usit thairin, and to report the samin the nixt day that thay micht proced thairin in sic forme as mycht be warrandit be Godis word and may be usit in all tymes cuming".² What conclusion

¹ S.R.O. CH2/252/1. fos. 9v.-10r. MS. Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 2 April 1589. The specific enactment relating to the admission of candidates of special ability under twenty five years of age, if expressly approved by the assembly was professedly based on an "act of the generall assemble of the kirk halding at Edinburgh the xvj of Merche 1581" though in fact the assembly which passed the measure met in St. Andrews in April 1582; B.U.K. ii. 559; Calderwood, iii. 614.

² S.R.O. CH2/185/1. fo. 27v. MS. Haddington Presbytery Records, 4 June 1589.
Carmichael reached remains unknown, and all that is known of the form of Byres' admission is that the ministers "procedit to the ordination according to the buik concerning admitting of ministeris", which may or may not refer to the second Book of Discipline; but at least, the use of the term "ordination" had by then become common.

The presbytery of Dalkeith certainly appears to have adhered to the synod of Lothian's ordinance of April 1589 relating to ordination, and although the presbytery did complain, on one occasion, that "pastoris wer stayit fra admissioun to the ministrie a lang space for laik of concurrence of the elderschipis according to the new act", in practice representatives from other presbyteries of the province were summoned to attend and did attend both ordination and induction ceremonies. On 6 April 1591, the synod of Lothian directed commissioners to be present at the admission of Nathaniel Harlaw to Ormiston, "according to the ordour observit in the admissioun of men to the functioun of ministrie"; and two days later Harlaw was "inaugurat in the ministrie of the kirk of Ormistoun" by James Bennett, minister of Kirkliston, "for the presbetyrie of Edinburgh", in the presence of commissioners from the presbyteries of Dalkeith, Haddington, Linlithgow and Peebles.

1. Ibid. fo. 47v. 8 October [1589].
3. Ibid. e.g. 21 April 1591, 12 August 1591, 20 April 1592, 4 May 1592, 24 August 1592.
Similarly, in May 1592, Dalkeith presbytery appointed six ministers to admit William Knox to Cockpen, where, in the presence of representatives from other presbyteries, 1 Adam Johnston, minister of Crichton, was instructed "to teach and exhort" and "the uther brethren to lay on hands according to the order". 2

In Peebles, too, the presbytery - whose records begin in December 1596 - inquired of Robert Livingstone, at a visitation of Skirling in April 1597, whether he would accept the charge, "and for the mair verificatiouvn Adam Hepburne, Mr David Neirne withe the rest of the brethreine laid handis upoun him and admittit him to the ministrie at Skirling"; 3 and precisely the same procedure was observed at Thomas Proven's admission to Dawyck in August of that year when "for the mair verificatiouvn Adam Hepburne, Mr. Robert Levingstoun, Mr. David Neirne with the rest of the bretherin of the presbyterie layit handis upon him and admitit him to the said ministrie at Dawik". 4

Before proceeding to Matthew Lychtont's admission to the church of Currie in November 1591, Edinburgh presbytery had charged its clerk to produce the acts of synod governing the precise form of admission, and while discovering that Lychtont was not of the age specified in the act, the presbytery had nevertheless considered him

1. Ibid. 20 April, 4 May 1592; see also S.R.O. CH2/121/1, MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 9 May 1592.
3. S.R.O. CH2/295/1. fo. 9v. MS. Peebles Presbytery Records, 1 April 1597.
4. Ibid. 18v. 31 August 1597.
to be qualified to act as minister and had therefore appointed David Lindsay "to admit him" to the ministry at Currie in presence of commissioners from the surrounding presbyteries. 1 Nothing, however was said of ordination but were the act of synod observed then the imposition of hands would have been included in the ceremony. On the other hand, when Henry Livingstone was appointed minister of St. Ninians on 15 October 1587 by Stirling presbytery on the recommendation of the synod — apparently that of Lothian 2 — his admission is stated to have been "according to the ordur" 3 but this was some two years before the synod of Lothian's act of 1589, and in the detailed account of his admission there is no reference to the imposition of hands but only to Alexander Forrester of Garden who on behalf of the congregation "tuke the said Mr. Henrie be the hand and acceptit him as thair ordinar pastor". 4 Furthermore, there is no evidence that Henry Laing as an entrant to the ministry received the laying on of hands at his admission to Airth in December 1587, 5 or that the rite was used at the induction of James Duncanson to Alva in 1590. 6 But

2. In "ane forme of the Presbiteries and Dyocies" drawn up by the assembly in April 1581, Stirling presbytery was included in the diocese of Edinburgh (province of Lothian); B.U.K. ii. 481; Calderwood, iii. 522; but in 1588 as a result of an act of assembly the presbyteries of Perth, Dunkeld, Stirling and Dunblane were grouped together to form a synod of their own whose first meeting was to take place in Perth; MS. Stirling Presbytery Records 13 August 1588. The text of B.U.K. ii. 738 speaks only of the presbyteries of Perth, Dunkeld and Dunblane and does not mention Stirling presbytery.
3. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 10 October 1587.
4. Ibid, 17 October 1587.
5. Ibid. 12 December 1587.
6. Ibid. 3 February 1589/90.
in July 1597, when the presbytery admitted Henry Forrester as minister of Larbert, four ministers were appointed "to plaice him pastor at the said kirk be impositione of handis according to the ordur". This was in accordance with the assembly's enactment in May of that year that ordination ceremonies should include the imposition of hands; and at this point the ceremony certainly seems to have become customary in the province of Perth under whose jurisdiction Stirling presbytery had been placed since 1588. Thus when Thomas Ambrose was admitted minister of Alva and Tillicoultry on 13 February 1598/9 three ministers were deputed by the presbytery of Stirling to admit him "be impositione of handis according to the ordur". Equally, if no objection were raised against John Aissone's entry to the ministry at Kincardine, the presbytery would "proceed to his admissione and ordinatione according to the ordur"; and, six months later, four commissioners from the presbytery reported that on 31 July 1599 Aissone had been "lawfullie ordeinit be impositione of handis according to the ordur". Clearly, ordination by imposition of hands had become the accepted order.

In Fife, however, the imposition of hands appears to have been slower in gaining acceptance. In March 1590/1, three members of St. Andrews presbytery were appointed "to authorise" Robert Buchanan

1. Ibid. 20 July 1597,
2. B.U.K. iii. 925; Calderwood, v. 642.
5. Ibid. 25 July and 1 August 1599.
6. For further examples of ordination and imposition of hands, see ibid. e.g. 27 April, 25 May, 13 July, 20 July, 1603.
to the ministry of Forgan "according to the form subscryvit in the buik of Discipline", and similarly were two representatives from the presbytery to "inaugurat and authorise" David Martin as minister of Dunino, according to "the ordor prescryvit in the buik of discipline" - two statements which possibly refer to the first rather than the second Book of Discipline, since St. Andrews presbytery had still to formally subscribe the latter book. So far as is known, there seems to have been no particular predisposition in Andrew Melville's presbytery to adhere to the ceremony of the laying on of hands, despite its inclusion in the second Book of Discipline, and it was relatively late in the day before the term "ordination" replaced "inauguration" within that presbytery.

In the west, however, Patrick Sharp, the university principal and minister of Govan, had been chosen by Glasgow presbytery in November 1589 to admit Andrew Boyd to Eaglesham "be impositione of handis according to God's word", and after Glasgow presbytery records become available in October 1592, that same presbytery in accordance with an act of synod had advised the presbytery of Paisley in 1595 to proceed to the inauguration of Andrew Law, as minister at Neilston.

2. Ibid. 1 April 1591. Similarly, in October 1596, John Dykes, as an entrant to the ministry, was "inaugurat" as "fellow labourer" with James Melville at Kilrenny; ibid. 14 October 1596.
3. Ibid. e.g. 13 September 1604 when Robert Wilkie and Andrew and James Melville were deputed by the presbytery to "give Mr. John Carmichaell ordinatioun to the ministerie of Kilconquhar the nixt Saboth according to the act of the synode". Carmichael does, however, appear to have been minister at Newburn in 1595. (Fasti, v. 223, 208.)
4. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 4 July 1592, containing an extract of Glasgow Presbytery Records dated 18 November 1589.
and "to give the said Mr. Andro admissioun be impositioun of handis according to the canon of the apostel". But, in the end, it was Glasgow presbytery itself, on the instructions of the synod, which appointed the commissioners: one "to teiche and implace him" minister and three others "to laye thair handis upone him". Similarly, in 1599, the presbytery deputed two of its members to admit William Livingstone to the ministry at Kilsyth (Monyabrocht), and "thair solemnmitlie be impositioun of handis in presens of the con[gregatioun] to inaugurat him" and give him institution to the parsonage and vicarage. Again, in April 1600, at the entry of George Sloan to Lenzie, three members of the presbytery were commissioned "to inaugurat Mr. George Slowan minister at the said kirk according to the canon of the apostle Paull". Accordingly, the commissioners reported to the presbytery on 30 April 1600 that they had inaugurated Sloan "be impositioun of handis" and had given him institution to the vicarage.

In the aforementioned cases, the ministers, thus admitted were themselves entrants to the ministry, and had not merely been translated from one church to another. The admission ceremonies were ordinations and not inductions. One exception occurs in the instance

2. Ibid. fo. 54r.; 17 June 1595.
3. Ibid. fo. 56v.; 15 July 1595. The inauguration ceremony took place at Neilston kirk on 20 July; ibid. 29 July 1595.
4. Ibid. fo. 127r.; 10 July 1599. The forms of presentation and collation are given ibid. 127v. - 128r.
5. Ibid. fo. 153r.
6. Ibid. fo. 153v.; 30 April 1600.
of Andrew Law, for curiously enough although Law received the
imposition of hands at Neilston, this, it seems, was by no means his
first charge: he had been minister at Stonehouse in 1591 and
minister at Glasford in 1593 before becoming minister at Neilston in
1595; and on the supposition that a minister could only be ordained
once it would seem that Law had not received the imposition of hands
at his admission to either of his former charges. A similar set
of circumstances appears to have governed John Davidson's admission
to Prestonpans in November 1595, for, though a seasoned minister,
Davidson nevertheless received "ordination." Earlier in 1589, the
presbytery of Haddington had mentioned how Walter Hay, after being
deposed from the ministry at Bothans, should eventually be
"ordanit" at his re-admission to the ministry. Nor was it altogether
unknown for a minister who had never been deposed to undergo something
akin, if not to re-ordination, at least to re-admission. In 1589,
the presbytery of Edinburgh had condemned William Watson's admission
in 1585 to the ministry of Edinburgh as highly irregular:

"be ressoun Patrik callit bishop of St.
Androis was moderat and thairfore it was
concludit that the said Mr. William suld
acknowledg the sam, quhilk the said Mr.
William did in presence of the brether, and
efter long ressoning had of his doctrin and

1. Fasti, iii. 157, 253, 280.
2. S.R.O. CH2/185/1. MS. Haddington Presbytery Records, 29 October,
   19 November, 24 December, 31 December 1595; 7 January 1595/6.
3. S.R.O. CH2/252/1. MS. Synod of Lothian Records, fo. 6v. - 7r.
   April 1589; cf. S.R.O. CH2/185/1. MS. Haddington Presbytery
   Records, fo. 15r. 30 October 1588. Hay had been deposed by the
   synod in October 1588.
4. S.R.O. CH2/185/1. fo. 49v. 29 October 1589.
5. S.R.O. CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 27 October
   1589.
diligent inquisitione of his lyf ffinding him now lauchtfullie to be callit and admittit to the functioun of the ministrie to the said toun ffand no uther thing nather in his calling lyf conversation and doctrin nor said is that unqualefeit or ony way makis him unable to continew in the office of the ministry at the said kirk of Edinburgh."

And the same presbytery also proceeded to criticise James Hamilton's "entrie to the ministrie of Edinburgh in the tyme of the absence of the lauchtfull ministeris thairof". If exception was taken to inaugurations presided over by Adamson, as archbishop, a more favourable view was taken by Dalkeith presbytery of John Bonar who in August 1592 had "producit his testimoniell concerning his lyfe and doctrine direct fra the faythfull brether of the ministerie in Ingland". No less interesting is the case of John Gibson, who had served in the ministry of the church of England, and who sought to become minster at Athelstaneford in April 1601. Confronted with Gibson's request, Haddington presbytery was uncertain whether he should "be admittit as ane new intrant in the ministrie or as ane that had alreddy usit the office of the ministerie"; and James Carmichael was appointed to write to one William Simson to discover how Gibson had "enterit and continewit in the ministerie in England". Any doubts, which the presbytery may have entertained, as to the validity of his admission in the ministry in England, were soon resolved however when Gibson himself "producit ane letter of his admissione to the ministerie in England be the Bischop of Canterberrie". With this the presbytery declared itself satisfied and "thinkis it

1. Ibid.
provin thairbe that he was ane actual minister".  

With the division of Edinburgh into a number of parishes in 1598, the unfortunate Watson who had been admitted twice, first by the archbishop and then by the presbytery, was required yet again - as were his colleagues - to undergo re-admission. Not only so but on the personal intervention of the king Robert Bruce, as one of the city ministers who lacked the laying on of hands, was required to receive the ceremony before he could be re-admitted minister.  

Although his colleagues had agreed to "take impositioun of hands als weill as he", Bruce had refused to accept the ceremony on any conditions other than merely as a confirmation of his ministry.  

To do otherwise - to accept it as an ordination - would seem to call in question and invalidate his earlier ministry in Edinburgh; and if the king thus pressed Bruce "to take a new ordination", the presbytery of Edinburgh felt differently and had proceeded to endorse Bruce's ministry: 

"the brether of the presbyterie of Edinburgh having rypelie advysit upon the desyre of thair brother Mr. Robert Bruce willing thame to declare quhidder he had bene and is yet ane lauchtfull pastor of the kirk of Edinburgh having his calling of the generall assemblie of the kirk thairto, the haill brether being present, in ane voce without contradicioun gave thair resolute answer that thai had awnledgit and awnledgis him to be a lauchtfull pastor of the said kirk, by quhom God in his mercie hes wrocht effectuallie in the said pastoral charge, and by quhais travellis the haill kirk and thame selfis had resavit greit confort."

1. S.R.O. CH2/185/2. MS. Haddington Presbytery Records, 22 April, 29 April 1601.  
2. Calderwood, v. 711ff.  
3. Ibid.  
Together with commissioners from the general assembly, the presbytery had also acknowledged that Bruce "was and is yit a lauchtfull pastor of the kirk of Edinburgh having ane lauchtfull calling of the generall assembly thairto and as to this impositioun of handis, the use is not as a ceremonie of ordinatioun to the ministerie, but as a ceremonie of ordinatioun to his particular flock". 1

Yet even before this episode, it is indisputable that ordination by the laying on of hands was widely observed. Not only is this indicated in the series of admissions already cited from 1589 onwards, but the Dundee assembly of May 1597 had itself enacted "that there be ane uniformitie in the ordinatioun of the Ministrie throughout the haill countrey, impositioun of hands". 2 This step, however, was little other than an endorsement of that which the synod of Lothian had craved as early as 1581 and which had been largely operational within that synod since 1589. In all this there can be little doubt that the second Book of Discipline, which by the early 1590's had been subscribed at presbytery level, was largely influential.

At the same time, there was apparently no notion that the ceremony itself conferred authority or bestowed any especial grace upon the recipient; nor does there seem to have been any awareness of what Samuel Rutherford, in the following century, called the "succession of pastors to pastors, and elders by elders". 3 In reply to the king's query in February 1596/7 of whether a minister was a

2. B.U.K. iii. 925.
"lawfull Pastor who wants \textit{impositionem manuum},\textsuperscript{1} the synod of Fife had declared that "impositicun, or laying on of hands, is not essentiall and necessar, but ceremoniall and indifferent, in admission of a pastor":\textsuperscript{2} and Patrick Galloway's judgment was that "the ceremonie is indifferent, if the apostolick dueeteis of ordination be weill observed and followed".\textsuperscript{3} In the seventeenth century, too, George Gillespie, enlisting the support of Calvin, interpreted the imposition of hands not as an act but as a sign of ordination which "is left free", being by no means essential.\textsuperscript{4}

It is doubtless significant that Martin Bucer, like Calvin, had approved "l'imposition des mains sur ceux qui sont eleus et deputez au sainct ministere",\textsuperscript{5} but his complete omission of any mention of the gifts of the Holy Spirit imparted in ordination has led one commentator to believe that Bucer possessed "a doctrinal conception of ordination different from that of the Anglican Ordinal".\textsuperscript{6}

Certainly, in Scotland, what spiritual grace a man possessed was felt to be observable prior to his admission in his performance on the exercise and not the product of any ordination ceremony. The imposition of hands was not held to convey the gifts of the Holy Spirit but acted only as a recognition and seal of those spiritual

\textsuperscript{1} B.U.K. i. 905.
\textsuperscript{2} Calderwood, v. 586; Melville, \textit{Diary}, 392.
\textsuperscript{3} Calderwood, v. 597.
\textsuperscript{4} George Gillespie, \textit{An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland}, (1641), 103.
\textsuperscript{5} Bucer, \textit{De Regno Christi}, in \textit{Opera}, xv. 69.
\textsuperscript{6} C. Hopf, \textit{Martin Bucer in England}, 91.
gifts already present. Accordingly, in 1597 Glasgow presbytery had inquired of William Livingstone, currently on the exercise, whether "he perceavit him self inwardlie callit to the ministerie or not quhilk Mr. Williame anserit that he wes inwardlie movit and callit to the said ministerie";¹ and in Paisley in 1604 Walter Whiteford was licensed by the presbytery to teach publicly in the church where he wished admission "to the exerciseing that gift quhilk God hes gevin him to the calling of the ministrie".² Similarly, in a testimonial which George Sloan produced before Glasgow presbytery in 1600, the presbytery of Edinburgh had recommended Sloan as "ane profitabill instrument in the Lordis vyneyard quhair it sall pleis God to call him bot especialie within the presbiterie of Glasgw within the quhilk boundis the Lord is apperandlie to drawe him".³ Earlier in 1597, Glasgow presbytery had proceeded to depose Alexander Livingstone from his ministry at Kilsyth "for inhabilitie in his persone of spirituall graces".⁴ No less significant, however, was Alexander Borthwick's declaration before Edinburgh presbytery in October 1592 that he had deserted his ministry "be ressoun he fand in his conscience that nather had he ane inward calling nor yit giftis able to discharg sik ane hie calling and in respect he fand him self greifit that without licence of the kirk had left the said office for the quhilk he submittit him self to the judgment of the

¹ G.C.A. MS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, fo. 85v. 4 July 1597.
² S.R.O. CH2/294/1. fo. 35v. MS. Paisley Presbytery Records, 10 May 1604.
³ G.C.A. MS. Glasgow Presbytery Records, 149v. 8 April 1600.
⁴ Ibid. fo. 85v. 4 July 1597.
presbyterie that gif efter tryell of his giftis thai thocht his
travellis myt yit do gude in the kirk he wald glaidly offer thame,
gif utherwayses his giftis efter tryell wer fand unmeitt that thai
wald authorize him with thair testimoniall of his honest mening and
gude willinnes".¹

All too clearly, as the second Book of Discipline had illus-
trated, what remained paramount was not the imposition of hands but
the idea of vocation and the two aspects of the call. Nevertheless,
it is all too apparent that ordination with the laying on of hands
had become an accepted practice within the church of Scotland before
the close of the sixteenth century.

¹. S.R.O, CH2/121/1. MS. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 31 October
1592.
APPENDIX IV

The Eldership and Diaconate: Kirk Session Membership

An Introduction

As ecclesiastical office-bearers in kirk sessions up and down the land, elders and deacons were accustomed to sit in constant judgment on "the manneris and conversatioun of all men within thair charge". Only in the remoter parts of the Highlands which remained a law unto themselves and in areas where no sessions existed did ecclesiastical discipline fail to establish itself on a firm foundation. Elsewhere, the disciplinary machinery of the church ensured that "vice mycht be punished and vertew mycht be manteaned". As a result, the imposition of kirk session discipline became possibly one of the most potent forces ever to affect Scottish society.

Discipline was undoubtedly popular amongst a large section of the population. It did not appeal to the lowest social orders: the "ignorants" and "raschall multitude, opponying thame selfis to the punischement of vice". Nor was the aristocracy particularly enthusiastic at the prospect of submitting to discipline at the hands of their social inferiors. In 1563, the earl of Moray asked Randolph to inform Cecil, as "a note of our greate severitie", of how "the lord treasurer of Scotland, for getting a woman with child,

2. Ibid. 364.
3. Ibid. 164; cf. 155-160.
must on Sunday next do open penance before the whole congregation".\(^1\)
It is true that the nobility promised in 1567 to further the reformation "without exceptioun of place or persons", and that the earl of Argyll declared he was "content to submitt himselfe to the discipline of the Kirk at all tymes most willinglie";\(^2\) but the story was rather different in the 1570's. The unwillingness of the highest and lowest social classes to submit to discipline was raised in the assembly in 1573 when it was noted how "men of poor estate for the most part contemn" the discipline of the church and how the nobility likewise declined to receive "execution of discipline in sackcloath".\(^3\) The assembly, however, was insistent that "great men offending in sick crymes as deserves sackcloath" should "receive the same in als weill as the poore".\(^4\)

In 1585 the king himself is said to have perceived how, with the exception of Angus, the "noble-men war nocht verie ernest" in matters of the kirk;\(^5\) and in 1594 Robert Pont lamented how the whole of the nobility was against the ministry, "and not one lord with them".\(^6\) Nor is it without significance that lord Menmuir, when publicly rebuked from the pulpit, should think fit to raise an action in 1597 against Robert Wallace, the preacher, and the whole presbytery of St. Andrews against whom he levelled a variety of

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1. C.S.P. Scot., ii. no. 45.
2. B.U.K. i. 109, 114; Calderwood, ii. 381, 397.
3. B.U.K. i. 284; Calderwood, iii. 300.
4. Ibid.
5. Melville, Diary, 225.
accusations. At parish level, too, Dalkeith kirk session referred "the ladie Mortones disobedience unto thair sessioun" to the presbytery for determination, but when Agnes Leslie, countess of Morton, declined to compear the presbytery thought it advisable "that proceeding against hir suld be delayit for ane certane tyme" to see whether "the Lorde wald move hir heart to yeild obedience, and in the mean tyme desyrit the brethrene maist familiar and off grittist acceptance with hir to travell and confer with hir anent that matter". Subjecting members of the aristocracy to the censures of the church evidently called for a degree of diplomacy.

Discipline did however appeal to the middle classes, to the more successful and prosperous burgesses and lesser gentry, from whose ranks the majority of elders and deacons were selected. It was definitely a mark of approbation amongst the godly that their minister should execute discipline strictly, without fear or favour. In Stirling, the elders reported to the presbytery that their minister was good at enforcing discipline; the local lairds as commissioners from Clackmannan kirk disclosed that their minister was by no means negligent in administering discipline; and the minister of Falkirk was also said to be careful enough in executing church discipline; but the elders' report relating to Andrew Murdo at Kippen showed that "he was our ernist and angrie in reproving of sum ignorantis quhilk generit a mislyking and disdain betuix him and sum of thame", whereupon the presbytery admonished him "to use grit discretione in

reprove in the ignorants." Enthusiasm for discipline is also reflected in the determination of certain burghs to have the seat of the presbytery located within their own bounds. In much the same way as a modern town might campaign to have a university established, the inhabitants of Musselburgh in 1592 pressed forward in their attempts to have the location of Dalkeith presbytery transferred, "for the summer seasoun" at least, to Musselburgh instead. Far from regarding the presbytery as an intolerable instrument of repression, Musselburgh saw the establishment of a presbytery within its bounds as something of a social asset; and the kirk session backed the claim by promising that "thair sall convene to the presbytrie being with them in Mussilbrugh to the number of ane hundredth persons". What sort of people sat on kirk sessions and who were the men who so readily undertook to search out the shortcomings of others but who no less readily subjected their own lives to rigorous examination "that the image of God suld shyne in them"? The men who aspired to membership of the session came, as was to be expected, from the middling interests in society. They were recruited from the respected and weightier elements in the community. Many were influential merchant burgesses, others were craftsmen and small employers, and the professions were also represented in the smaller, but not insignificant, number of advocates, lawyers, notaries, writers, commissaries and schoolmasters who consented to serve as elders on the

1. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 12 August, 26 August 1589.
2. S.R.O. CH2/424/1. MS. Dalkeith Presbytery Records, 6 April, 13 April 1592.
session of many a Scottish burgh. They came, in short, from the propertied, and not from the propertyless, sections of the community. In rural parishes, the membership of sessions consisted of the landed gentry - the local lairds, feuars and portioners - and their tenant farmers.

The range of occupations represented on the session did of course vary from place to place and was in part dependent upon the prosperity of the parish and upon the dominant trade or industry practised in the burgh. In the Fife fishing port of Burntisland, there seems at one point to have been something of a preponderance of skippers over any other single trade or occupation represented on the kirk session. Of the nineteen individuals nominated in leets to form the new session in Burntisland in February 1611 no less than seven skippers were put forward; the remainder consisted of five prospective elders for the landward area of the parish, who were presumably engaged in agriculture in one form or another, together with two bailies, a wright, a cooper, a maltman and two other candidates whose occupations were not disclosed.\(^1\) In Burntisland, many of the elders and deacons on the session appear to have been quite small people, and it was not until 1617, and regularly thereafter, that "my lord of Burntisland" was elected to the session.\(^2\)

In Edinburgh, however, where twelve elders and sixteen deacons sat on the session, the merchant burgesses, at the expense of the craftsmen, appear to have dominated the session where they outnumbered

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1. S.R.O. CH2/523/1. MS. Burntisland Kirk Session Records, fo. 47r. 10 February 1611.
2. Ibid. fos. 81r., 89v., 94r. 9 November 1617; 14 November 1619; 4 November 1621.
the latter by two to one. Of the fiftysix individuals put forward in leets for election to the session in October 1574 no less than twenty eight were merchants but only fourteen were craftsmen; and in the final selection there were twice as many merchants appointed as there were craftsmen. But although there appears to have been a numerical preponderance of merchants over any other single occupation represented on the session, it is revealing that only four merchants and one craftsman were elected as elders: the rest served in the socially inferior capacity as deacons. The majority of places on the eldership, as distinct from the diaconate, were filled by professional men: by the lord clerk register, by advocates, lawyers and writers together with two bailies. Recruits to the diaconate, on the other hand, consisted of nine merchants and four craftsmen together with a barber, a surgeon and an apothecary.\(^1\)

At the next election in 1575, the social composition of the session remained virtually unaltered: again only four merchants and one craftsman were elected elders. The majority of places was once more filled by members of the professional classes: the remaining seven elders comprised one lord of session, two advocates, two writers together with a surgeon and a bailie; and of the sixteen deacons chosen, seven were merchants, five were craftsmen and the remainder consisted of two writers, a surgeon and an apothecary.\(^2\)

Of those members of St. Andrews kirk session whose occupations can be identified, the merchants and craftsmen appear to have sat

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1. S.R.O. CH2/450/1. MS. Edinburgh General Session Records, 7 October, 22 October 1574.
2. Ibid. [20] October, 3 November 1575.
together in almost equal numbers. As a university town, the academic staff of the constituent colleges was assured of representation on the session and since St. Andrews was also a port, several skippers or mariners were chosen to serve on the session. The professional element in the community again found expression in the advocates, writers, notaries and commissaries who were elected, and since the parish also embraced a large rural area, the landed interest was also represented in terms of the gentry and their tenant farmers who were appointed members of the session.\(^1\)

In Stirling, as in St. Andrews, the balance between the merchants and craftsmen on the session was again maintained; both groups were present in almost equal numbers but in the division of offices, the merchants had a slight advantage, for rather more merchants than craftsmen appear to have been appointed elders. The professions, though perhaps less conspicuous, were represented by the election to the session of several notaries and commissary clerks, together with the town clerk and the master of the grammar school. Since Stirling was a relatively small parish largely concentrated on the burgh there was virtually no landed interest to take into account, though in two or three instances the odd gentleman who gained entry as a burgess was occasionally appointed a member of the session.\(^2\)

It has already been noted how the highest and lowest social orders were unenthusiastic in their acceptance of discipline; the appeal lay rather with men of middling rank; and it was from within this same wide social group that the majority of elders and deacons

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1. See Appendix IV, 743ff.
2. Ibid.
were chosen. Apart from the exiled lords who served as elders in the session established at Newcastle in 1584, there is little evidence that many of the aristocracy ever served as elders. Government of the church at parish level devolved upon the middle classes and it was perhaps inevitable that the more prosperous and influential members of the parish should be returned as elders.

In Edinburgh many of the elders were men of substance. This can be illustrated from the net assets of those elders whose testaments are extant: James MacGill of Rankeillor Nether, the lord clerk register, left almost £18,000; James Forman, merchant - £5,550; Archibald Stewart, merchant - £4,128; Clement Little, advocate - £3,997; Michael Chisholm, bailie - £3,661; John Johnston, brother of the laird of Elphinstone, writer - £3,299; John Wilson, skinner - £1,378; and Marjorie Roger, wife of the merchant burgess Adam Fullarton (whose testament has not survived) left net assets of £10,474. Not all elders, however, were necessarily prosperous. The margin between success and failure in business ventures, for merchants especially, was often extremely narrow. A bad investment, a cargo lost at sea, mounting debts and an inflationary economy could often spell disaster. One merchant who appears to have overreached himself was John Arnot, an elder and bailie in 1574, who, it would seem, is to be identified with Sir John Arnot of Birswick, provost of Edinburgh. At one point in 1593, the king himself owed Arnot

1. It is, however, known that lord Ruthven was "ane speciall ane of the elders" on Perth kirk session in 1573 (B.U.K. i. 256; Calderwood, iii. 273), and so was Patrick lord Glamis at Bethelnie in 1601. (S.R.O. CH2/1/1. MS. Aberdeen Presbytery Records, 24 July 1601).
 Nevertheless, though he had capital amounting to £29,000, Arnot died in debt to the tune of £46,000 in 1616. Others were men of modest means: John Adamson, a merchant burgess, left only £418 net and David Kinloch, a baxter, left a mere £54 net, though his wife, Margaret Cathkin, who predeceased him, left £752.

Though the office of deacon was sometimes regarded as being socially inferior to that of elder - no self-respecting laird would act as deacon - several deacons on Edinburgh general session rivalled some of the elders in prosperity: John Mane, John Fairlie and Robert Galbraith, three merchant burgesses who served as deacons, left net assets of £5,200, £2,928 and £2,339 respectively. More remarkable, perhaps, was Alexander Oustane, a tailor, who left £9,125 net and his wife Janet Anderson, who predeceased him, left over £12,000; but outstanding was Gilbert Primrose, a surgeon who became the king's principal surgeon, who died at Westminster in 1616, leaving net assets totalling over £18,000, and his wife, who predeceased him by three months, left £19,475. Some deacons like John Henryson, writer to the signet, and Henry Blyth, a surgeon, left net assets amounting to £2,171 and £1,090 respectively; yet again, others like George Littlejohn, John Blackburn and Mark Ker, three merchants, left smaller amounts: £307, £292 and £106 net respectively; and John Forsyth, a writer, and Alexander Barclay, an apothecary, were two more deacons who left respective net assets of £121 and £242.

In smaller burghs, however, like Stirling or St. Andrews, the

3. See Appendix IV, 734ff.
members of the session were considerably less prosperous than their Edinburgh counterparts: in these two towns the net assets of elders and deacons tended to be a good deal lower all round. Yet many who sat on the session were nevertheless influential members of their community. Their numbers often included the provost and bailies or councillors of the town (though they did not necessarily always hold the two offices concurrently) and frequently the local schoolmaster too. It was from this same social group that commissioners to parliament, the convention of royal burghs and the general assembly were invariably elected. Some members of the session also served as life elders on the presbytery. In terms of moveable net assets, many of the lairds and landed men who were elected to the session were on a par with the burgesses who acted as elders. George Halyburton of Kincaple left net assets of £13,356; John Wemyss of Craigton - £5,686; Martin Corstorphine, portioner of Byrehead - £4,264; Andrew Aytoun of Kinnadie - £2,800; Andrew Wood of Stravithie - £1,878; James Forsyth of Nyde - £1,050; John Smyth, portioner of Ballone - £588; John Inglis of Strathtyrum - £497; David Forrester, portioner of Kincaple - £348; and at the bottom end of this financial scale was John Melville of Raith who died in debt to the sum of £536.¹

A commentary on the niceties of social distinctions observed in sixteenth century Scotland has been preserved in the register of testaments. For the vast majority of ordinary people it sufficed merely to record their names and, perhaps, their occupations, but as

¹. Ibid.
one moved up the social scale the lawyer or scribe who drew up the testament felt obliged to add the illuminating comment that such an individual was "ane honest and discreet man". Not a few elders received this same appellation: Thomas Aitkenhead, merchant burgess of Stirling, John Johnston and John Henryson, two writers in Edinburgh, James Pont, commissary of Dunblane, Thomas Welwood, merchant citizen of St. Andrews, George Halyburton of Kincaple and Martin Corstorphine, portioner of Byrehead, were each described as "ane honest and discreet man"; Clement Little, the advocate, was styled "ane richt venerabill man"; James MacGill, lord clerk register, Andrew Aytoun of Kinnadie, George Halyburton of Kincaple and John Inglis of Strathtyrum were each designated "ane honorabill man"; and Archibald Stewart, a merchant and sometime provost of Edinburgh, was termed "ane richt honorabill man".

Such courtesy titles were also extended to the wives of a number of elders: Helen Acheson, the wife of Archibald Stewart, was described as "ane honorabill woman" and dame Janet Lindsay, lady Balverie, the wife of the right honourable Sir George Douglas of Helenhill, provost of St. Andrews, was similarly termed "ane honorabill lady". Here, then, was another indication of the social prestige enjoyed by a number of prominent elders in the localities.

In the majority of elders' testaments the inventory of household and personal effects often accounted for only a small fraction of the total. The bulk of the capital usually consisted of outstanding debts "awand to the dead". Nor is this altogether surprising since there was comparatively little in the way of consumer goods which sixteenth century Scots could buy. Moreover, the church's
unwaver ing emphasis on the need for thrift and hard work and the
eschewing of superfluity, riot and excess, vanities and all forms of
needless extravagance and conspicuous consumption could not but
contribute to the accumulation of wealth through the reinvestment of
profits.

Presbyterianism, in one sense, can be said to have had a
liberalising effect in that it permitted and encouraged a degree of
social mobility. Through its rejection of a hierarchy in the
church, presbyterianism came into conflict with the hierarchical
nature of society itself. Through the mood and spirit which it
projected, presbyterianism was much more closely attuned to meet the
needs and aspirations of an urban society than with those of a
feudal nobility. The equation between presbyterianism and the
radicalism of the burghs has already been indicated; and we have
seen how the movement attempted to assert and perpetuate the values
and civilisation of the burghs: most of the leading presbyterian
ministers were to be found in the urban environment of the burghs and
a number were elected not through patronage but by congregational
consent.1 Through its condemnation of bishops and its belief in an
independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction, endowed with a sovereignty
not of the king's making, presbyterianism at one stroke had undermined
the church's traditional dependence on the monarchy and aristocracy.
No longer was it the exclusive function of king and nobles to govern
the church through the appointment of bishop and parish priest. It
fell instead to the lairds and prominent or aspiring burgesses, as

1. See above, chapter 8, 394ff.
the chief men of the parish and the church's natural allies, to rule with the ministers in kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods and assemblies. The unlimited power of crown and aristocracy in the ecclesiastical sphere was broken. The courts of the church at parish, regional and national level were particularly well adapted to accommodate and to meet the needs of a rising middle class whose relative lack of political experience was compensated and made good by their involvement in ecclesiastical politics. Presbyterianism, in short, issued a direct challenge to the stability of the old social and political order.

Religious considerations apart, the opportunity which the Scottish polity provided for burgesses and lairds alike to participate for the first time in directly ruling their church brought with it the chance for an individual to enhance his social prestige and political standing. It also brought with it a degree of social insubordination which some, including the nobility, may have found disturbing. In the burghs, the lower orders were kept in their place through the additional policing activities carried out by the elders. The democratic tendency for the more prosperous elders to be ousted in the end by their social inferiors was also lessened through the ingenious system adopted for electing elders. Normally it was only the minister or the old session who drew up leets or nominations for the new session and the congregation had only the negative right of objecting to the choice of a particular individual.1 Sometimes the town council were present at elections as in Stirling,2

2. MS. Stirling Kirk Session Records, 26 October, 2 November 1598; 29 January 1607.
which may suggest that they assumed more than a passive role. In Pittenweem, however, where no agreement could be reached on the choice of a session, the presbytery, on being asked to intervene, decided that a new list of sessioners should be nominated by the present elders and that the whole parishioners should cast their votes in order that the new session might be chosen by common consent. Here was the traditional Calvinist blend of aristocracy and democracy. The parishioners were allowed to exercise their democratic right but the choice remained restrictive. The initial selection remained the prerogative of the outgoing elders.

If elders and deacons were therefore to be selected and screened by the minister and old session, and sometimes by the town council as well, there was little chance of any abrupt change occurring in the social composition of the eldership. It was inevitable, in these circumstances, that the more prosperous and prominent burgesses and men of property should dominate kirk sessions in the burghs. In rural parishes, too, the local laird may have found it to his advantage as principal of his parish to sit as elder on the session and so control his tenants. Were he not an elder, he was liable to be judged by his tenants, and not they by him, as elders on the session.

It was this element of social insubordination which must have had quite a chastening effect on the aristocracy. Few nobles would cherish the thought of being disciplined by a session composed of mere gentlemen and tenants. If a noble declined the judgment of

1. MS. St. Andrews Presbytery Records, 31 May, 14 June 1604.
of his session he could of course compear before the presbytery or synod, which were mainly ministerial in composition, or before the general assembly itself but whichever court he chose there was no escaping the fact that he would be expected to make repentance before the congregation of the parish where the offence was committed. It is not surprising therefore to find little enthusiasm amongst the nobility for a discipline exclusively exercised by their social inferiors; and it is also illuminating that the earl of Moray should by-pass the gentlemen elders of his kirk session of Kilmadock and apply direct to Stirling presbytery to request that his "desk" in the church be enlarged, since it was "not of sufficient lairgnes to conten his lordship and his". ¹

It was for reasons of this sort that presbyterianism, in its widest sense, appealed particularly to the increasing self-confidence exhibited by the gentry and economically-independent burgesses. It was these same people who made discipline work "by instructing and admonishinge one another, yea, and by correctinge and ponishinge all obstinate rebells, and contemners of the same". ²

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1. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 2 April 1595; cf. 25 March 1595.
APPENDIX IV

The Eldership and Diaconate: Kirk Session Membership. 1

(a) Edinburgh General Session 2 (1574-1575)

ABERCROMBIE, Robert  (sadler)
Collector of alms, July 1575; deacon for the north-east division of
the city and treasurer, November 1575.

ADAMSON, John  (merchant)
Elder for the south-east division, October 1574; keeper of the
poor's box, February 1574/5. He is perhaps to be identified with
the person of that name who died on 6 July 1580 leaving net assets
totalling £418, 3 though another individual of the same name appears
in 1590, and again in 1594, as a commissioner from the town council
to the general assembly. 4

ARNOT, John  (bailie)
Elder for the north-west division, October 1574; apparently provost
in 1589, 5 and is thus to be identified with Sir John Arnot of

1. Since the occupations of elders and deacons are seldom given in
kirk session records, the identity of members of the session
tends to remain conjectural. Where an individual's occupation
is specifically indicated in session records, the occupation, for
the sake of clarity, has been underlined in the text; and where
there is some reason to identify an elder's occupation from
sources other than kirk session records the occupation in question
has been placed in brackets.

2. Edinburgh General Session Records (S.R.O. CH2/450/1) are available
only for the years 1574-5. The only records of election to the
session are those of October 1574 and November 1575.


5. Ibid, 6.
Birswick who died on 21 January 1616. Though his assets totalled some £29,000, Arnot died in debt to the tune of £46,000, leaving a net deficit of almost £17,000.¹

BARCLAY, Alexander apothecary
Deacon for north-east division, October 1574. His wife, Janet Auchmowty, who died on 2 February 1570/1, left net assets of £242.²

BAUTY, John merchant
Deacon, November 1575.

BLACKBURN, John merchant
Deacon, November 1575. He died in October 1587 leaving net assets totalling £292.³ His wife, Bessie Henryson, who predeceased him in November 1585 left net assets amounting to £53.⁴

BLYTH, Henry surgeon
Deacon, November 1575. On his death, on 7 December 1587, he left £1,090 and his wife, who died on 5 October 1589, left net assets of £247.⁵

CHISHOLM, Mr Michael bailie
Elder for the south-west division, November 1575. His wife, Christian Adamson, who died in 1569 left £3,661.⁶

³ Ibid. CC8/8/20. 18 July 1589.
⁴ Ibid. CC8/8/18. 11 August 1589.
⁵ Ibid. CC8/8/21. 12 December 1589.
⁶ Ibid. CC8/8/2. 23 February 1569/70.
COLDEIN, James  
Deacon, for the north-west division, November 1575.

CRAIG, James  
Deacon for the south-east division, October 1574.

ELEIS, Alexander  
Deacon for the north-west division, November 1575.

FAIRLIE, John  
Deacon for the south-west division, October 1574. He is possibly to be identified with John Fairlie, younger, merchant burgess who died on 2 October 1585 leaving net assets of £2,928.¹

FORMAN, James  
Elder for the north-east division, November 1575. He died on 19 August 1584 leaving net assets of £5,550.²

FORSYTH, John  
Deacon for the north-west division, November 1575. He died in October 1581 leaving net assets of £121.³

FULLARTON, Adam  
Elder for south-east division, October 1574. His wife, who died on 7 March 1582/3, left net assets of £10,474.⁴

¹. Ibid. CC8/8/16. 31 December 1586.
². Ibid. CC8/8/14. 22 February 1585/6.
³. Ibid. CC8/8/12. 13 July 1583.
GALBRAITH, Robert  merchant
Deacon for north-west division, October 1574. He died on 13 October 1581 leaving assets of £2,339.¹

GIBSON, George  writer or scribe
Elder for north-west division, October 1574.

HADNYE, James  merchant
Deacon for the north-east division, October 1574.

HARVY (Herwy), John  merchant
Deacon for the south-east division, October 1574. Described as "ane honest and discreet man", he died in Plymouth in November 1576, leaving assets totalling £930.²

HARVY, William  tailor
Deacon, November 1575. He is probably to be identified with the tailor burgess of the Canongate who died on 29 March 1589 leaving net assets of £25.³

HAY, Alexander  writer
Elder for the north-east division, October 1574. He is to be identified with Hay of Easter-Kennet, lord clerk register, who died on 19 September 1594 leaving assets amounting to £1,424.⁴

¹, Ibid, CC8/8/16, 22 October 1586.
², Ibid, CC8/8/7, 10 March 1579/80.
⁴, Ibid, CC8/8/30, 26 March 1597.
HENRYSON, John  writer
Deacon for the north-east division, November 1575. Described as "ane honest and discreet man"; he died on 9 September 1591 leaving net assets of £2,171. ¹

HENRYSON, Robert  surgeon
Elder for the north-east division, November 1575; and keeper of the poor's box.

JAMIESON, Matthew  merchant
Deacon for the north-west division, October 1574. He died in Glasgow on 20 January 1584/5 leaving net assets of £4,007. ² His widow, Elizabeth Nicol, died on 25 December 1591, leaving net assets of £5,266. ³

JOHNSTON, John  writer
Brother of the laird of Elphinston; elected elder for the south-east division, October 1574 and re-elected for the same quarter, November 1575. Described as "ane honest and discreet man"; he died on 14 May 1597 leaving net assets of £3,299. ⁴

KER, Mark  merchant
Deacon for the north-east division, October 1574. He died in October 1597 leaving net assets of £106. ⁵

² Ibid, CC8/8/17. 1 February 1586/7.
KINLOCH, David baxter
Elder for the north-east division, October 1574. He died on 9 March 1590/1 leaving net assets of £54.¹ His wife, Margaret Cathkin, died on 6 December 1582 leaving net assets of £752.²

LITTLE, Mr Clement advocate
Elder for the north-west division, November 1575. Described as "a richt venerabill man", he died on 1 April 1580 leaving assets amounting to £3,997. His library which he bequeathed to the town became the nucleus of the university library.³

LITTLEJOHN, George merchant
Deacon for the north-west division, November 1575. He died in October 1585 leaving net assets of £307.⁴

McCOLL, Alan merchant
Deacon, November 1575.

MACGILL, Mr James lord clerk register
Elder for the north-east division, October 1574. He died on 16 October 1581 leaving net assets of £17,828.⁵

MAISTERTOUN, Gilbert merchant
Deacon, November 1575.

³ Ibid, CC8/8/11. 20 February 1582/3.
⁴ Ibid, CC8/8/15. 29 January 1607.
⁵ Ibid, CC8/8/11; CC8/8/41. 9 August 1582; 17 March 1606.
MANE, John  merchant
Deacon for north-west division, October 1574. In his testament, his assets totalled £5,229.

MARSHALL, James  merchant
Deacon for the north-east division, October 1574.

MATHESON, James  baxter
Deacon for the south-east division, October 1574. He died in June 1576 leaving assets of £592.

MAUCHANE, Mr Alexander  advocate
Elder for the north-west division, October 1574.

MAUCHANE, Edward  merchant
Deacon for the south-west division, October 1574. His wife, Isobel Fisher, died on 15 August 1585 leaving net assets of £479.

MAXTON, Laurence  apothecary
Deacon for the north-east division, November 1575.

MILLER, Thomas  miller
Deacon for the north-east division, November 1575.

NEISBAYTH, Henry  merchant
Elder for the south-west division, October 1574; was appointed provost of Edinburgh.

1. Ibid. CC8/8/29. 22 October 1596.
2. Ibid. CC8/8/4. 29 December 1576.
3. Ibid. CC8/8/15. 20 April 1586.
OUSTEAN, Alexander  tailor
Deacon for the south-west division, October 1574. He died on 7 February 1604 leaving net assets of £9,152,¹ and his wife, Janet Anderson, who died on 21 December 1602, left net assets of £12,047.²

PATERSON, William  writer
Elder for the south-west division, November 1574. He died on 13 February 1575/6 leaving assets of £1,400.³

PONT, Mr Robert  lord of session
Elder for the south-east division, November 1578. This appears to be Robert Pont the minister, commissioner and senator of the college of justice. He had earlier served as elder in St. Andrews between 1559-1561;⁴ and his appearance as an elder in Edinburgh lends weight to the suggestion that Pont served as commissioner for several years without a parochial charge.⁵

PRESTON, Mr John  merchant
Elder for the north-east division, November 1575.

PRIMROSE, Gilbert  surgeon
Deacon for the north-west division, October 1574. As principal surgeon to king James, Primrose died at Westminster on 18 April 1616, leaving net assets of £18,075. His wife, Alison Graham, who died on

¹. Ibid. CC8/8/39; CC8/8/42. 7 July 1604; 4 February 1607.
². Ibid. CC8/8/38. 8 July 1603.
³. Ibid. CC8/8/6. 15 February 1577/8.
⁴. R.St.A.K.S. i. 2-4.
⁵. See "Census" above.
14 February 1616 left net assets amounting to £19,475.¹

ROBERTSON, John  merchant
Elder for the north-west division, November 1575.

ROBYSOUN, John  cutler
Deacon for south-east division, October 1574.

SCLATER, Andrew  merchant
Elder for the south-west division, October 1574.

STEWART, Archibald  merchant
Elder for the south-east division, November 1575. Described as "ane richt honorabill man", sometime provost of Edinburgh, Stewart died on 2 September 1584, leaving net assets of £4,128.² His widow, Helen Acheson, who died on 26 March 1585, left net assets amounting to £9,685.³

STRANG, Mr Richard  advocate
Elder for the south-west division, November 1575.

SYM, Nicol  goldsmith
Deacon for the south-west division, October 1574. His widow, Isobel Coling, who died on 9 November 1587 left assets of £161.⁴

UDDART, Nicol  bailie
Elder for the south-west division, October 1574.

² Ibid. CC8/8/14. 25 January 1584/5.
³ Ibid. CC8/8/15; CC8/8/20. 31 May 1586; 13 June 1589.
⁴ Ibid. CC8/8/26. 8 March 1593/4.
WALLACE, Adam merchant
Deacon, November 1575.

WILKIE, John skinner
Deacon, November 1575.

WILSON, John skinner
Elder for the north-west division, November 1575. He died in September 1576 leaving net assets of £1,378.¹

(b) St. Andrews Kirk Session² (1559-1600)

ADAMSON, Andrew merchant
Deacon, 1594, 1595. Continued 1596, 1600.

ADAMSON, John skipper
Deacon, 1593; elder, 1594. He died in April 1595 leaving net assets of £1,063.³

ADE, James
Deacon, 1577, 1579, 1581; elder on land: James Ade in Over Kenlovy, 1584. Possibly the citizen of St. Andrews who died on 1 October

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/5. 19 September 1577.
² No lists of elders and deacons are available for the years 1564-8, 1580, 1585, 1590 and 1592. (See R.St.A.K.S. passim). The years given in the text represent the date on which an elder or deacon was elected. Since elections normally took place in October or November, the date 1594, for example, indicates that an individual was elected in November 1594 and continued in that capacity for one year.
1588 leaving assets of £49.\(^1\)

**ALAN, James**
Deacon, 1573, 1574, 1579.

**ARNOT, John comissary clerk**
Elder, 1599, 1600. He died in February 1648 leaving net assets of £14,451 plus assets _ad omissa_ totalling £19,700.\(^2\)

**AUCHINLECK, Mr Patrick comissary**
Elder, 1576.

**AUCHMOWTY, Mr David bailie**
Elder, 1586, 1593, 1594, 1595, continued 1596, 1597. His son David, an advocate, died 1 November 1595 leaving assets of £110.\(^3\)

**AYTOUN of Kinnaldy, Mr Andrew**
Elder, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584. The father of Sir Robert Aytoun, the poet, and designated "ane honorabill man", Aytoun died on 10 March 1588/9 leaving net assets of £2,800.\(^4\)

**AYTOUN of Kinnaldy, Mr John**
Helper to the elders, 1591; elder, 1593.

**BALFOUR, David bailie**
Elder, 1578, 1581, 1597.

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2. Ibid. CC20/4/10. 21 April, 12 May, 28 November 1648.
3. Ibid. CC20/4/3. 30 November 1598.
BALFOUR, Duncan  
**bailie**  
Elder, 1591, 1594, 1595, continued 1596, 1597, 1598. He is possibly to be identified with the person of that name whose wife, Margaret Meldrum, died in January 1597/8 leaving net assets of £718.¹

BALFOUR, James  
in Kincaple  
Deacon, 1598.

BALFOUR, Mr Thomas  
**bailie**  
Elder, 1559–1581. He died on 5 May 1582 leaving net assets of £439.²

BLACK, George  
**reader**  
Deacon, 1559–1583.

BLACK, Thomas  
**lister**  
Deacon, 1586, 1591, 1594. He died in March 1598 leaving a deficit of £7.³ His wife, Helen Ednem, died in May 1586 leaving net assets of £259.⁴

BLAIR, David  
Deacon, 1576, 1579, 1581, 1582, 1584.

BLAIR, Mr Homer  
**Master in the Old College**  
Elder, 1593–1596.

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/32. 7 December 1598.  
² Ibid. CC8/8/11. 13 October 1582.  
BLYTH, John  skipper or mariner  
Deacon, 1593, 1594.

BONKLE, Mr John  session-clerk  
Elder, 1569-1579.  A notary and depute town-clerk,1 Bonkle served as clerk of the kirk session.

BROWN, George  bailie  
Elder, 1559, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1574, 1575. He died on 16 May 1588 leaving net assets of £97.2

BROWN, Mr Thomas  
Elder, 1586.

BRYDIE, James  merchant  
Deacon, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1593.

BRYDIE, John  
Deacon, 1595; elder, 1598.

BUDGE, John  wright  
Deacon, 1593-1596.

CALVART, James  in Over Kenlovy  
Deacon, 1581, 1582.

CARNEWATH, Andrew  
Deacon, 1597-1600.

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CARSTARES, Alexander bailie
Deacon, 1572-1576; elder, 1577, 1583, 1584, 1587-1589, 1597, 1598. Possibly the merchant citizen of St. Andrews who died on 10 March 1614 leaving net assets of £377.\(^1\) His wife, Margaret Wright, left net assets amounting to £906 on her death in February 1598/9.\(^2\)

CARSTARES, David in Lambletham
Deacon, 1593. He died on 1 May 1623 leaving net assets of £93.\(^3\)

CARSTARES, John younger maltman
Deacon, 1597-1600.

CARSTARES, Thomas In Grange
Deacon, 1589, 1591, 1593; elder, 1600. Possibly the portioner of the Grange whose wife, Agnes Imrie, died on 14 September 1593, leaving net assets of £910.\(^4\)

CHRISTIE, George
Deacon, 1596, 1598.

COOK, Mr William bailie
Elder, 1560-1589, 1594, 1597-1600. His wife, Christian Martin who died in July 1574, left net assets of £780.\(^5\)

CORSTORPHINE, Martin portioner of Byrehills
Deacon 1574, 1575, 1581-1584; elder, 1586-1591, 1593, 1600. Described

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1. Ibid. CC20/4/5. 6 February 1615.
5. Ibid. CC8/8/3. 9 November 1574.
as "ane honest and discreit man", he left net assets amounting to £4,264. ¹ His widow, Margaret Bell, who died on 19 February 1617 left assets of £440. ²

COUPAR, John  maltman
Deacon, 1599, 1600.

COUPAR, William  (maltman)
Deacon, 1593-1595.  He died in December 1595 leaving net assets of £433. ³

CRAIG, Thomas
Deacon, 1593-1596; elder, 1597.

DAIS, Alexander
Deacon, 1581, 1584.

DAIS, Thomas
Deacon, 1598.

DALGLEISH, David  (maltman)
Helper to the elders, 1591; elder 1593-1596.  He died in January 1603 leaving net assets of £969. ⁴

DALGLEISH, Thomas
Deacon, 1563.  He died in 1574 and left net assets of £876. ⁵

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/41.  5 June 1606.
⁴ Ibid. CC8/8/38.  18 January 1604.
⁵ Ibid. CC8/8/3.  6 January 1574/5.
DANSKEIN, Mr Henry (master of the grammar school)¹
Elder, 1597. He died on 15 May 1625 and left assets of £1,800.²

DEWAR, John of Goikston Miln
Deacon, 1593; elder, 1600.

DEWAR, William maltman
Deacon, 1594. He died in 1597 leaving a net deficit of £49.³

DICKSON, Andrew
Deacon, 1597, 1598, 1600. Possibly the maltman whose wife, Isobel Thomson, died on 16 September 1595, leaving assets of £420.⁴

DICKSON, David
Deacon, 1599.

DICKSON, Thomas
Deacon, 1591; elder 1593-1600.

DOUGLAS of Ellenhill, Sir George
Elder, 1593-1596. His wife dame Janet Lindsay, lady Balverie, died on 27 March 1598 leaving net assets of £269. In her testament she is designated "ane honorabill lady".⁵

DOUGLAS, Mr John rector of the university; archbishop of St. Andrews, 1571.

¹ The Wedderburn Book, i. 85.
³ Ibid. CC20/4/3. 19 October 1597.
⁵ Ibid. CC8/8/31. 19 May 1598.
Elder, 1561-1571. He died in 1574 leaving net assets of £3,925.¹

DUDDINGSTON, Alexander
Elder, 1600.

DUDDINGSTON, Patrick portioner of Kincaple
Elder, 1588, 1591, 1593. His wife, Agnes Barclay, died in September 1607 leaving assets of £840.²

EVERIE, David bailie
Elder, 1598-1600. He died in October 1615 leaving assets of £1,075.³

FERMOUR, Mr Thomas
Deacon, 1559.

FERRY, William bailie and dean of guild (merchant)
Deacon 1562, 1563; elder, 1578, 1581-1584. His first wife, Elizabeth Greig, left net assets of £1,039.⁴ Ferry and his second wife, Margaret Ramsay, died in September 1585 leaving net assets of £656.⁵

FORRESTER, David in Kincaple
Deacon, 1569, 1572-1574, 1581, 1582, 1586-1588; elder, 1589. He is to be identified with the portioner of Kincaple who died in April 1592 leaving net assets of £348.⁶ His wife, Janet Traill, who died

¹ Ibid, CC8/8/3. 14 February 1574/5.
⁵ Ibid, CC8/8/19. 1 July 1588.
⁶ Ibid, CC8/8/24. 31 May 1592.
in September 1591 left net assets of £491.¹

FORRETT, James in Polduff/Smyddie grein.

Elder, 1569-1577. His wife, Agnes Adie, died in December 1567 leaving net assets of £200.²

FORSYTH of Nyde, James

Elder, 1586. He died in January 1597/8 and left net assets of £1,050.³

GEDDIE, Charles (merchant)

Deacon, 1559-1569; elder 1571-1574. Probably the merchant burgess who died in April 1577 leaving assets amounting to £1,235.⁴

GEDDIE, Mr Martin bailie

Elder, 1559-1571, 1575-1584, 1586-1589; helper to the elders, 1591. He died on 26 June 1593 with assets totalling £935.⁵

GEDDIE, Walter

Elder, 1559. His wife, Christiane Mutts, died in November 1578 leaving net assets of £144.⁶

GEDDIE, William mariner

Deacon, 1594, 1595. He died on 16 April 1596 leaving a net deficit

¹. Ibid. CC8/8/23, 19 January 1591/2.
². Ibid. CC8/8/1, 17 December 1569.
³. Ibid. CC8/8/19, 12 November 1588.
⁴. Ibid. CC8/8/6, 19 February 1578/9.
⁵. Ibid. CC8/8/25, 11 August 1593.
⁶. Ibid. CC8/8/7, 5 January 1579/80.
of £76. His wife, Christian Brydie, died on 17 May 1627 leaving assets of £4,099.

GIBSON, Walter (cordiner)
Deacon, 1596, 1597, 1599, 1600. Possibly the cordiner of that name who died in August 1603 leaving net assets of £1,566.

GIFFORD, William
Deacon, 1569-1575. Possibly the cordiner of that name who died in February 1575/6 leaving net assets of £231.

GILLESPIE, Mr George principal of St. Leonard's College

GOODFELLOW, William (maltman)
Deacon, 1600. Possibly the maltman citizen who died on 26 January 1604 leaving net assets of £293.

GOODLAD, David (maltman)
Deacon, 1583, 1584, 1586-1591, 1593. Probably the maltman who died on 22 February 1594/5 leaving £1,630. He is described in his testament as "ane honest and discreet man".

GREG, John (baxter)
Deacon, 1596, 1597, 1599. Probably the baxter of that name who

2. Ibid. CC20/4/8. 20 November 1627.
4. Ibid. CC8/8/4. 21 November 1576.
5. Ibid. CC8/8/42. 21 January 1607; CC20/4/5. St. Andrews Testaments, 9 August 1614.
died on 30 August 1605 leaving net assets of £944. In addition, he had also net assets ad omisssae totalling £1,926. His wife, Bessie Howieson, died in 1616 leaving assets of £2,958.

**GREG**, Mr Simon
Deacon, 1594, 1595, 1597.

**GREG**, Thomas
Deacon, 1563.

**GREIF**, Andrew (advocate)
Elder, 1582. Probably the advocate and procurator-fiscal who died in August 1581. Described as "ane honest and discreet man", he left net assets amounting to £984.

**GULLANE**, Andrew
Deacon, 1599. He may have been the mealmaker citizen of St. Andrews who died in December 1603 leaving net assets of £558. Another individual of that name died in 1619 leaving assets of £757.

**GUTHRIE**, Charles
Deacon, 1561, 1569, 1570; elder 1573-1576, 1598. He is described in 1573 as master of the fabric of the parish church.

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1. Ibid. CC8/8/41. 25 December 1605; 18 January and 1 February 1606.
4. Ibid. CC8/8/39. 23 February 1605.
6. R.St.A.K.S. i. 382 n.1.
GUTHRIE, Patrick  bailie
Deacon, 1582-1584; elder, 1586-1591, 1597, 1599, 1600.

HAGY, John
Deacon, 1581, 1582, 1586-1588, 1591; elder 1593-1597.

HALIBURTON, George  portioner of Kincaple
Elder, 1593. Described as "ane honorabill man", he died in August 1596 leaving net assets of £13,356.1

HAMILTON, Mr Archibald  professor in New College
Elder, 1572.

HAMILTON, Mr John  regent in New College
Elder, 1574.

HAY, Archibald
Deacon, 1571, 1572.

HAY of Freuchie, James
Elder, 1593-1596, 1598 (of Kingask).

HONEYMAN, John  baxter
Deacon, 1594, 1600. He died on 17 March 1614 leaving net assets of £307.2

INGLIS of Strathtyrum, John
Elder, 1586, 1587, 1591, 1593, 1600. Styled "ane honorabill man",

he died in September 1601 leaving net assets of £497. His wife Janet Lindsay, died in January 1600 leaving net assets of £1,483.¹

JOHNSTON, Mr John master in New College
Elder, 1593-1596. An ally of Melville, Johnston died in October 1611 leaving net assets of £3,731.²

KINNEAR, David baxter
Deacon, 1594. Probably the person of that name who died on 1 October 1617 leaving net deficit of £115.³

KINNIMONTH, David "fear" of that Ilk
Elder, 1593.

KINNIMONTH, Walter in Baldinny
Deacon, 1574, 1575, 1577, 1578, 1581, 1582. He died on 6 March 1592/3 leaving net assets of £235.⁴

KNOX, John
Deacon, 1598, 1599. His wife died on 20 December 1585 leaving an inventory of £10.⁵

LAING, Thomas in Ellenhill
Deacon, 1569, 1570, 1572, 1574-1578. He died in June 1586 leaving net assets of £265.⁶ His wife, Helen Dise, died in February 1578/9

² See "Census" above.
leaving net assets of £503.1

LAW, John  cutler
Deacon, 1594.

LAWSON, Andrew  in Nether Magus
Deacon, 1572.

LEARMONTH, Mr Alan
Elder, 1559-1573.

LEARMONTH, Henry  bailie
Elder, 1586.

LEARMONTH of Dairsie, James  provost of St. Andrews
Elder, 1595, 1596.

LEARMONTH, William  bailie
Elder, 1583, 1586-1588, 1591, 1597, 1598. He died in December 1606
leaving an inventory of £130.2

LEARMONTH of Clatto, William  provost
Elder, 1597.

LEITCH, Duncan
Deacon, 1583. Probably the merchant of that name who died on
29 March 1591 leaving assets of £841.3

1. Ibid. CC8/8/7. 16 May 1579.
2. Ibid. CC8/8/43. 29 May 1607.
3. Ibid. CC8/8/23. 27 November 1591.
LEITCH, James merchant
Deacon, 1593-1596; elder 1597-1600.

LENTROUN, David
Deacon, 1593.

LENTROUN, James skipper
Elder, 1593-1597. He died in March 1606 leaving net assets of £6,565.¹

LENTROUN, Thomas bailie (and later provost)
Elder, 1582, 1586, 1588, 1589, 1591, 1598, 1599. He died in November 1620 leaving net assets of £4,972.²

LITTLEJOHN, Patrick
Deacon 1595, 1596. Probably the skipper, whose wife Bessie Gibson left net assets of £57 at her death on 17 August 1605.³

LIVINGSTON, John
Deacon 1570, 1571, 1574, 1578, 1579, 1599.

LUMSDEN, George
Deacon, 1599.

LUMSDEN, Martin
Deacon, 1586-1589, 1594-1596, 1599.

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/42; CC8/8/44. 13 February 1607; 30 November 1608.
³ Ibid. CC20/4/4. 27 January 1607.
LUNDIE, Thomas
Deacon, 1586, 1587, 1589, 1591; elder, 1593, 1594. Probably the maltman of that name who died on 10 October 1605 leaving net assets of £81.\(^1\) His wife, Bessie Murray, died on 8 May 1597 leaving net assets of £48.\(^2\)

MACKESONE, Walter
Deacon, 1562.

MAIR, John
Deacon, 1600.

MARCH, Mr William master in St. Leonard's college
Elder, 1593, 1594.

MARTIN, Mr James principal of St. Leonard's college
Elder, 1577-1591.

MARTIN, John bailie
Elder, 1559, 1570, 1575, 1576, 1579, 1584, 1587, 1593, 1597.

MARTIN, Thomas
Elder, 1559-1561.

MAULE of Both, David commissary
Elder, 1599, 1600. One David Maule of Both, possibly his father, died on 27 September 1593 leaving net assets of £1,009.\(^3\)

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1. Ibid. CC20/4/4. 3 February 1606.
2. Ibid. CC20/4/3. 4 August 1597.
MAULE, Mr Robert  comissary of St. Andrews
Deacon 1594; elder, 1595-1598, 1600. Son of Thomas Maule of Panmure.

MAYNE, Nicol
Deacon, 1597-1600.

MAYNE, William
Deacon, 1559, 1560, 1562, 1569-1575.

MELDRUM, Mr David  bailie
Elder, 1578. Probably the advocate whose wife, Isobel Thomson, died on 8 March 1578/9 leaving a net deficit of £95.¹

MELVILLE, Mr Andrew  principal of New College
Elder, 1591-1596.²

MELVILLE of Raith, John
Elder, 1593. He died in March 1605 leaving a deficit of £536.³

MERNS, Mr George  bailie
Elder, 1593-1596, 1600.

MILLAR, Alexander
Deacon, 1563, 1569, 1572-1579.

MILLAR, Andrew
Deacon, 1598-1600.

¹ Ibid., CC8/8/8, 5 May 1580.
² See "Census" above.
MILLAR, Daniel
Deacon, 1596, 1598, 1599.

MITCHELL, Andrew
Elder, 1600.

MOFFAT, John (bailie)
Elder, 1559-1561, 1563, 1569. He died in October 1573 leaving net assets of £326.¹

MOFFAT, Patrick (skipper)
Deacon, 1598.

MOFFAT, William bailie
Helper to elders, 1591; elder, 1593, 1594, 1597.

MONIPENNY, Mr David dean of faculty
Elder, 1595, 1596.

MONIPENNY, William
Elder, 1559, 1563, 1577.

MORTON, James bailie
Elder, 1579, 1583. Probably the merchant of that name who left net assets of £663.²

MORTON, John
Deacon, 1598, 1599.

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/3. 17 June 1574.
² Ibid. CC8/8/19. 7 August 1588.
MOTTO, Andrew
Deacon, 1562. He died in November 1576 leaving net assets of £17.1

MOTTO, John town clerk
Elder, 1559-1581.

MURRAY of Little Ardeth, David
Elder, 1593-1596.

MURRAY, Robert
Deacon, 1562, 1569.

MURRAY of Pitcarleis, Mr William provost
Elder, 1593-1596.

MYLES, John
Deacon, 1596, 1598-1600.

MYRTOUN, David
Deacon, 1594.

MYRTOUN, John
Deacon, 1600.

NAIRN, Alexander
Deacon, 1559-1561; elder 1571. His wife, Margaret Inglis, died in May 1575 leaving net assets of £511.2

NAIRN, George elder
Elder, 1599, 1600.

NAIRN, George younger surgeon
Deacon, 1594, 1598-1600.

NAIRN, Robert
Deacon, 1595-1597.

PATON, David in Easter Balrymonth
Deacon, 1583, 1584; 1586-1588. His wife, Margaret Ballantyne, died in November 1575 leaving net assets of £187.¹

PATON, Thomas in Easter Balrymonth
Deacon, 1593.

PHENISOUN, Thomas in Kincaple
Deacon, 1584.

PHILP, Stevin dean of guild
Elder, 1594, 1598, 1599.

PLAYFAIR, Patrick
Deacon, 1582-1586. Probably the cordiner whose wife, Janet Walker, died in March 1575/6 leaving net assets of £206.²

PONT, Mr Robert
Elder, 1559-1561. Later, minister, commissioner and senator of the college of justice.³

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/4. 4 July 1576.
² Ibid. CC8/8/4. 9 July 1576.
³ See "Census" above.
PORTERFIELD, James  
Deacon, 1594-1596. He died in February 1644 leaving an inventory totalling £167.  

RAMSAY, Andrew  
Elder, 1594-1596. He died in March 1597/8 leaving assets of £961.  

RAMSAY, George  
Helper to the elders, 1591; elder 1600.  

RAMSAY, Walter  
Deacon, 1588, 1589, 1593.  

RAMSAY, William  
Elder, 1598.  

REKIE, Thomas  
Deacon, 1594-1596. Probably the maltman citizen who died on 24 June 1597 leaving net assets in excess of £3,000. His wife, Marjorie Smyth, died in February 1593/4 leaving net assets of £282.  

RHIND, Alexander  
in Kincaple  
Deacon, 1593.  

3. Ibid. CC8/8/32; CC8/8/33; CC8/8/37. 8 July 1598; 10 August T599; 27 December 1602.  
4. Ibid. CC8/8/26. 18 April 1594.
ROBERTSON, James  bailie
Deacon, 1561; elder, 1562, 1563, 1570, 1572-1588. Probably the merchant citizen who died on 20 September 1589 leaving net assets of £470. 1

ROBERTSON, Mr John  regent in New College
Elder, 1575-1588.

ROSS, Mr James  master in the Old College
Elder, 1593, 1594.

ROUCH, Alexander
Deacon, 1563, 1569, 1570.

RUSSELL, Mr David  bailie (commissary)
Deacon, 1559; elder, 1579-1584, 1586, 1589, 1591, 1597, 1600.

RUSSELL, Mr Henry
Elder, 1595, 1596, 1599, 1600.

RUSSELL, Mr William  bailie
Elder, 1586, 1589, 1591, 1594-1600.

RUTHERFORD, Mr John  provost of St. Salvator's college
Elder, 1561, 1569-1576. Later minister of St. Andrews. He died on 4 October 1585 leaving net assets of £313. 2

SCHEVES, James
Deacon, 1575, 1578; elder, 1593, 1594, 1597.

1. Ibid. CC8/8/22. 24 November 1590.
2. Ibid. CC8/8/15. 8 March 1585/6.
SCHEVES, John
Deacon, 1595, 1596. His wife was probably Helen Meldrum who died in 1595 leaving net assets of £80. ¹

SCHEVES, Thomas in Byrehills
Deacon, 1584, 1589, 1591. Probably to be identified with Thomas Scheves, younger, in Byrehills who died on 31 March 1606 leaving assets of £99. ²

SCOTT, Alexander
Elder, 1600.

SCOTT, David in Kincaple
Deacon, 1575.

SCOTT, James in Ladeddy
Deacon, 1593.

SCOTT, John merchant
Deacon, 1575-1578.

SCOTT, Mr John
Elder, 1588-1591. He died on 19 January 1598/9 leaving net assets of £193, ³

SCOTT, Mr William
Elder, 1562.

² Ibid. CC20/4/4. 26 January 1607.
SIBBALD, Mr Alexander
Elder, 1571.

SMITH, Alexander
Deacon, 1575-1582.

SMITH, Henry
Deacon, 1596.

SMITH, James
Elder, 1581. Probably the merchant citizen of St. Andrews who died on 20 September 1597 leaving assets of £4,787.¹

SMITH, John portioner of Balone
Deacon, 1586, 1591 (in Balone); elder, 1593 (portioner of Balone). He died on 29 May 1594 leaving net assets of £588.²

SMITH, John deacon of Lammerman
Deacon, 1593.

SPENS, David
Deacon, 1559, 1560.

SYMSOUN, Alexander
Deacon, 1595, 1596.

TAYLOR, David
Deacon, 1599, 1600.

¹ S.R.O. CC8/8/34. Edinburgh Testaments, 6 March 1600.
² Ibid. CC8/8/27. 6 August 1594.
TAYLOR, James
Deacon, 1595-1600.

THOMSON, David portioner of Balone
Deacon, 1593.

THOMSON, James baxter
Deacon, 1594-1596.

TODRICK, Walter
Deacon, 1596-1598, 1600.

TRAILL of Bathcaithlie, James
Elder, 1598.

WALKER, John
Deacon, 1571. (1) flesher, died 12 June 1584; net assets, £260. ¹
wife, Beatrix Daise, died 30 March 1580; net assets, £612. ²
(2) baxter, wife, Janet Coupar, died 15 May 1579;
net assets, £299. ³

WATSON, Andrew merchant
Deacon, 1570, 1571, 1577, 1578, 1581-1584, 1587, 1588; elder, 1597-1600.

WATSON, Charles writer/notary public
Deacon, 1576-1591; elder 1593-1597. His name was deleted from the

¹ Ibid., CC8/8/14, 19 April 1585.
² Ibid., CC8/8/12, 23 April 1583.
³ Ibid., CC8/8/7, 18 June 1579.
list of elders in 1597 due to his death on 8 January 1597/8. He left net assets of £229.¹

WATSON, Charles merchant
Deacon, 1594.

WATSON, David dean of guild
Elder, 1587-1591, 1597-1600. He died in September 1603 leaving net assets of £1,492.²

WATSON, Gregory
Deacon, 1600.

WELWOOD, Andrew
Elder, 1593-1596, 1598-1600.

WELWOOD, David
Elder, 1559, 1560, 1562, 1570-1574. His wife, Janet Mutto, died in June 1566 leaving net assets of £401.³

WELWOOD, Thomas bailie
Deacon, 1559-1561; elder, 1562, 1569, 1570, 1572, 1577, 1579, 1582. Probably the merchant citizen who died on 15 March 1582/3. Described as "ane honest and discreet man", he left net assets of £6,159.⁴

³ Ibid. CC8/8/1. 20 April 1569.
⁴ Ibid. CC8/8/12; CC8/8/22. 19 November 1583; 1 June 1591.
WELWOOD, Mr William  master in the Old College
Elder, 1594-1596.

WEMYSS of Unthank, Gavin
Elder, 1591, 1593, 1598.

WEMYSS of Lathocker, Mr James
Elder 1572, 1574, 1575, 1593. He died in December 1604 leaving net assets of £796.¹

WEMYSS of Craigtoun, John
Elder 1600. Described as "one of the Senators of our Sovereign Lord's Council and Session", he died on 7 October 1623 leaving net assets of £5,686.²

WEMYSS, Mr William  advocate and bailie
Elder, 1593-1600. His wife, Isobel Auchmowtie, died on 9 June 1602 leaving net assets of £620.³ Their son, David, became a minister.⁴

WENESON, Thomas  in Kincaple
Deacon, 1574, 1583. His wife, Marion Mure, died in April 1592 leaving net assets of £656.⁵

WILKIE, Mr James  principal of St. Leonard's college
Elder, 1561-1589. He died on 13 August 1590, leaving assets of £472.⁶

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/41; CC8/8/44. 9 April 1606; 2 February 1609.
⁴ Fasti, iv. 251.
⁶ Ibid. CC8/8/23. 2 September 1591.
WILKIE, Mr Robert  principal of St. Leonard's college
Elder, 1591, 1593, 1594.

WILLIAMSON, Peter
Deacon, 1594.

WILLIAMSON, Robert
Deacon, 1591-1600.

WINCHESTER, Alexander  bailie
Deacon 1570; elder, 1583, 1584, 1586, 1587; helper to the elders, 1591; elderly, 1594-1600. His wife, Beatrix Geddie, died on 20 November 1584 leaving net assets of £508.¹

WINCHESTER, David

WISHART, David  mariner
Deacon, 1594.

WISHART, Henry
Deacon, 1598, 1600. Probably the mariner citizen who died on 20 October 1603 leaving net assets of £1,032.²

WOOD of Lambeletham, Alexander
Elder, 1600.

WOOD of Stravithie, Andrew
Elder, 1572-1574, 1581-1584, 1591, 1593. He died in December 1610

¹. Ibid. CC8/8/14. 23 February 1584/5.
². Ibid. CC8/8/38. 19 January 1604.
leaving net assets of £1,878. His widow, Janet Duddingston, died on 8 October 1617 leaving net assets of £106.2

WOOD of Greenside, Arthur
Elder, 1600.

WOOD, John
Elder, 1559-1561; 1593 (dean of guild), 1594. Probably the merchant citizen who died in September 1596 leaving assets of £82.3

WRIGHT, Andrew
Deacon, 1586-1591.

YOUNG, John in Byrehills
Deacon, 1593. His wife died in May 1575 leaving net assets of £224.4

YULE, Robert
Deacon, 1593.

YULE, William merchant
Deacon, 1561-1577, 1582-1591; elder, 1593-1597.

1. S.R.O. CC20/4/5. 1 August, 17 October 1614; 11 January 1615.
2. Ibid. CC20/4/6. 20 March 1615.
3. Ibid. CC20/4/7. 24 November 1619.
(c) Stirling Kirk Session\(^1\) (1598-1610)

ADAM, John
Elder, 1608-1610.

ADAMSON, John (notary and depute town clerk)
Elder, 1600-1607.

AISSONE, James (merchant)
Deacon, 1599.

AISSONE, William merchant (town councillor)
Member of the session, 1597. Brother of preceding; he left gross assets of £743 and net assets of £3.\(^2\)

AITKEN, Alexander
Deacon, 1602-1608; elder, 1609.

ALEXANDER, Archibald (bailie and merchant)
Elder, 1603-1605.

ALEXANDER, Christopher (bailie and merchant)
Elder, 1609. Eldest son of Robert Alexander (q.v.)

ALEXANDER, Robert (merchant)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598, 1599. Appointed elder for life of Stirling presbytery in 1582;\(^3\) bailie and town

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1. Elections were held annually in October or November. None, however, was held in 1606 and as a result two elections took place in 1607, the first in January and the second in November.
3. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records.
councillor.

ALLAN, Alexander (merchant councillor)
Deacon, 1610. His wife was probably Helen Kincaid who died on 31 March 1586 leaving net assets of £295.¹

ALLAN, Archibald notary
Elder, 1597-1609. His wife, Christian Doig, died in January 1621 leaving net assets of £167.²

ALLAN, James (flesher; craftsman councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597.

ANDERSON, John baxter
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1599, 1608, 1609.

BARCLAY, Thomas
Deacon, 1608-1610.

BAUCHOPE, Alexander (merchant councillor)
Elder, 1600-1610. He died in April 1633 leaving gross assets of £577 but a net deficit of £173.³

BAUCHOPE, Thomas (merchant councillor)
Deacon, 1598; elder, 1599; deacon, 1600; elder, 1601-1610.

BENNY, Alexander (wobster; craftsman councillor)
Deacon, 1603-1610.

³ Ibid. CC21/5/4. 26 April 1634.
BLACKADDER, Norman
Deacon, 1600.

BROWN, Alexander (wobster)
Elder, 1598-1605. He died on 3 October 1606 leaving net assets of £1,251.1 His widow, Janet Burne, died in September 1612 leaving net assets of £772.2

BRUCE, John
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598, 1604-1609. Probably a hammerman and craftsman councillor.

BRUCE, Robert
Deacon, 1598; elder, 1600-1607. As in preceding entry, he was probably a hammerman and craftsman councillor.

BUNTEIN, William (tailor; craftsman councillor)
Deacon, 1607. His wife Marion Buchanan died in May 1613 leaving net assets of £320.3

BURNE, William (cordiner; craftsman councillor)
Deacon, 1607; elder, 1608.

CHRISTISON, Robert
Deacon, 1609, 1610. Probably the maltman burgess who died in debt in December 1630.4

3. Ibid. CC21/5/1. 5 January 1614.
4. Ibid. CC21/5/4. 11 July 1631.
COSSUR, Robert
Deacon for Cambuskenneth, 1598; elder, 1601.

COUPER, Thomas (deacon of the tailors; craftsman councillor)
Elder, 1598; deacon, 1601; elder, 1602, 1604-1609.

COWANE, Andrew (merchant councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598. Died March 1617.
The family house, which Andrew Cowane built in 1603, still stands.¹

COWANE, Walter (merchant councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1599, 1600, 1607, 1608.

CRAIGENGELT of that Ilk, Thomas
Elder, 1608-1610.

CRUMBIE, James
Deacon for Cambuskenneth, 1609, 1610.

CUNNINGHAM, Archibald
Deacon, 1607; elder, 1608. Probably the son and heir of Robert
Cunningham of Ladyland.²

CUNNINGHAM, John (merchant and bailie)
Deacon, 1600, 1601; elder, 1602-1605.

CUNNINGHAM, Umphra commissary of Stirling
Elder, 1598-1603. Elected elder for life of Stirling Presbytery in

1581. He died in October 1604 leaving net assets of £1,521. His widow, Katherine Stewart, died in April 1623 leaving net assets of £846.

CUTHBERT, John (deacon of the skinners; craftsman councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598-1605.

DAWSON, Alexander (tailor; craftsman councillor; master of the hospital)
Elder, 1598, 1599; deacon, 1600, 1601; elder, 1602.

DONALDSON, John (merchant councillor)
Elder, 1598, 1599, 1601.

DRUMMOND, George (skinner; craftsman councillor)
Elder, 1610.

ERSKINE, Robert
Deacon, 1608; elder, 1610. Possibly the servitor to the earl of Argyll who was made a burgess in 1605 and elected to the guild council in 1608.

FERGUSSON, Andrew (cordiner; craftsman councillor)
Deacon, 1605, 1607.

FOGO, George (maltman; craftsman councillor)
Elder, 1608. His wife, Janet Shearer, died in March 1615, leaving a deficit of £449.

1. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August 1581.
4. Ibid. CC21/5/2. 26 October 1616.
FORRESTER of Logy, James (bailie)
Elder, 1608-1610.

FORRESTER, Robert
Elder, 1610.

GARDNER, James
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598; deacon, 1600.

GAWIE, John (merchant councillor; master of the hospital)
Member of the kirk session, 1597, 1598-1603. His widow, Katherine Hutton, died in October 1615 leaving net assets of £200. 1

GILLESPIE, William maltman
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598, 1599.
Probably the burgess of that name who died in January 1613, leaving net assets of £247. 2

GLEN, William
Elder for Cambuskenneth, 1602-1608.

HALL, Edward (merchant councillor)
Elder, 1600-1602.

HENDERSON, John baxter (deacon of the baxters; craftsman councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598-1608, 1610. His wife, Barbara Sutherland, died in August 1610, leaving net assets of £601. 3

1. Ibid. CC21/5/2. 13 November 1615.
2. Ibid. CC21/5/1. 12 February 1613.
3. Ibid. CC21/5/1. 15 January 1611.
HENRY, Thomas
Deacon, 1609, 1610.

HOUSTON, Arthur (merchant councillor)
Deacon, 1599.

HOUSTON, Robert (cordiner; craftsman councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1599-1601.

JEFFREY, Andrew (merchant councillor; master of the hospital)
Deacon 1602-1607; elder, 1607, 1608. He died in September 1623, leaving net assets of £1,995.¹

JOHNSTON, John
Deacon, 1607; elder, 1609, 1610.

KILBOWIE, Andrew (omnegaddrum councillor)
Deacon, 1604; elder, 1605. He died on 12 October 1606, leaving £4,990.²

LAING, John (maltman; craftsman councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598; deacon, 1599; elder, 1600-1607, 1609, 1610. In August 1581 he was appointed elder for life to Stirling presbytery.³

LAING, John notary
Elder, 1599, 1607.

¹ Ibid., CC21/5/3. 4 February 1624.
² S.R.O., CC8/8/42. Edinburgh Testaments, 18 October 1606.
³ MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August 1581.
LAWSON, William
Deacon, 1599-1602. Possibly the merchant burgess of that name whose wife, Helen Forsyth, died in 1606, leaving assets totalling £1,293. ¹

McCLELLAN, James (tailor)
Deacon, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1608, 1609.

MAISSON, Robert
Elder for Cambuskenneth, 1610.

MALEICE, John
Elder for Cambuskenneth, 1599, 1600, 1603-1610.

MILLAR, John elder (baxter; craftsman councillor)
Elder, 1599. He died in April 1603 leaving net assets of £739. ²
His wife, Isobel Callender, died in February 1596/7 leaving net assets of £352. ³

MILLAR, John younger
Deacon, 1598, 1599, 1602-1604, 1608.

MITCHELL, James baxter
Member of the kirk session, 1597; deacon, 1598, 1601, 1602.

MURIESON, Duncan (maltman)
Deacon, 1598, 1599, 1602-1605. He died in 1606, leaving net

² Ibid. CC8/8/37. 2 June 1603.
³ Ibid. CC8/8/33. 25 July 1599.
assets of £442.¹

MURRAY, David
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1599, 1600.

MURRAY, John
Elder, 1610. Probably the son of Thomas Murray (q.v.). He died in March 1636 leaving assets of £766.²

MURRAY, Mr Robert (commissary of Stirling)
Elder, 1603-1607.

MURRAY, Thomas (merchant)
Deacon, 1605; elder, 1607-1610. Probably the brother of William Murray of Polmaise. He died in February 1616, leaving net assets of £169.³

NEISH, Walter (merchant councillor)
Elder, 1601, 1603, 1604. Almost certainly Walter Neish of Wester Dubbettis, bailie, burgess in Stirling, who died on 6 September 1606 leaving net assets of £191.⁴

NICOL, David (merchant councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; deacon, 1602, 1603.

NORVAL, George (merchant councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder 1599-1610. He died on

¹ Ibid. CC8/8/36. 22 November 1608.
³ Ibid. CC21/5/2. 11 January 1617.
⁴ Ibid. CC21/5/1. 15 March 1608.
10 October 1630 leaving net assets of £224.1

PATerson, Alexander  (merchant)
Deacon, 1603; elder, 1607.

PATerson, Duncan  maltman (craftsman councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598, 1600.

PATerson, Duncan  merchant (merchant councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598, 1603, 1604, 1607-1610.
In 1593 he is known to have been in Flanders.

PATerson, Robert  goldsmith
Deacon, 1609; elder, 1610. He died in 1615 leaving net assets of £173.2

PONT, Mr James  (commissary of Dunblane)
Elder, 1599-1601. In 1581 Pont was elected as life elder to Stirling presbytery.3 The son of Robert Pont, minister,4 (q.v.), Pont died on 25 July 1602 leaving assets of £1,153. In his testament, he is described as "ane honest and discreit man".5

ROBERTSON, Alexander  flesher (craftsman councillor)
Deacon, 1605, 1607. He died in February 1610 leaving net assets of £855.6

1. Ibid, CC21/5/4. 23 October 1630.
2. Ibid. CC21/5/3. 8 June 1622.
3. MS. Stirling Presbytery Records, 8 August 1581.
4. Fasti, viii. 18.
ROBERTSON, James  (merchant councillor)  
Deacon, 1607, 1608; elder, 1609, 1610. He died in October 1648, leaving assets of £3,813. 1 His son was apparently John Robertson, minister of Dundee. 2

ROBERTSON, Robert  pewterer  
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598; deacon, 1600, 1601; elder, 1602, 1603. He was appointed by the town council as the official maker of the standard pewter pint measure.

RUSSELL, John  (merchant councillor)  
Deacon, 1604; elder, 1605.

SANDIS, Andrew  (merchant councillor)  
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598; deacon, 1600, 1601; elder, 1602; deacon, 1605, 1607 (January); elder 1607 (November), 1608; deacon, 1609, 1610. His wife, Margaret Johnson, died in September 1619 leaving net assets of £1,335. 3

SCHOOLAR, Arthur  
Elder for Cambuskenneth, 1598-1609.

SETON, Robert  (merchant councillor)  
Elder, 1603-1607. Brother of James Seton of Tillibody.

SHEARER, John  merchant (bailie; later provost)  
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder 1599-1605.

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1. Ibid., CC21/6/1. 12 January 1649.  
2. Retours, ii, no. 4252; Fasti, v, 330.  
3. S.R.O., CC21/5/2. Stirling Testaments, 16 December 1619.
SHORT, James (merchant; bailie; later provost)
Elder, 1600-1602, 1605-1608. He died in October 1626, leaving net assets of £1,292.¹

SIMSON, Archibald
Deacon, 1598, 1599.

SINCLAIR, John (commissary of Dunblane; burgess of Stirling)
Elder, 1598, 1603, 1604, 1607-1609. He died in September 1620, leaving net assets of £1,916.²

SMITH, Archibald (maltman)
Elder, 1598-1605, 1609, 1610.

SPITTAL, James (baxter; master of the hospital)
Deacon, 1608, 1609; elder, 1610. He died in June 1633.

STEVENVSON, James (maltman; craftsman councillor)
Deacon, 1598.

STIRLING, John
Elder, 1598-1610.

THOMSON, Duncan (maltman)
Deacon, 1609, 1610.

THOMSON, Robert (flesher)
Member of the kirk session, 1597.

¹ Ibid. CC21/5/4. 19 February 1634, 27 February 1636.
² Ibid. CC21/5/3. 6 November 1620.
UTTEIN, Alexander  (skinner)
Deacon, 1607, 1608; elder, 1609, 1610.

WALLACE, James  notary
Elder, 1600.

WALLACE, James  merchant
Deacon, 1604. In 1622 his son, James, received £20 from the merchant guild for his voyage to Danzig.

WATSON, Duncan
Deacon, 1607; elder, 1609, 1610.

WILLIAMSON, John  (sheriff-clerk)
Elder, 1600-1610. He had previously acted as a writer in Edinburgh.  \(^1\)

YOUNG, Thomas  (merchant councillor)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1599-1602, 1610.

YULE, Mr Alexander  (master of the grammar school)
Member of the kirk session, 1597; elder, 1598-1607. As a schoolmaster, Yule also sat on Stirling presbytery.  \(^2\) He died February 1622 leaving assets totalling £3,380.  \(^3\)

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